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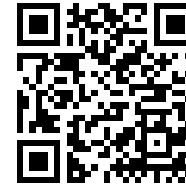

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THE ENGLISH FACTORIES IN INDIA

(THE EASTERN COAST AND BENGAL)

1670–1677

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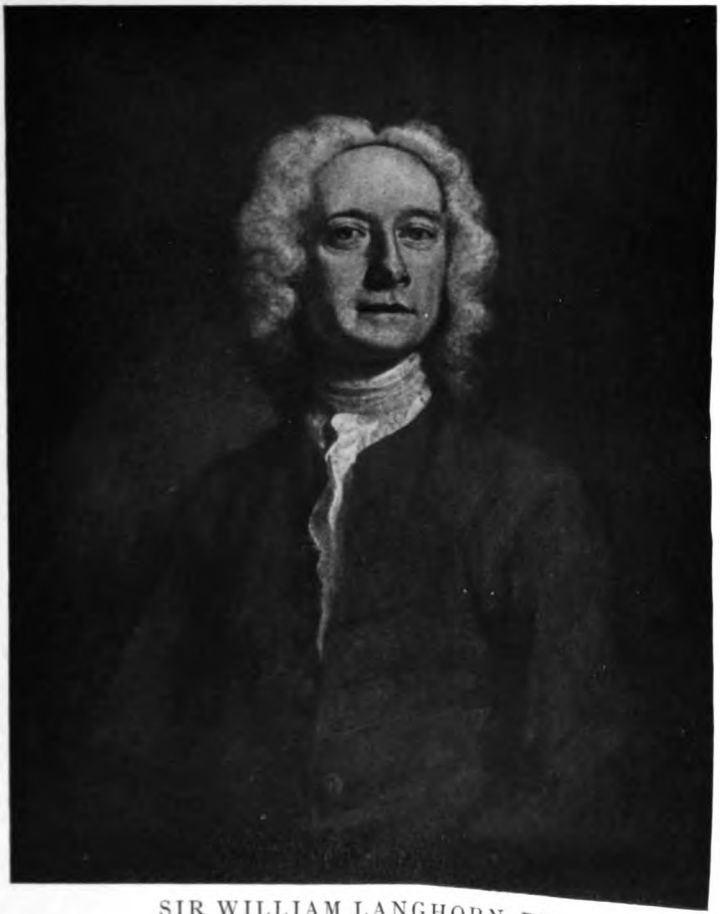

SIR WILLIAM LANGHORN, BT.

From the painting in the possession of the Viscountess Gough

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THE ENGLISH FACTORIES IN INDIA

VOL. II (NEW SERIES)

(THE EASTERN COAST AND BENGAL)

1670–1677

BY

SIR CHARLES FAWCETT

INDIA CIVIL SERVICE (RETIRED)

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PREFACE

For the reasons given in the preface to the preceding volume, this second instalment of the new series of *English Factories in India* relates only to those situated on the Coromandel Coast (Madras, Masulipatam, &c.), and in Bengal. It covers the same period that the first volume does, viz. 1670–7. This will facilitate a comparison of their history with that of the factories in the Western Presidency. It is also convenient as covering nearly the whole stay in India (from 14 June 1670 to 27 January 1678) of Sir William Langhorn, Bt., who was Governor of Madras, or (as the Company generally styled him) their Agent at Fort St. George. Since the factories at Masulipatam and in Bengal were subordinate to the Agent and his Council, he was the Company's chief representative in this part of India; and Langhorn's efforts and achievements for the advancement and protection of Madras in a troublous time merit the exposition of his work and policy afforded by the records in the India Office.

I. MADRAS

Its records are not as voluminous or complete as those for the corresponding part of the history of Bombay. Indeed they give scanty information regarding the local administration of Madras, and domestic events affecting the town and its garrison receive little notice. Fortunately, however, they allow a remarkable insight into external difficulties that obstructed its welfare and at times even threatened its security. This insight is not confined to a mere general view of those difficulties and the methods adopted to meet them, but comprises an illuminating account of the thoughts, discussions, and actions of the chief parties involved, with a wealth of detail that adds to the interest of the topics dealt with. This is chiefly due to the survival of copies of most of the lengthy letters that passed between the Agent and his Brahman representative at Golconda, viz. Venkatapati and, after his death in October 1675, his son Vira Raghava.

The main source of trouble was the settlement's dependence on the Golconda kingdom, whose territories comprised both Madras and Masulipatam, and whose rule was arbitrary, vacillating, and corrupt. Its chief representative in relations with Fort St. George was the Commander-in-Chief, Neknam Khan, generally known as the Nawab of the Carnatic. For some eight years, the Agent and his Council had

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been involved in a dispute over his demands for the payment of half the customs-revenue (in lieu of a fixed charge agreed upon in 1658) and for the posting of a native officer in the town to look after that share.[1] This naturally engendered hostility on the part of Golconda subordinates, and in 1670 the settlement was blockaded for about a month by the local Avaldar, or Governor, of the district (pp. 9–11).

George Foxcroft, who (after Sir Edward Winter's usurpation of the government) had again become Agent in 1668, seems to have been an efficient officer;[2] and though he resorted mainly to procrastination in resisting the Nawab's demands, he ended by adopting a more conciliatory attitude in accordance with the Company's desire for a reasonable compromise. With the help of Venkatapati and some friendly courtiers at Golconda, he succeeded in achieving this shortly before he left India in January 1672.[3] The annual rent payable was raised from 380 to 1,200 pagodas; arrears amounting to 11,000 pagodas were to be promptly paid; and the objectionable proposal to have a representative of the Nawab in the town was dropped. The settlement, which was soon followed by the issue of a 'cowl' (or formal lease) in terms drafted by the Agent, resulted in improved relations with Golconda. This was of great importance, in view of an unexpected event, which placed a severe strain on them and put Langhorn and his Council in an embarrassing position.

In an effort to help French trade in India, and impress its native sovereigns with his power, Louis XIV had sent out seven warships, with three merchant vessels of the French Company, under the command of Admiral De la Haye.[4] Their arrival at Surat in September 1671, and subsequent voyage down the Malabar Coast at the beginning of 1672, have been noticed in the preceding volume (pp. 215, 309, 312). The fleet reached Ceylon in March 1672, but was forced by Dutch opposition to leave the Bay of Trincomalee and anchored before San Thomé, a fortified town lying only three miles south of Madras, on

[1] Cf. pp. 8–9. As in the previous volume of this new series (see its p. viii), only salient features of events in this period are noticed here; and references to pages are generally confined to cases where there may be some difficulty in finding them from the Index.

[2] Jearsey and Niclaes praised Foxcroft as 'the discreetest, wise and just man, that ever was Agent' (*E. F.*, 1665–7, 220). As they sided with him against Winter, this eulogy must be discounted; but, so far as I can see, none of the disparagement of him by Winter and his friends attacks his ability, which is borne out by the extant records.

[3] For information as to Foxcroft's antecedents and his death in 1692, see *E. F.*, 1665–7, 106–7, and 1668–9, 294.

[4] For a full statement of the circumstances under which this squadron sailed to Ceylon and India, see *C.H.I.* v. 67.

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10 July. It was captured three days later by troops landed from the ships, after a short fight with the Moslem garrison. Though there had been previous rumours of French designs on San Thomé, as a convenient place in which to settle (*E.F.*, 1668–9, 283, 284), its seizure was undoubtedly an unwelcome surprise to Langhorn and his Council, and naturally irritated the King of Golconda in whose territory San Thomé lay. Its occupation by De la Haye lasted for over two years, in spite of an attack by a strong Golconda force, which at first besieged the town unsuccessfully. From the middle of 1673, the blockade was assisted by the Dutch, but so gallant was the defence of the French garrison that it was not till 26 August 1674 that it was starved into capitulation to the Dutch.

The position during this conflict was one of no little complexity for the Government of Madras. Though the English and French were allies in the Dutch war of 1672–4, there were strong grounds for refusing De la Haye the assistance that he sought from Madras. The settlement was under the kingdom of Golconda, with which friendly relations had just been re-established, and any such aid would inevitably have turned it into a bitter and dangerous enemy. On the Dutch joining in the siege, the danger to Madras was intensified. Their land forces lay close to the town, and their fleet had command of the sea, especially after the engagement of 22 August 1673, in which it worsted ten East Indiamen (pp. 241–5). In any case the fact that the French were trade rivals made their presence at San Thomé objectionable.

On the other hand, an attitude of hostility to De la Haye also involved danger to the town. On account of the siege weakening, his men were able to make successful sorties to obtain provisions in the adjoining country, and Langhorn complained that during part of 1673 they virtually blockaded Madras (pp. 73, 74). The alliance of France and England was another reason for maintaining friendly relations with De la Haye, as far as possible. This, in turn, made it undesirable to give the Golconda commanders the help they wanted in arms and ammunition.

In these circumstances, Langhorn adopted a policy of neutrality to the extent of giving the least aid possible to either side. Golconda appears to have got nothing but a small supply of powder and shot (pp. 51, 64); on the other hand, he did all he could to propitiate the King and his officers. Thus he allowed them to post their own peons at Madras to see that no assistance was given to the French, and expelled some Frenchmen to whose presence there they objected. He gave full answers to all

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complaints against him or others, and succeeded in overcoming various troubles that arose, such as the threat to starve Madras by stoppage of provisions. The result was satisfactory. The commander of the Golconda troops expressed himself satisfied with the propriety of Langhorn's behaviour (p. 112); and, though at times the King and the Nawab were roused to anger by reports of his assisting the French, Langhorn managed to remain on good terms with them.

De la Haye, on the other hand, was naturally discontented with Langhorn's persistent refusal to render him the assistance he asked for. Langhorn himself said that 'the French have not had any manner of releif, either of provisions, powder, lead, or any sort of ammunition, . . . nor of counsel, from us or any belonging to us' (p. 100). At the same time, he made it clear that this was due only to two causes, 'force of the Moores [i.e. Golconda] and our own necessity and want' (p. 118). The extant correspondence between him and De la Haye shows that, generally speaking, he kept on good terms with him—an achievement to which his knowledge of the French language[1] and his courteous attitude no doubt contributed. Moreover, he did, in fact, give some help to the French Admiral by apprehending and returning deserters who had gone to Madras (pp. 63, 67), though he declined to surrender three officers of the *Breton*, who had left their ship because of a quarrel about promotion (p. 140). And, while he refused any official help in supplying provisions from Madras, he undoubtedly connived at their being smuggled to San Thomé by Frenchmen or by Englishmen not in the Company's service.[2] On this point corroboration is afforded by Dr. Fryer, who was at Madraṣ in 1673 and, after praising the French garrison at San Thomé for the gallant defence it was making, says (i. 147) that 'their greatest scarcity will be of food, with which had not the English privately befriended them, they could not have subsisted hitherto'.[3]

Such complicity, which Langhorn regarded as part of 'triviall com-

[1] Cf. the testimony of Abbé Carré in August 1673 (ii. 634–5, and p. 88 *post*) to Langhorn's good knowledge of French, owing to his residence at Saumur for several years.

[2] He also allowed Abbé Carré to be stationed at Madras as an intermediary for the supply of provisions (p. 65), and according to the Abbé's diary (ii. 554, 573, 584) these were allowed to pass freely between the two places up to July, 1673. See also Langhorn's statement to the Company (p. 118) that it was not till Golconda had made it plain that any help to the French would result in the starvation of Madras that they put a complete restriction on supplies.

[3] Consequently the statement in *C.H.I.* v. 69 that 'the French leader held St. Thomé for two years *with no help from the English*' needs qualification. A 'complete' history of the siege, compiled from Dutch, English, and French sources of information, still remains to be written. Possibly, the former Hyderabad State may also have records relating to the subject.

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placencys' with the French (p. 59), conflicts with the wide assurances he gave to Golconda that he was in no way assisting the French. Also, while assuring De la Haye of his goodwill, he opposed the latter's attempt to arrange a truce with Golconda (pp. 63–4, 68–9). These departures from good faith are, however, mitigated by their being inspired by honest motives, viz. to protect the Company's trade at Madras and keep on peaceful terms with all the parties to the dispute.

The Dutch were probably the most dangerous of the three, in view of the war with Holland, and there were real grounds for fearing they might attack Madras. Langhorn was also apprehensive of their obtaining San Thomé after the French had been driven from it. He, therefore, did his best to keep on good terms with them, and at the same time weaken their influence at Golconda. That he succeeded in both aims is a tribute to his ability and alertness. In December 1672 he arranged with Pavillon, the chief Dutch representative on the Coast, for a local peace between the two Companies, though news of the war had then reached India (pp. 53–4). This was observed even when a Dutch fleet under Rijkloff Van Goens anchored near Madras in June 1673 (p. 66); but the position became more dubious in September after the Dutch capture of three East Indiamen in the engagement off Petapoli (p. 70) and the arrival of a Dutch force to join in the siege of San Thomé. Fortunately its commander, Van Goens, did not want to engage the English, as well as the French, and came to an agreement with Langhorn, under which each side was to abstain from hostilities against the other during the siege (pp. 76–7). The Agent also managed to keep on good terms with him and Pavillon, though he refused to allow the posting of Dutch soldiers in Madras to see that no assistance was given to the French, and declined to supply provisions to the Dutch fleet (pp. 86, 97). News of peace between Holland and England, which arrived just after the capitulation of San Thomé to the Dutch, put an end to the fear of the attack on Madras which was believed to be contemplated (p. 119). Moreover Langhorn's arguments persuaded the King of Golconda to demolish the fortifications of San Thomé on his regaining possession of it from the Dutch. Thus he could rightly claim that, in spite of many dangers and difficulties, they were still at peace with all, and especially with Golconda (p. 118). This was the more satisfactory in view of his having taken prompt steps, on becoming Agent at Madras, to improve its fortifications—a piece of foresight which had at first given umbrage to the King, but which helped to deter him and the Dutch from attacking the settlement (pp. 41, 43–4, 81–2 *n.*, 117, 118, 119).

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Other difficulties, however, soon arose. The King's chief minister, Madana, was now 'all-powerful'; under his ministration misgovernment and corruption became rampant (pp. 145, 164, 168). In particular, Podela Lingappa, the Governor of the Poonamallee district in which Madras lay, showed hostility to the settlement. In 1675 and 1676 he stopped provisions from access to it, as well as the transit of the Company's cloth and other goods from up-country. By representations to Golconda and retaliatory measures, Langhorn succeeded in getting this blockade raised (pp. 136–8, 162–3). Again Lingappa, by exaggerating the trade and revenues of Madras, tried to get the King to raise the rent of the town and cancel Neknam Khan's 'cowl' of 1672. This too failed, and in February 1677 Langhorn had the satisfaction of obtaining a new grant from the King in even more favourable terms than the old one (pp. 138, 163, 172). Thus he left relations with Golconda on a good footing.

Sivaji's incursion into the Carnatic brought him close to Madras in May and October 1677, and its garrison was increased as a precautionary measure (pp. 170–1, 185, 191); evidently, however, that invader had no desire to interfere with the European settlements there. He accepted small presents from the Agent and Council and showed no resentment at the refusal of his requests for money and engineers (pp. 171, 185, 191). The Fort St. George records contain some valuable information about this incursion and its results, which is collected in an Appendix (pp. 184–93).[1]

Another 'outside' matter which may usefully be mentioned is correspondence continuing the efforts to secure the release of the unfortunate English captives in Ceylon.

Turning to 'home affairs', Langhorn and his Council testified that Madras had 'notably increased and [been] enriched during his government through the blessing of God upon his cares and impartial administration' (p. 178). In 1674 he claimed that Madras with its 'outparts' contained nearly 50,000 inhabitants, in spite of the disturbances and scarcity of provisions arising from the siege of San Thomé (p. 120). He attributed this to the justice and impartiality of its government, 'so different from the extortions of the Mores'.[2] Foxcroft had contributed towards this result by turning out the two chief merchants, Beri

[1] There are two others, one of a few extracts from Abbé Carré's Journal, regarding his stay at Madras in 1673, and the third relating to Golconda affairs, the nature of which is explained at pp. 84, 93.

[2] O.C. 3992, f. 5, reproduced in Love, i. 366.

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Timmanna and Kasi Viranna, whom Winter had installed at the choultry, or town-hall, to rule the town.[1] In 1671 he appointed two members of his Council to sit there as justices[2]—an arrangement which was continued by Langhorn. The records afford no material information as to their work, but the silence on this point at any rate indicates that no serious trouble arose in it. The only difficulties mentioned relate to the advisability of allowing the Portuguese to decide cases between themselves (p. 72) and the want of jurisidiction to try murder cases (p. 165). The latter could, no doubt, legally have been tried by the Agent and Council, since Foxcroft had been made Governor of Madras expressly for this purpose; but apparently neither he nor Langhorn ever sat with his Council as a judicial bench.

The administrative duties of these justices included the collection of customs-duties, but here again little information is forthcoming. We learn that goods were brought to the choultry for entry and payment of duties; also that as the customs were farmed from the Golconda Government, they had to be levied at the old rates (p. 125), but what those rates were is not divulged.[3] Sales of land were registered there,[4] but only a hint of this is given by the mention of a Portuguese notary employed at the choultry (pp. 125, 150). Admittedly, the amount received from customs and other town-revenues was not entered in the choultry-books, in order to conceal it from the Golconda authorities; but it appears to have amounted to about 3,500 pagodas a year (p. 165). Little land-revenue was obtained beyond the small sum of 40 pagodas a year for the lease of some paddy-lands. The Company desired to alter this and recover ground-rents, but Langhorn and his Council objected that it was unusual and improper to do this in the case of settlers who had been invited to come to Madras (pp. 153–4).

Langhorn was fortunate in maintaining harmonious relations with his Council, which throughout his term of office consisted of the same

[1] *E.F.*, 1661–4, 389, & 1665–7, 117; Love, i. 273.

[2] Hinmers and Bridger, replaced in 1674 by Wilks and Jacob Smith. Perhaps this change was due to the three years' term of office mentioned by Carré (p. 85 *post*).

[3] Ct. Bk. xx, 15 Aug. 1649 (*Ct. Min.*, 1644–9, 341), cited in Love, i. 69 *n.* & 512 *n.*, mentions an *ad valorem* duty of 4½ per cent. on all imports and exports, but I have not found any corroboration of this rate in the Factory Records. There may have been different rates for various kinds of goods: thus in 1678 the 'Customer' was ordered to 'enter the rates' in his account-book of 'all Sea and Land Customes' (Fort con. 31 Jan. 1678, *M.R.*, 1678–9, 7). On the other hand, in 1684 (and impliedly in previous years) the sea and land customs, which were paid together, amounted to 'near 5½ per cent.', and these were ordered to be divided (to the profit of the revenues) into 3 per cent. for sea customs and the same rate for land customs (*M.R.*, 1684, 95–6; Love, i. 512).

[4] Cf. Love, i. 404.

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five members (Hinmers, Bridger, Herries, Wilks, and Jacob Smith) except that the last-named dropped out for a year in 1672–3. This was in marked contrast to the dissension that disgraced the Masulipatam and Bengal factories. On the other hand, he did not get on well with the Company, which found fault with his management of its affairs and reprehended him for his 'uncivil tone' in writing to them. This, no doubt, led to his stay at Madras being shorter than he expected; and he maintained that his good services to the Company had been ill-requited (pp. 166, 182).

Most of its complaints against him related to the annual investments for the homeward ships, and in particular it was dissatisfied with the quality and cost of much of the calicoes sent from Madras. In reply Langhorn and his Council represented that the merchants who supplied them were discouraged by the Company's severe restrictions and comments. The weavers in the settlement were not numerous,[1] and most of the calicoes had to be brought from up-country, where disorders and extortion interfered with the supply and often caused heavy losses to the importers. Local obstruction, such as that of Podela Lingappa, also sometimes hindered the progress of an investment. In spite, however, of these and other difficulties, Langhorn appears to have ordinarily succeeded in obtaining full ladings for the ships to the extent that Madras had to contribute to them.

Another thing to which the Company objected was his giving a monoply of its trade at Madras to the 'chief merchant', Kasi Viranna. The latter had, however, numerous partners and undertook responsibility for the fulfilment of their contracts. According to Langhorn, the cloth he supplied was superior to that of other merchants, and his prestige up-country enabled him to get goods more safely down to Madras (pp. 147, 176). This is corroborated by Viranna's connexion with the King of Golconda, who leased to him several villages adjacent to Madras (pp. 41, 146, 176). Records also show that during this period he used his influence with his partners to help the Company (p. 146).

Langhorn was accused of giving him too much power, so that the natives said, 'Sir William governes within the Fort and Verrona [Kasi Viranna] without' (p. 124 *n.*); but though the latter was occasionally employed in business with Golconda or in local difficulties, there is

[1] No exact figures of their number are available, but according to President Fremlin's letter of 29 Dec. 1640 (*E.F.*, 1637–41, 286) some 300 or 400 families of weavers, 'painters', and artificers had settled at Madras, and no mention seems to be made of any additional weavers till 1690 (Love, i. 547–8). Langhorn also told the Company that 'for great quantitys' they had to get cloth from up-country weavers (p. 161).

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nothing in the records that suggests his having improper or excessive influence with the Agent. The allegation that Langhorn received a yearly payment of 20,000 pagodas from Kasi Viranna was indignantly denied by both (p. 159); and no one ever came forward to support it.[1] Langhorn's successor, Streynsham Master, disparaged the former's administration of Madras in a paper that has survived; but the most that he alleged regarding the relations between the two was that Kasi Viranna 'had the boldnes to make Sir W. L. stay a considerable time at his house when he hath called in there (as he would often doe)'.[2] And when Master became Agent, he continued to employ Kasi Viranna and his partners as sole contractors for supplying piece-goods, in spite of the Company's objection to the monopoly.[3]

That objection was mainly based on the desirability of competition, so as to reduce the cost of the investments. Langhorn contended that this result was doubtful, and that the Company gained in other ways. Thus less money had to be advanced to the merchants than would otherwise have been the case; and as Kasi Viranna and his partners were reliable, the Council escaped having any bad debts through merchants defaulting (pp. 148, 181). It was also fortunate in not having the incubus of a large debt-at-interest, such as that which so greatly impeded the Company's trade at Surat.[4]

Another advantage was that Kasi Viranna and his partners ordinarily (though reluctantly on account of heavy stocks already on their hands) took over the whole of the Company's goods that were brought from England each year, at agreed prices in part-exchange for calicoes bespoken from them. This avoided the difficulty in their disposal that occurred elsewhere. There was, therefore, a good deal to be said for the system of trading following by the Council at Madras.

This view assumes that Langhorn and his Council were acting honestly towards the Company and were not cheating it (as no doubt some of its servants did) by selling European goods to Kasi Viranna and

[1] The allegation seems to be intrinsically improbable, as Langhorn was a wealthy man (Love, i. 330) and Kasi Viranna had already been installed in the privileged position of 'chief merchant' before Langhorn became Agent. The main incentives for such a large bribe were, therefore, absent. Cf. *D.N.B.* xxxii 104, which says that Langhorn 'fell a victim, like his predecessor, to charges of private trading by which he was said to have realized the too obviously large sum of £7,000 *per annum*'.

[2] *Master Papers*, No. 10 (*S.M.* i. 66).

[3] *S.M.* i. 71, 72, 74, &c. The Company ultimately recognized Kasi Viranna's good services by proposing to give him a gold medal and chain, but this intention was frustrated by his death in 1680 (*Ct. Min.*, 1677–9, 308; Love, i. 416).

[4] *E.F.*, i. xvi. Cf. p. 181 *n.*

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his partners at unduly low prices and buying Indian goods from them above the market rates.[1] On this point the Company seems to have entertained suspicions, mainly based on information from Lawrence Sawcer, whom it had sent to Madras to help in sorting calicoes. He alleged that Langhorn and the warehouse-keeper, Bridger, accepted inferior goods in spite of his objections (p. 123 *n.*). On the other hand, the merchants complained, not only of the restrictions imposed by the Company as to the quality of the goods to be supplied, but also of the strictness of the sorting by the Council (pp. 147, 176)—a fact that goes against a supposition of undue leniency and favouritism. As already stated, most of the cloth exported to London had to come from up-country, which enhanced its cost and hindered improvement in its manufacture.

Against such an assumption of honesty there is no evidence that Langhorn and his colleagues, in conducting their private trade, were guilty of malpractices such as those adopted by Mohun and some others of the Masulipatam factory. Mohun's main charge against the Madras Council was merely that they traded in the Company's commodities (p. 152); but if Langhorn was guilty of this disobedience to strict orders, it is surprising that it finds no place among the mud which Sawcer threw at him. Moreover, Mohun subsequently withdrew all his charges against Langhorn (pp. 177–8). His only other accuser was Major Puckle, whom the Company sent out in 1675 to inspect the factories at Masulipatam and in Bengal. His 'surmises', as Langhorn called them (p. 178 *n.*), do not seem, however, to have gone beyond comments on the extent of the Agent's shipping and private trade. Langhorn himself insisted that the latter had added little to his fortune (pp. 127, 166), and there is no apparent reason for disbelieving this statement, especially in view of the impediments to trade caused by the conflict over the French occupation of San Thomé.

As to the large amount of gold bullion annually brought out by the ships, the Council profited by having its own mint at which it could be turned into pagodas. These were used not only at Madras, but also by the Masulipatam factory, and were current up-country (p. 164), though they had to compete with the heavier pagodas coined at Golconda.[2] The mint also turned out tiny gold 'fanams' and copper 'cash' (p. 87). During most, if not the whole, of our period, it was under the management of Joseph Hinmers, assisted by Nathaniel Keeble, who had some

[1] Cf. Wheeler, pp. 43, 47.
[2] Cf. Love, i. 193, 195, 196.

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knowledge of assaying gold. Of its working the records give little or no information, except as to details of the coining of pagodas, which came under discussion with the Company (p. 22 *n.*).

Coming to the garrison of Fort St. George, no periodical rolls of it are forthcoming, so its strength cannot be exactly stated; but in 1673, during the siege of San Thomé, when it was naturally increased, it mainly consisted of four companies of British (or 'Christians', which may have included some Portuguese) aggregating 221 men and 20 officers (including sergeants and corporals) and a gunner's crew of 14, making a total of 255 in all. In addition there were 163 Portuguese troops, and 550 native soldiers engaged as auxiliaries (p. 72). In August 1674 the 'white' troops had increased to about 300, and the Indians to 600 (p. 119); but in November, i.e. after the siege was over, the garrison had been reduced to about 265 'Christians' and 180 Indians (p. 120). In 1675 the number of British companies was reduced to two, and in the next year each company was limited to 80 men, plus drummers and officers (pp. 150, 154). Emergencies, like the blockade by Podela Lingappa in 1676, and Sivaji's incursion in 1677, led to temporary increases, but the additions numbered only about 150 or under (pp. 169, 185). Uniforms, though suggested by the Company, were not provided (p. 143 *n.*). As to the garrison's behaviour, the scanty information available shows that at any rate there was no serious trouble like the mutiny that took place at Bombay in 1672;[1] but Langhorn said he found it difficult to maintain discipline without the power to apply martial law (p. 72), though this did not prevent him from framing strict military regulations, including restrictions on the supply of drink to soldiers (pp. 31–2 *n.*, 72 *n.*). According to Streynsham Master,[2] Langhorn monopolized 'the command of the military' to the exclusion of his Council, but he praises him for having exercised each company in turn every week, 'by which means he kept the soldyers in some awe and greater temperance than otherwise they would practice'.

An incident showing Langhorn's religious tolerance—unusual at that time—was his ordering a *feu de joie* by the garrison troops 'at the consecration of a popish church' (p. 180). This annoyed the Company, but supports his claim to have been a 'peace-maker on all occasions farr and near' (p. 167), for no doubt his main object was to please the Roman Catholic inhabitants of Madras. At the same time, it would, of course, be unpopular with his fellow countrymen: his refusal, therefore, 'to

[1] *E.F.* i, pp. x, 90–102.
[2] *S.M.* i. 65.

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listen to any that would prevent him' (p. 180) showed courage, as also did his 'uncivil tone' to the Company which was bound to meet with its resentment. On the other hand, his pacific tendencies and easy-going methods made him unduly lax in dealing with the feuds and disorders that occurred in the subordinate factories at Masulipatam and in Bengal, as will appear from the sections relating to them. He and his Council took no adequate steps to suppress the indiscipline that prevailed among the Company's servants in those parts, and (though there were difficulties, especially after the appointments of Puckle and Master as 'supervisors' in those factories) their inquiry into the various charges of misconduct was superficial and seems to indicate an inclination to avoid responsibility. As Master observed in the paper from which quotations have already been given, 'there hath noe regard been to keep them [the factories] in any order or quiett . . . soe that all his time they have been in incessant broyles and undetermined differences by many very obscure orders and directions'.[1] He was, in fact, a bad controller of quarrelsome and insubordinate officers.

This did not, however, much affect his administration of Madras; and his ability in managing its 'foreign affairs', as already stated, saved it from serious danger. The trouble that he evidently took over his correspondence about them confirms Dr. Fryer's statement (i. 106) that he was 'a gentleman of indefatigable industry'. His addition of the words 'and worth' is supported by what has already been mentioned to his credit and by the certificate as to his good services to the Company and the inhabitants of Madras, to which Master and the other members of his Council subscribed (p. 178). Valedictory testimonials must often be discounted, but for reasons already given (p. xiv) the records appear to contain nothing to invalidate this one; and the good work he did for Madras deserves recognition.

II. MASULIPATAM

During these eight years the Masulipatam factory had a troublous time, due mainly to serious dissension among its members and their excessive private trade. Each of its three successive heads was in turn discarded. The first one, William Jearsey, who had been its Chief since August 1662, was so engrossed in his own extensive trade that he neglected the Company's business, used its stock for his private purposes, and had submitted no accounts for five years. For this and other misbehaviour the Company dismissed him in December 1669 and sent

[1] *S.M.* i. 65.

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out a new Chief, Richard Mohun. He took over charge of the factory accordingly in July 1670; but Jearsey's procrastination in furnishing promised accounts, and the suspicion that he was seeking an opportunity to dispose of his property to the prejudice of the Company, led the Masulipatam Council (which included Langhorn and Hinmers from Madras) to seize some of his vessels and goods. Against this action Jearsey protested, claiming that he was a creditor, and not a debtor, of the Company—a point that could not be settled in the absence of proper accounts. Another difficulty was that Agent Foxcroft sympathized with Jearsey, who had vigorously sided with him against Winter's usurpation. He and his colleagues disapproved of the seizure, but abstained from interfering on the ground that the Company had entrusted the matter entirely to Mohun and his Council. The latter accordingly maintained the attachment, and this pressure resulted in Jearsey's producing some accounts, but it naturally embittered the Council's relations with him. His aggressive attitude culminated in acts of violence by his armed peons against servants of the factory in February and March 1671. He also disregarded an order of the Council that he should go to Madras, until it was grudgingly confirmed by Foxcroft. Jearsey left Masulipatam on 25 March 1671, but his departure was defiant and spectacular, 'with his collours flying, drum, trumpetts, pipes, and hornes, sounding', and a regiment of peons to attend him (pp. 214–15).[1]

Mohun is said to have started well, being 'mighty exact and just in all the Company's affaires' (p. 219); but he soon followed Jearsey's bad example in big private trading and the bad practices to which it gave rise.[2] His health also was not good. In August 1671 he suffered from a lethargy which prevented his doing any business. In December 1672 he fell ill and again became incapacitated, being practically off his head. He recovered, however, and was directing the factory's business in July and August 1673; but in the next month he appears to have lost the confidence of Langhorn and his Council, as they withdrew all funds from his hands except those required for necessary expenses. In 1674 they continued to prevent any investment by the factory and remitted none of the stock and treasure that the Company had allotted to it. Its business was thus brought to a standstill. There were also

[1] Jearsey settled at Madras as a freeman, and gave Langhorn some trouble by his intrigues (pp. 55–6, 58, 126). He quieted down afterwards, and the Company eventually acquiesced in his remaining at Madras. The controversy about his accounts ended in his favour (see p. 164 n.)

[2] Cf. Mohun's admission to Puckle (p. 263) that it was the practice of all the Chiefs there to use the Company's money for their private occasions, &c.

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disputes between Mohun and his 'second', Matthew Mainwaring, and in August they sent charges against each other to the Fort. After an *ex parte* inquiry into those against Mohun, the Madras Council in June 1675 suspended him from his office, and appointed Mainwaring to take it over from him. With some difficulty the change was effected about the middle of July, by which time it was supported by the receipt of orders from the Company that plainly implied their sanction to Mohun's removal from the Chiefship at the discretion of the Agent and Council; the latter were directed to appoint Commissioners for the management of the factory, without having anyone of them 'to be Chief more than the rest, only as they shall be first named by you in the Commission for order sake' (p. 257). Not unnaturally this order gave rise to some difficulty. Mainwaring, who headed the list of Commissioners, was at first allowed the nominal rank of Chief for the purpose of administering oaths, as the Company's charter gave no one under that rank power to do this; but a few weeks later Langhorn thought it better to revoke this order (pp. 258, 263). Consequently the inquiry into the charges against Mohun and Mainwaring had to be transferred from Masulipatam to Madras, but (owing to difficulties in getting both of them there at the same time) the proceedings of the Agent and Council were ineffective. Mohun, therefore, remained at Masulipatam under suspension and participated in some of the numerous quarrels that took place between the Commissioners in the factory.[1]

Details of the serious friction that occurred will be found in the section relating to Masulipatam; here it is only necessary to mention some of the reasons for it. One was the Company's direction about having no superiority among the Commissioners. Mainwaring, as the first of them, kept the factory stock and cash in his custody, and this was resented by some of the others (pp. 265, 303–4, 310). George Chamberlain was one of them, and in October 1676 he came into conflict with the rest of the Commissioners over his peculation of Company's money. He retorted by showing that treasure received from Madras had been used by Mainwaring for his private trade; but whereas the latter was able to produce other money in its stead, Chamberlain's indebtedness prevented his doing likewise. A similar state of insolvency afflicted Robert Fleetwood, the second Commissioner, whose debts to the Governor of Masulipatam and other Muhammedans gave considerable trouble to the factory after his death in September 1676.

[1] Cf. pp. 265, 270, 271 *post*. The diaries of Mohun and Puckle give an interesting sidelight on the dissension and insubordination that prevailed in the factory.

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The excessive indulgence in private trade which led to this not only harmed the Company's business, but also caused grave dissension. The bitter quarrel between Mainwaring and Chamberlain produced a crop of charges against each other and obstacles to the proper conduct of the factory's business. Another source of friction were disputes over seniority; thus Chamberlain had a grievance against Christopher Hatton, the third Commissioner, on this account. Squabbles among the seniors naturally spread to junior members of the establishment and weakened discipline. Mainwaring's indefinite position was further shaken by the appointments of Puckle and Master to inspect and report on the factory. It is, therefore, no wonder that youthful exuberance, stimulated by drink, should lead to incidents such as the flinging of a brickbat into his quarters (p. 306).

Mohun's downfall in 1675 was followed by that of Mainwaring in 1677. Master evidently distrusted him, and the Agent and Council virtually suspended him by placing the cloth-investment for the year in the hands of Hatton instead. They also prepared the way for the removal of the main disputants by arranging for an inquiry to be held into the charges against Mainwaring and Chamberlain at the Fort in 1678. On the other hand, Mohun, in spite of his indebtedness and mismanagement, made a surprising return to the favour of the Company: on his humble request for pardon and acknowledgement of guilt, it reinstated him, though in a lower capacity elsewhere (pp. 177–8, 323–4). Another of the Commissioners, Joseph Arnold, who was a supporter of Mainwaring, left the Company's service at the end of 1677.[1] The period closed, therefore, with better prospects for the factory's welfare, more particularly as an exporter of goods required by the Company.

Its investments during the eight years were far from satisfactory. That of 1673 was only a small one (p. 249), and none was made in 1674. Of the other years up to 1676, Langhorn said (and his statement is borne out by the Masulipatam records) that only once had the investment been well done, and that was in 1670, when he and Hinmers were at the place (p. 155). Those for 1676 and 1677 seem to have shown some improvement, but not to have supplied the full quantities indented for. The records afford ample material for attributing part of this deficiency to slackness, dishonesty, or other mismanagement; but much of it was due to obstruction by the Governor of Masulipatam or other local officials. This mainly took the form of interference with the

[1] Arnold had accused Master of having been bribed by Mohun (pp. 308–9). This may have contributed to his retirement.

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transport of goods to the factory and generally arose from their customary rapacity. There were no less than four Governors of Masulipatam in succession during this period,[1] and each change involved the factory in satisfying arbitrary demands for presents. Its relations with the Governor improved, however, after the visit of the King of Golconda, Abul Hasan Shah, to Masulipatam in January 1676. He was evidently pleased with his reception at the factory, and Mainwaring managed to obtain a farman[2] from him about its trading privileges in more favourable terms than those of another one that had been granted in July 1675. But unfortunately his rule was so weak that his orders were frequently disregarded by local Governors (p. 176).

The factory was ordinarily in a defenceless state, whereas that of the Dutch was protected by twenty 'great guns' (p. 287); but a mutual agreement to avoid hostilities, and the Golconda sovereignty, prevented any real danger to the factors during the Dutch war of 1672–4. The ten ships sent out by the Company in 1673, however, came into conflict with a Dutch fleet of about twice that size on its second voyage from Masulipatam to Madras, an engagement taking place off Petapoli (Nizampatam) on 22 August, which resulted in the loss of three of the Company's ships. A full account of this, based on extant records, is given on pp. 241–6, and a second-hand one is contained in Abbé Carré's *Travels* (ii. 662–5). The factory also lost five boatloads of goods which were captured by the Dutch on their way to Madras in January 1673.

The above résumé will give an idea of the chief troubles of the factory. It is only necessary to notice briefly a few other items of interest. Besides the English and Dutch factories there were two others at Masulipatam, one belonging to the French and the other to the Danes. The records make little mention of the latter, but give some interesting information about events affecting the Dutch and French factories. In 1672 the French factors were nervous about possible reprisals by Golconda for the capture of San Thomé, and left Masulipatam for some months till their fears were allayed (pp. 223–4). In 1673 their head, the well-known François Martin, was employed by De la Haye at San Thomé and elsewhere, and in 1674 he became the first

[1] These were (1) Mir Abdullah Bakir, 1670–2, (2) an unnamed eunuch, generally referred to as a 'capon' (p. 228), 1672–4, (3) Mirza Ibrahim, 1674–5, and (4) Agha Jalal, 1675–7. There were also higher Governors of the district in which Masulipatam lay, to whom presents had to be given. Of these Muhammad Beg (1670–1) and Jaffar Beg (1671–2) are mentioned in the text as giving trouble to the factory.

[2] As to the meaning of this word, see note at p. 12 *post*.

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Chief of the new French acquisition, Pondicherry (pp. 104 *n.*, 132, 296 *n.*).

About 45 miles from Masulipatam lay Madapollam (part of Narsapur), which was both a health-resort for the factors and a subordinate factory for procuring piece-goods. Usually one of the Council was its Chief, and in 1677 it became the headquarters of Hatton for the management of the investment. Petapoli also had a subordinate factory for most of this period, under the sole management of Ambrose Salisbury, who died there in January 1676.

The inspections made by Puckle and Master are referred to later on (p. xxii).

III. BENGAL

In Bengal, as at Masulipatam, considerable trouble was caused by insubordination and quarrels among the factors. In 1670 no less than three of them (Hall, Stiles, and Brodnax) disobeyed orders as to their posting; and at the beginning of that year the Balasore factory was the scene of disorderly conduct on their part, as well as of turbulence by Mrs. Brodnax—a virago who broke into the quarters of Shem Bridges, the Chief in the Bay, and threw out his clothes. Stiles, however, died in June, and Brodnax left the Company's service, so of the three malcontents only Hall remained in November 1670, when Walter Clavell succeeded Bridges as Chief. The unseemly squabbles that ensued between Hall and others are fully described in the Bengal section of the text, and call for little notice here. In December 1672 Clavell and his colleagues on the Bay Council removed Hall from his post at Balasore and sent him to Madras, with a recommendation that he should be deported to England. In the following month they also deposed another factor of similar seniority, viz. John Smith, from his chiefship at Dacca. Langhorn and his Council thought that Hall and Smith had been badly treated; and much to Clavell's indignation the Fort authorities permitted Hall to return to duty at Balasore in August 1673. In February 1675 they followed this up by prescribing a 'Box and Cox' arrangement for Hall to act as Chief at Balasore and Hugli in the absence of Clavell, and by reinstating Smith in the chiefship at Dacca—orders which the Bay Council serenely disregarded (pp. 341, 355–6, 385–6, 393).

The broils produced complaints to the Company and numerous charges and counter-charges, in which not only Clavell, Hall, and Smith were involved, but also some others. Among these was Vincent,

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who to Hall's disgust had superseded him as Chief of the Kasimbazar factory in 1671 (p. 333). Vincent brought various charges of fraud, &c., against Hall, who retaliated in kind; his accusations against Vincent included one of complicity in the beating of a Hindu debtor, one Raghu Poddar, at the Kasimbazar factory in August 1673, which was alleged to have caused the victim's death (pp. 370–2).

This state of affairs, and similar quarrels at Masulipatam, led the Company to send out Major Puckle in 1675 to inspect the factories and investigate the disputes. He spent seven months at Masulipatam or in its neighbourhood, and did not reach Bengal till 31 March 1676. Though he took great pains (p. 405), his inquiries and efforts to smooth things both at Masulipatam and in Bengal had little effect. He was handicapped by bad health and died at Kasimbazar on 16 October 1676. It was fortunate that in that year the Company had commissioned Streynsham Master to supersede Puckle and succeed Langhorn as Agent at Madras, for Master had a personality, experience, and a status that eminently fitted him for the task. Reaching Kasimbazar on 23 September, he ably presided over almost continuous sittings of the Bay Council up to 2 November. It first took up the case of Raghu Poddar. The result was that Vincent was acquitted of complicity in his death, but the factory broker, who admitted having had the deceased beaten by peons, was dismissed in disgrace (pp. 382–3, 402–4). The Bay Council then inquired into the various charges against other factors. Only those against Hall and Smith succeeded, and their dismissal from the Company's service put an end to the main discord that had disturbed the factories.[1]

Master also introduced administrative reforms, both at Masulipatam and in Bengal, with the care and thoroughness that characterized him. Among his regulations was one that 'the letters and advices to the Honourable Company may be addressed with a [proper] respect, as becomes servants to their masters; they are always to be wrote in a submissive stile'.[2] This might usefully have been extended to letters addressed by the Bay Council to the Fort authorities, for there was marked friction between the two Councils, as is shown by Clavell's disobedience already mentioned, and by the disrespectful language he used to the Agent and Council in protesting against their order for Hall's return to Bengal (pp. 355–6). Correspondence between the Bay

[1] A good account of the cases against Smith and Hall is given in Sir Richard Temple's edition of Streynsham Master's diaries, i.e. *S.M.* i. 156–74.

[2] *S.M.* ii. 7.

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Council and its subordinates also contained 'unhandsome' remarks about the Agency, to which both the Fort and the Company objected. The root of this dissension lay in the question of the degree of control to be exercised by the Fort. Clavell complained of Langhorn's failure to give clear instructions in cases where his orders were sought, as well as of his undue interference in minor matters. Langhorn retorted that he had given 'ample advices', and that Clavell and his colleagues were really seeking to 'break loose from their subordination to the Fort' (pp. 381–2, 396). The truth of the matter was perhaps that in difficult questions each side was disinclined to take responsibility for a decision.

On account of the Dutch war in 1672–4 no ships or stock were sent to Balasore in 1673, and this put a virtual stop to the Company's trade in Bengal for that year. The war also hampered the transit of goods between Hugli and Balasore and the raising of money by bills of exchange drawn on the Company, which were usually cashed by the Dutch. Consequently the Council suffered from a lack of funds during 1673, 1674, and part of 1675. The sale of broadcloth and other European goods was also poor (cf. pp. 372–3, 393). These difficulties partly explain the admitted fact that the shipments of the Bay Council to the Company during this period were mostly on the short side (p. 436 *n.*). Another outstanding cause is clearly shown by the story of the troubles that beset the factories in obtaining and forwarding their supplies of goods for the Company. In particular the one at Patna, which furnished the bulk of the saltpetre exported from Bengal, and that at Hugli, whence the goods had to be forwarded to Balasore for shipment,[1] suffered from stoppage of the Company's trade caused by the Governors and other Mughal officials. At first this obstruction was spasmodic, and the Bay Council hoped to remove it by a parwana which in June 1672 it succeeded in getting from Shaista Khan, the Viceroy in Bengal. This confirmed the Company's trade privileges including its exemption from all customs on their goods.[2] In 1675 the Council procured another parwana from him to facilitate its business at Patna. With the sanction of the Bay Council, Job Charnock, the Chief of that factory, also tried to procure a farman from Aurangzeb by sending a vakil to his court in 1674, but the vakil's death and other difficulties prevented success (pp. 375, 410, 441). In 1676 serious trouble arose from reported

[1] The Company wanted its ships to go direct to Hugli, but—beyond some surveys—little progress was made during this period in satisfying this desire. Only one ship went there (p. 342).

[2] A translation of the parwana is given in *S.M.* ii. 21–4; the meaning of 'parwana' in this case is much the same as 'licence'. The Dutch Company on the other hand had to pay a customs-duty of 4 per cent.

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orders of the Emperor for the levy of customs at 2 per cent. on all the Company's goods (pp. 409–10). In December Shaista Khan sent orders for this levy to Malik Zindi, the Governor of Hugli, and the factory diary gives a lively account of the obstruction and pressure used against the factors in his attempt to overcome their refusal to pay any customs. The factory business practically ceased up to August 1677, notwithstanding an order by Shaista Khan in May 1677 to suspend action for the levy of customs (p. 417). The delay in giving effect to it was partly due to a separate dispute between the factors and the Governor over another matter, in the course of which his men broke into the factory, wounded its Chief, Edward Reade, and carried off two English prisoners (pp. 418–19). It was not till November 1677 that this affair was settled by the interposition of Malik Kasim, the father of Malik Zindi. Again, at Patna trouble ensued in 1677 from a demand for payment of customs, and the saltpetre-boats were unable to leave till 23 October, so that Charnock feared they might arrive too late for the ships (pp. 424, 430–1). This nearly happened, and the Kasimbazar factory had an exciting time when the boats were detained on the adjacent river and impressed for the use of Shaista Khan, who was preparing to leave for Delhi. The saltpetre was put ashore, but by strenuous efforts other boats were obtained for its transport to Hugli, which they reached by the beginning of December (p. 432).

Shaista Khan's departure was due to his recall by Aurangzeb from the post of Viceroy, which he had held for fourteen years. He left Dacca on 8 December 1677 without giving another farman for the protection of the Company's privileges which the Bay Council had striven to obtain. Its main hopes of improving the position rested, therefore, on the favour of his successor, Fidai Khan, who had not reached Dacca by the end of 1677. The uncertainty caused despondency, and both the Bay Council and Langhorn were inclined to think it would be necessary to resort to a withdrawal of the factories from Bengal for a time, in order to obtain proper treatment (pp. 419–20, 441–2). On the other hand, Master considered that the best course would be to seek a farman from the Emperor himself and wrote a forcible letter to the Company on the point (p. 410).

Meanwhile a change had taken place in the chiefship of the Bay. In 1677 there was exceptionally heavy mortality among the Company's servants at Balasore. Clavell and his wife died there early in August, and Vincent (as the next in seniority) provisionally succeeded him. John Marshall, who took an unusual interest in the inhabitants and

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customs of the country,[1] and who was then Chief of the Balasore factory, as also others of its members, died about a month later from what seems to have been a virulent epidemic (pp. 425–7, 438). This particular period, therefore, closed darkly; but Master's work had at any rate produced a better atmosphere than that prevailing previously. And, before the end of 1677, Vincent held council-meetings to deal with cases against Company's servants that had remained over for investigation, such as the charge of atheism against Samuel Hervey, then acting Chief of the Dacca factory (pp. 425, 433–4).

From this brief and somewhat gloomy outline of the principal events affecting the various factories the Editor turns to the pleasant duty of expressing his acknowledgements to those who have helped him in preparing this volume. In particular he is greatly indebted to Mr. J. R. Martin, C.I.E., for his able assistance in dealing with the records of 1670–5; also to Miss L. M. Anstey for other help, as well as for her articles on 'Some Anglo-Indian Worthies of the Seventeenth Century', published in the *Indian Antiquary*, which supplement the work of Sir Richard Temple in his editions of 'Bowrey' and 'Streynsham Master' referred to in the list of Citations at p. xxxi. He is grateful for further occasional assistance given by Sir Patrick Cadell, C.S.I., and the late Sir Richard Burn, K.C.S.I.; also for the kind co-operation of the owner of the original picture of Sir William Langhorn, for her permitting its reproduction in this volume, and of Dr. John Allan, C.B., Keeper of the department of Coins and Medals in the British Museum from 1931 to 1949, for his supplying the casts of the coins from which the second illustration is taken.

Untoward circumstances have prevented the publication of this volume for over ten years. The script was ready in February 1940, but its printing (like that of similar publications) was suspended during the Second World War. On its termination further delay ensued, mainly owing to the change of government in India, which began in 1946 and ended with her independence from 15 August 1947.

I have omitted the usual diacritical marks in the Index for the following reasons. These have been mainly confined to showing the long 'a' (ā) in an Indian word, with variable exceptions, such as where the 'ā' occurs at the end of it. The practice is largely haphazard, and in some cases may be misleading. Thus 'Sivaji' has been marked

[1] See pp. 326 *n.*, 335 *n.*, 383 *n.*

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'Sivāji', which a reader not conversant with Marathi would naturally take as showing the correct pronunciation to be 'Sivahji' with the stress on the 'ah'; but the stress is properly on the first syllable 'Siv', so that the 'ā' has a tendency to be pronounced shorter than it would otherwise. Further reasons for the change, which has the approval of Sir William Foster, are the need for economy of time and cost, and the general knowledge the ordinary reader has of how words like Raja, Nawab, and Khan are correctly pronounced.

C. F.

April, 1951.

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CORRIGENDA FOR VOLUME I (N.S.)

p. 1, 2nd *fn.* For '1699' *read* '1669'.

p. 15, „ „ Alter the asterisk to †.

3rd „ „ „ „ ‡.

p. 17, 2nd *fn.* The statement that in the eighteenth century the Company's flag had become familiar at Boston and other ports in the American colonies requires correction. Further research has shown that the Company sent no ships to America in that century: see my article on the East India Company's striped flag in the *Mariner's Mirror*, xxiii, No. 4, for Oct. 1937.

p. 38, 3rd *fn.* *Substitute* Sur. let. to Co. 1 June, O.C. 3567, f. 7; Sur. con. 5 Feb., 2 Misc. 113. The 'Zelpha' referred to in the consultation was probably (as Sir William Foster has pointed out to me) Julfa, the Armenian suburb of Ispahan, cf. Fryer, ii. 252–3.

p. 131, 6th *fn.* For 'Fryer, i. 303' *read* 'Fryer, i. 307'.

p. 209, l. 6 from bottom. For 'Bosra' *read* 'Basra'.

p. 238, l. 4 from bottom. For 'Bengal' *read* 'Batavia'.

p. 366. In item 'Bhang', after '142' *add* '161'.
In item 'Bombay', col. 2, sub-head 'church for' *add* '185'.

p. 370. In item 'Chase' for '388' *read* '358'.

p. 375. In item 'Gombroon' for '274' in penultimate line *read* '273'.

p. 377. In item 'Kung' for '285' *read* '286'.

p. 379. In item 'Mhowra', after '142' *add* '160'.

p. 380. In items 'Oil' and 'Opium', after '142' *add* '160'.

p. 381. In item 'Peons' for '188' read '189'.

p. 386. After item 'Sumatra' *insert* 'Sundarji Parbhu, 266'.

ADDENDA FOR THIS VOLUME

p. xiv. The opinion here expressed as to Langhorn and his colleagues being not guilty of trading in the Company's commodities has been shaken by some papers of Capt. Richard Maples, commander of the *Triplicane* in 1677–80, extant at Trinity House, which I have recently examined at the request of that corporation. These, though they do not directly implicate Langhorn, yet clearly show that three members of his Council (as well as other Company's servants at Madras) were carrying on private trade with Bantam in the same kinds of cloth as those in which the Company itself dealt both there and in England. I hope to get an article I have written on those papers published in the *JRAS*.

p. 229, 2nd *fn.* The surmise that Samuel White was the one who attained high position and notoriety in Siam is corroborated by Mohun's Diary (36 F.S.G. 93), which includes him among the 'pylotts' (i.e. sea captains) who were operating from Masulipatam in 1676–77.

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REFERENCES, CITATIONS, ABBREVIATIONS, ETC.

These follow the lines of those in the first volume of this 'New Series': e.g. 26 F.S.G. 55 means page 55 of volume 26 of the Fort St. George (Madras) list in the Factory Records; and if the reference gives a date without specifying the year, the latter is the year that is being dealt with in the text.

The use of asterisks to distinguish some footnotes, as mentioned in the second paragraph on its p. xxv, is discarded in this and subsequent volumes.

In addition to the abbreviations in footnotes mentioned on pp. xxv–xxviii of the first volume, the following are used in this one.

I. BOOKS OR JOURNALS CITED

B.P.	*Bengal and Madras Papers*, vol. i. Imperial Record Department, Calcutta, 1928.
Bowrey	Thomas Bowrey. *A Geographical Account of the Countries Round the Bay of Bengal.* Edited by Sir Richard Temple, Bart. Hakluyt Society, 1905.
C.H.I.	*The Cambridge History of India*, vol. iv (Mughal Period), edited by Sir Richard Burn, and vol. v (British India), edited by H. H. Dodwell.
Carré	*The Travels of Abbé Carré in India and the Near East* (being a translation of his Journal for 1672–74 made by Lady Fawcett: edited by Sir Charles Fawcett with the assistance of Sir Richard Burn). 3 vols. Hakluyt Society, 1947–8.
D.N.B.	*Dictionary of National Biography.*
E.F. i	*The English Factories in India*, New Series, vol. i.
H.D.	*The Diary of William Hedges.* See the second entry (*E.F.* i, p. xxvi) under 'Yule', an abbreviation which in this volume is reserved for *Hobson-Jobson.*
Imp. Gaz. Ind.	*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, 3rd edn. 26 vols. Oxford, 1907–9.
J.R.A.S.	Royal Asiatic Society *Journals.*
Khan	Shafaat Ahmad Khan, *John Marshall in India.* Oxford, 1927.
Love	Lt.-Col. H. D. Love. *Vestiges of Old Madras*, 1640–1800. 4 vols. (Indian Record Series) London, 1911–13.
M.R.	*Madras Printed Records*, Diaries and Consultation Books, 1672–81.
Madras Man. Admn.	*Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency*, Pt. III, Glossary, 1893.
Manucci	Niccolao Manucci. *Storia do Mogor.* Translated by William Irvine, 4 vols. (Indian Text Series.) London, 1907–08.
Martin's *Mémoires*, *or* Martin	*Mémoires de François Martin* (1665–96), published by A. Martineau. 3 vols. Paris, 1931.
S.M.	*The Diaries of Streynsham Master*, 1675–80. Edited by Sir Richard Temple, Bart. 2 vols. (Indian Record Series.) London, 1911.
Wheeler	Prof. J. Talboys Wheeler, *Madras in the Olden Time*, 1639–1702. Madras, 1682.

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In the case of 'Sarkar', the 4th edn. (1948) of Sir Jadhnath's *Shivaji and His Times* is also referred to in some footnotes, where this is specified.

II. RECORDS (*Whitehall, London*)

Bal.	Balasore	Mad.	Madapollam
Dac.	Dacca	Mar. R.	Marine Records
Fort *or* F.S.G.	Fort St. George (at Madras)	Mas.	Masulipatam
Hug.	Hugli	Pat.	Patna
Kas.	Kasimbazar	P.D.	Puckle's Diary

III. GENERAL

Bay	Bay of Bengal	Ind.	Indian
Beng.	Bengali	Md.	Muhammad
Gaz.	Gazetteer	Tam.	Tamil
Imp.	Imperial	Tel.	Telegu

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THE ENGLISH FACTORIES IN INDIA 1670–1677

MADRAS, 1670

THE records for this year are scanty and details of events are often wanting. At its beginning George Foxcroft was Agent at Madras. Forcibly deprived of his Office and imprisoned by Sir Edward Winter in 1665, his release and restoration had been effected in 1668 by a Commission under Royal authority and with the help of a strong fleet.[1]

The Commission had managed to avoid the use of force, but only by the grant of unduly favourable terms to Sir Edward Winter, which left him and his followers free to remain in India or to transport themselves and their families and estates to Europe.[2] He had moved to Masulipatam in 1669[3] and was still there (or in its neighbourhood) in 1670.[4]

Foxcroft had asked for permission to return to England, and sanction to his doing so, as well as his successor designate (Sir William Langhorn),[5] were on their way out on the ships that left England in December 1669. He was ordered to return by the ships that were to come out in 1671.[6]

In 1668 Foxcroft had represented to the Company the losses sustained by himself and others who had remained faithful to it during Winter's rebellion, and had asked the Company to compensate them by the grant of such rewards as would make up for their suffering and 'the totall loss of the improvement of their stocks' during their imprisonment.[7] To this request the Company in their despatch of 7 December 1669 gave an unsympathetic and temporizing reply:

Wee take notice of your desires that wee would consider your sufferings in the time of the late mutiny, but (upon serious debate thereof

[1] *E.F.*, 1668–9, 126–7, 131–6.
[2] Ibid., 132.
[3] Ibid., 275, 279.
[4] O.C. 3446, f. 1.
[5] Sir William Langhorn, born in 1629, was the son of an East Indian merchant of the same name. He succeeded to his father's business, became a wealthy man, and in 1668 was created a baronet. Of his pursuits previous to his arrival in India in 1671 he gives some indication in a letter quoted at p. 80 *post*. The surname was also spelt Langhorne, and this is the form adopted in the *D.N.B.*, xxxii. 103; but he himself generally signed it without an 'e' at the end. Accordingly I follow Love (i. 339 et seq.) in spelling it in the same way.
[6] Desp. 7 Dec. 1669, 4 L.B. 297. King Charles II had in fact commanded Foxcroft's recall, and its postponement to 1671 was a concession (*Ct. Min.*, 1668–70, 251, 276; *E.F.*, 1665–7, 316–17).
[7] Ibid., 1668–9, 147.

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had) find it not convenient, as affaires now stand, to doe anything therein and therefore have deferred it for this time.[1]

In the first half of the year Foxcroft's Council consisted of Jeremy Sambrook, John Bridger, Richard Smithson, and Timothy Wilks, in this order of seniority. Smithson, however, who had returned from Masulipatam by 12 January (p. 195), died sometime before the arrival in June of the ships from England.[2] In addition Nathaniel Foxcroft—the Agent's son—and Edward Herries had been provisionally promoted to the Council in 1668, and sanction had been sought to their appointments.[3] In the case of Herries this was expressly refused by the Company in its despatch of 7 December 1669, which also ordered Nathaniel Foxcroft to return to England by the next ships.[4] Till the receipt of these orders they continued to act as Members of Council.

Without them the Council was weak in numbers and efficiency, as many of the factors intended for the Coast had gone to Bengal. The Company fixed its strength at six in addition to the Agent and made the following new appointments to it: Sir William Langhorn to be 'second' till he succeeded as Agent: and Joseph Hinmers,[5] who returned to India by the same ships, to take rank next after Sambrook.[6] Neither of these, however, took any material part in the Council's proceedings during the year. Langhorn and Hinmers stayed only sixteen days in Madras before embarking for Masulipatam, and during that time Langhorn, who was indisposed, resided outside the town for the sake of quiet.[7]

Six ships had been dispatched by the Company in December 1669, viz. the *Return*, *Rainbow*, *Coast Frigate*, *Mediterranean Merchant*, *Zante Frigate*, and *Happy Entrance*.[8] The *Rainbow*, with Sir William Langhorn

[1] 4 L.B. 289. Probably the Company's attitude was due to some charges of peculation brought against Foxcroft (cf. *E.F.*, 1668–9, 276). In 1676 his account with the Company was finally settled, and he was allowed full salary as Agent for the whole time he was imprisoned, though the Company said it was unusual for Governments to allow their servants salary during imprisonment. He was also given an additional £100, as a token of the Company's respect; while his deceased son, Nathaniel, was similarly treated as on full salary for the time he was in prison (*Ct. Min.*, 1674–6, 359, 360). Jeremy Sambrook, Winter's third prisoner, who had started on a prosperous career as a merchant in the City of London (*E.F.*, 1668–9, 294), was presented with '100 oz. of plate on which the Company's arms are to be engraved . . . as a further respect for his sufferings at Fort St. George' (*Ct. Min.*, 1674–6, 374).

[2] Mas. let. to Co. 14 July, 5 Mas. 5.

[3] *E.F.*, 1668–9, 137, 139.

[4] 4 L.B. 287, 297.

[5] Hinmers had been 'Commissioner of His Majesty's customs' in Bombay, and had been strongly recommended to the Company for employment, when he proceeded to England in 1668 (*E.F.*, 1668–9, 48, 84).

[6] 4 L.B. 287.

[7] Fort let. to Co. 19 July, 3 Misc. 127; Fort let. 29 July, 9 Mas. 3, 7.

[8] 4 L.B. 286, 292.

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on board, in company with the *Return*, *Coast Frigate*, and *Happy Entrance*, reached Madras on 14 June in the evening, after a six months' voyage. Hinmers and Mohun (the new Chief of the Masulipatam factory) also arrived as passengers. The *Zante* had arrived four days earlier; the *Mediterranean* had been in great danger of being lost upon the Maldives, but Langhorn was able to report from Masulipatam that she had arrived safely before he left Madras.[1]

The *Return* was to be sent back from Madras as soon as possible, if sufficient kentledge (i.e. goods suitable for ballast) was available, and she accordingly sailed for England on 14 July with a cargo worth 47,949 pagodas. The *Mediterranean Merchant* was to go to Jambi in Sumatra with a cargo of £8,000 or £10,000, and she left for that place and Bantam on 23 August, taking goods worth 27,018 pagodas.[2] Of the other four ships, which were to go to the Bay,[3] the *Zante* and the *Happy Entrance* were dispatched direct to Balasore, the former on 22 June, and the latter five days later. The *Rainbow* left on 1 July, taking Langhorn, Mohun, Hinmers, and Thomas Moore[4] as passengers, to carry on inquiries and other duties at Masulipatam (pp. 196–207).[5] She was followed by the *Coast Frigate*, which was sent to Masulipatam on 27 July with new pagodas and goods for that factory to the value of 40,689 pagodas.[6]

The ships brought a trading stock estimated to be worth £150,630, of which £80,000 were for the Fort, £30,000 for Masulipatam, and £40,000 for the Bay.[7] By far the most valuable portion of the stock consisted of bullion and coin, amounting to over £137,000. Of bullion there was a little more than £100,000 in gold and £10,000 in silver, and of specie £18,000 in rials of eight[8] and over £6,000 in cruzados.[9] The

[1] Mas. let. to Co. 14 July, 5 Mas. 1, 2; *Ct. Min.*, 1668–70, 284.

[2] 4 L.B. 294–5; Fort let. to Co. 19 July, 3 Misc. 127; Fort let. 1 & — Aug., 9 Mas. 43, 48; Fort let. 11 April, 16 F.S.G. 28.

[3] 'The Bay' means the Bay of Bengal, and was the term by which the Company generally referred to the Bengal factories. At that time the ships merely went to Balasore in Orissa below the western mouths of the River Hugli.

[4] Moore had been appointed a factor at Masulipatam in 1667 (*Ct. Min.*, 1664–7, 386). He seems to have been at Madras at this time.

[5] Langhorn's let. to Co. 14 July, O.C. 3446; Fort let. to Mas. 29 July [*sic* ? June], 9 Mas. 1–8.

[6] Fort let. 27 July, 9 Mas. 29. As to the pagoda and its coining at Madras, see pp. 21 *n.*, 22, *post*.

[7] 4 L.B. 291.

[8] These were Spanish silver dollars worth about 5*s*. each, cf. *E.F.*, 1668–9, 129.

[9] Portuguese gold or silver coins with a cross on them. The silver one was worth about 3*s*. 6*d*. or 4*s*. (Love, i. 298 *n.*; *E.F.*, 1665–7, 48), and the gold one equalled 12 zerafins (Fryer, ii. 130), i.e. was worth about 18*s*.

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remainder of the stock, which was in goods, was made up of broadcloth, coral, cloth rashes, lead, copper plates, alum, quicksilver, and vermilion. The commodities of most substantial value and amount were the broadcloth and coral, but even these were only entered at £5,446 and £2,297; the others were of minor amounts and importance. In all, the value of the goods was approximately £13,000.[1] The Company were most anxious that the sale of articles of English manufacture or export should be increased,[1] but this their agents in India found difficult of accomplishment (p. 6). Included in the cargoes, though not in the stock, were certain miscellaneous articles such as factors' provisions, saddles, cordage, wine, mum,[2] chirurgery (surgical and medical requisites), books, armourer's stores, and necessaries for assaying gold.[3]

As usual, the despatch gave full instructions as to the amount and kinds of goods to be purchased and sent home. These were mainly cotton piece-goods of various sorts—longcloth, sallampores, parcollas, morees, ginghams, bettellas, sail-cloth, and dungarees.[4]

Fort St. George was the headquarters of the Company on the Eastern side of India. It supervised the other factories, viz. those at or near Masulipatam, and those in Bengal (generally referred to as 'the Bay').[5] In the despatch the Company emphasized that this subordination was to continue; and refused their approval to a proposal made by Foxcroft and his colleagues that each chief sub-factory should account to the Company for all money received, instead of passing all transactions through the Madras accounts.[6] To this Foxcroft replied at the end of the year, explaining they had intended that the accounts of the subordinate factories, or duplicates thereof, should be examined by them, though without bringing them into their books. Instead they wanted those factories to account directly to the Company and have their accounts examined by the Company's Auditor, which already happened and, they gathered, was approved by the Company.[7]

The Company had also accused their servants at the Fort of abuse of private trade. In particular it was stated that large quantities of cloth and coral brought out by commanders and seamen had been landed at the Fort, and that one, Francis Barwick (Foxcroft's servant), who had been put in charge of the boats taking goods ashore, had been

[1] 4 L.B. 292–3. [2] Beer made from wheat. [3] 4 L.B. 292, 293.

[4] 4 L.B. 294. For the nature of these and other piece-goods see Yule, 90 (betteela), 330 (dungaree), 375 (gingham), 518 (longcloth), 705–8 (piece-goods), 784–5 (salampoory); W. H. Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, 129–30.

[5] This had been laid down by the Company in 1661 (*E.F.*, 1661–4, 43, 44).

[6] *E.F.*, 1668–9, 152; 4 L.B. 292. [7] Fort let. to Co. 27 Dec., 3 Misc. 130.

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the chief instrument in this abuse. He was to be replaced.[1] The Agent and Council vindicated themselves from these charges and denied that Barwick had been given the alleged employment.[2]

Another serious charge was that the Company's servants at the Fort paid more for the calicoes they bought for the Company than the prices at which private persons could get them.[3] In answering this Foxcroft and his colleagues described their difficulties and the advantages of their trading methods, compared with those of private persons trading on a small scale. The latter bought only 'small peddling parcells', risked the hazards of bad debts and delays, and had to give many peshkashes,[4] whereas the large requirements of the Company and the necessity for the speedy dispatch of the Company's ships made purchases of 'small and inconsiderable parcells' impossible, and the methods employed by the Council avoided the risk of bad debts and the necessity of numerous presents. They denied that they made use of 'brokers and banians' for the buying and selling of their goods and attributed the accusation to informers, who commended themselves to the Company by blasting the reputations of others.[5] This denial is open to some remark. No doubt the annual investments for England were mainly made direct with 'merchants'[6] and not with brokers as was usual in the Western Presidency. But it seems certain that the 'chief merchant' at any rate had to some extent been employed as a broker. Thus Beri Timmanna, who had been the chief native assistant at the Fort from an early date, was entrusted with the investment in 1662, as being 'the Companies ancient broker' (*E.F.*, 1661–4, 58, 165). He and Kasi Viranna, who took part in the same contract (ibid., 166 *n.*), subsequently acted as the Company's 'chief merchants' and are constantly referred to as brokers.[7]

[1] 4 L.B. 290.

[2] Fort let. to Co. 19 July, 3 Misc. 129.

[3] This charge is not mentioned in the despatch of 7 Dec. 1669, but was contained in the letter from 'an unknown person' (3 Misc. 174), which is summarized in *E.F.*, 1668–9, 276–8.

[4] Peshkash: a present to a great man, from Pers. *pesh-kash*, first fruits.

[5] Fort let. to Co. 27 Dec., 3 Misc. 130.

[6] The system of 'Company's Merchants' is described in Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras*, i. 127: 'They were contractors for the provision of cotton cloth, and agents for the sale of the Company's European goods. The Council, acting in their trading capacity, disbursed money to the Merchants to be advanced to the weavers and "painters", and the Merchants were responsible for the amount until they delivered its value in manufactured goods. The European wares issued to them were debited to their account pending sale. The Merchants were remunerated by their contracts, and one of their number was designated Chief Merchant.' See also the article on 'Trade and Finance in Eastern India' in *S.M.* i. 132–6.

[7] e.g. *E.F.*, 1665–7, 116, 117, and 1668–9, 145, 276. Again in 1707 one Akanna claimed to have been appointed 'chief broker' by Thomas Chamber (1659–62) and to have continued since then (Love, ii. 53).

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Being creatures of Sir Edward Winter, they had both fled at the time of Foxcroft's restoration, but had been re-employed by Foxcroft, a step duly reported to the Company by the Agent and Council and now approved by it, with the caution that it 'would not have you depend wholy on' them.[1] Beri Timmanna, however, died in September 1669 (*E.F.*, 1668–9, 141 *n.*), and Kasi Viranna was at this time the sole 'chief merchant' and a personage of much importance, whose name, in the form of Cassa Verona, constantly appears in political, as well as commercial, affairs.

A further charge that the Agent and others of the Company's servants in their private trade sold cloth, coral, and lead at double their proper rates, and so raised the price of cloth to the Company, was similarly denied in the same letter.[2] This also dealt with another trade matter. The Company had objected to a charge of one pagoda a bale allowed as packing charges for cotton goods sorted by Sambrook, who was 'second' and in that capacity both kept the books of the factory and acted as warehouse-keeper. The charge was a customary one and was defended by the Agent and Council as such, and as covering the cost of the packing materials, which Sambrook provided. Finally they explained, as regards the current year, that they themselves had

no gunnies[3] for the doeing of itt but what hee hath provided at his owne cost, nor can they be had but against the latter end of next yeare untill the monsoone breake up, and hee shewes himselfe unwilling to doe the worke any longer then that allowance is given, which he hath continued to enjoy ever since his arrivall in this place and came in the expectation of itt, as a thing well knowne to you before his comeing out. Hee is provided of gunnies, for which hee hath longe since paid his money and saith hee will not part with them but after the same rate.[4]

Merchants at Madras were backward in taking up the Company's goods, especially as several commodities previously bought by them still lay on their hands. Trade conditions generally were bad, as recent years had been ones of scarcity with the prices of paddy and rice so high that the weavers could scarcely get enough 'to fill their bellies'. Foxcroft reported, however, that the present year showed 'a greater appearance of plenty', and expressed hopes of bringing down the price of cloth in the next year.[5]

[1] *E.F.*, 1668–9, 141, 145; desp. 7 Dec. 1669, 4 L.B. 291.
[2] Fort let. to Co. 27 Dec., 3 Misc. 130. [3] Gunny is Hind. *goni*, sacking (Yule, 403).
[4] 3 Misc. 131. [5] Fort let. 21 Aug., 9 Mas. 47; Fort let. to Co. 27 Dec., 3 Misc. 131.

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The ignorance of the local vernaculars by the Company's staff is shown by a report that direct trade with the people of the country was difficult because the Fort had 'not one servant that can understand and write their language'; they depended on one, Thomas Clarke,[1] 'a person of approved integrity [who] perfectly understands the Gentue, Persian and other language, and without him they could not understand the weighty matters dayly brought before them, nor hold correspondency with the Nabob and other Governours'.[2] This same Thomas Clarke was one of the two judicial officers or Justices of the Peace who sat at the choultry[3] and administered justice there; but the Company objected to the exercise of such functions by persons who were not their servants and issued orders that only the latter should be employed in the choultry, 'being they are more capable and wee [have] more confidence in them then in others'.[4] Clarke, however, continued to work in the choultry till after the close of the year, while Nathaniel Foxcroft was his colleague till he died on 26 October.[5]

On the population and revenues of the town the records are silent, but as (apart from the temporary blockade, an account of which follows) peace prevailed and conditions were favourable, it may be presumed that there was a continuation of the improvement reported in 1668.[6] The return of the 'manufacturers' to the town after Foxcroft's release, at which the Company had expressed their satisfaction in the preceding December,[7] must also have aided the town revenues.

The *Coast Frigate* on her arrival from the Bay in December was laden with goods worth Rs. 59,537, and set sail for England from Madras on 28 December.[8] She took Rev. Simon Smythes and Captain Francis Chuseman as passengers.[9] The *Happy Entrance* disappeared on

[1] Thomas Clarke was son of a former Chief at Masulipatam, 'borne in the countrie and never out of it', Foxcroft's let. to Co. 26 Sept. 1665, O.C. 3098.

[2] Fort let. to Co. 19 July & 27 Dec., 3 Misc. 129, 130.

[3] Tel. *chavadi*, a hall, a shed. The choultry was a court of petty causes, a custom-house, and a registration office for the record of sales of real property and for licensing slaves (Love, i. 127). See also *B.J.* 208.

[4] 4 L.B. 295.

[5] Fort let. to Co. 6 Sept. 1671, O.C. 3575, f. 4, cf. Love, i. 275; *E.F.*, 1668–9, 293.

[6] *E.F.*, 1668–9, 145.

[7] 4 L.B. 290. The 'manufacturers' were, however, only 'weavers and washers' (*E.F.*, 1668–9, 145).

[8] Fort let. 30 Dec., 16 F.S.G. 2.

[9] Fort let. to Co. 27 Dec., 3 Misc. 130; Fort let. to Mas. 30 Dec., 9 Mas. 116. Smythes had played an important part in Winter's supersession of George Foxcroft and at the time of the surrender of the Fort by Winter (*E.F.*, 1665–7, 120–4, & 1668–9, 134–6). Chuseman also was an adherent of Winter in the usurpation (*E.F.*, 1665–7, 122–6; 1668–9, 135).

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her voyage from Balasore to Masulipatam in November (p. 332); and the other two ships did not arrive from the Bay before the beginning of 1671 (p. 18).

During the year the relations of Foxcroft and his Council with the kingdom of Golconda were strained, and their correspondence with its representatives continuous and embittered. The cause was a long-standing dispute as to the terms on which Madras was held from that kingdom. The first grant of the town was made in 1639 by a Naik, or local ruler of the adjacent coast, who was subordinate to the Raja of Vijayanagar;[1] but after that ancient dynasty had been overthrown in 1647 by the Golconda general, Mir Jumla, the grant was confirmed by him in the same year.[2]

One of its terms was that half of the customs levied on the goods of strangers in the town was to be paid to the Golconda Government. This led to disputes, but in 1658 an agreement was made by which a sum of 380 pagodas a year was fixed in lieu of the half share, the English being left in undisturbed control of the town.[3] In 1662 it was claimed that this sum was inadequate (as it undoubtedly was in view of the growth of the trade of the town); and thereafter its acceptance was refused, so that in 1670 the payments were in arrears for eight years.[4] Nawab Neknam Khan, the Nawab of the Carnatic,[5] whose authority and influence were practically final in the matter, went farther and claimed the whole of the customs, and also the right to have an officer of his own stationed in Madras, to watch and check the receipts and for other undefined purposes in the government of the town.[6] On the other hand, Foxcroft sought to have all existing privileges confirmed and certain new ones granted. To the Nawab's second proposal the Agent and the Company took even stronger exception than to the increase in the payment on account of the customs. The negotiations on the matter between the Agent and the Nawab had dragged on

[1] *E.F.*, 1637–41, 156–8; Love, i. 15–18, where a translation of the grant of 1639 is printed. Day called him the Naik 'of Vincatadra' (Love, i. 15).

[2] *E.F.*, 1646–50, 166–7, 214; Love, i. 76, 349. As to Mir Jumla and his conquest of the last remnant of the Vijayanagar empire, see Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, 32–3. Mir Jumla was the first Nawab of the Carnatic (Love, i. 76 *n.*).

[3] *E.F.*, 1655–60, 174–7; Love, i. 169.

[4] *E.F.*, 1661–4, 181 *n.*

[5] He was Riza Kuli, a nobleman formerly in the service of Shah Abbas II in Persia, who became a general in the Golconda army and diwan of King Abdulla Kutb Shah. In 1663 the latter promoted him to the post of Nawab, i.e. his chief minister, and conferred on him the title of Neknam Khan. Cf. Love, i. 197 *n.*, 212 *n.*, 213.

[6] *E.F.*, 1668–9, 139, 151, 153, 290–2.

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Venkatapati. The interview followed the usual lines and the old demands and arguments were repeated; but, arising out of it, the agent, in his report of 5 November, refers to a suggestion made some years before by Kasi Viranna, the Company's chief merchant at Madras, to the Nawab through Baba Ibrahim, that an annual cash payment of 500 pagodas and a peshkash of the same amount should be accepted. The Nawab at that time had rejected the proposal, but Baba Ibrahim and others were going to put it before him again.[1]

The end of Foxcroft's term of office and his return to England were now fast approaching, and he was anxious to arrive at a settlement before he left. He wrote, after less delay this time, on 9 December, advancing his terms and making an offer which, with certain modifications, led to an agreement and to the issue of the desired cowl.[2]

He first referred to the 'affront and disrespect' put upon him by the Nawab's long-continued refusal to receive his letter and present, and dealt with the demand of the Nawab, that the English should hold Madras on the same terms as the Dutch had Pulicat. He declared:

It is no reason to expect we should conforme to what the Dutch do at Pullicat; they never had the same priviledge as the English, for we have continued in the injoyment of our priviledges in the time of the Gentues and ever since, and having bene never dispossest of them by any treaty or any force to surrender them, therefore it is most right to have them to be continued, and in honour and justice they cannot nor ought not to be wrested out of the English.

After comparing the conduct of the English and the Dutch to the disadvantage of the latter, he went on to suggest friendly mediation, and, subject to the conditions which he had consistently laid down, authorized the new offer of a larger cash payment in the form of an enhanced rent and a yearly peshkash. His terms were as follows:

I am willing, so as I may be assured before my departure that the business should be ended, that Baba Ibrahim, Cottapelle Yengana and our other friends shall have the honour of being mediators to put an end to it; therefore I desire them to try what they can do, and although we have sufficient right by our former grants, yet if they can by their endeavours procure to have a new phirmand for the continuance of the government of this towne to us, and an exemption from any

[1] Ibid. 4.

[2] This offer, and the fact that agreement was reached before Foxcroft ceased to be Agent (p. 32), make it necessary, in justice to him, to modify the statement at p. viii of the volume for 1668–9 that, owing to his procrastination, &c., it was left to his successor (Sir William Langhorn) to settle the dispute.

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had usually done, to which hee returnd answer that they had free libertie and that hee would endeavour to perswade them, but that it being a matter of buying and selling, to which every man was free as his occasion required, it was not justice to compell them to it against their minds; but because I would not force them hee was inwardly incensed to wrath, but smothered the same. Soone after an Armenian servant to the French and sonne to their then cheife at Metchlopatan,[1] who had lived some time in St. Thoma, and had traded with and trusted the murthered Chitty with considerable sumes of money to buy cloth which he had accordingly provided, this Armenian departed from St. Thoma and comes to this towne and desired leave to stay heere untill he could heare from his prinsipal, haveing been informed that the Aveldore would doe by him as he did by the Chitty and by the sequell it is probible he might have such intention, but for what cause wee cannot say, unless possibly hee might aime to swallow up all those goods if both the one and the other were soe made away. This Armenian being heere, he [the Avaldar] sent some peones[2] hether to have carried him to St. Thoma by force, wherewith your Governour being acquainted, it being within this jurisdiction, he sent the peons back and wished them to tell their master, that such a thing ought not to have bin done under his jurisdiction without leave first asked and obtayned, but desired him to write what hee would have and hee should receive answer, and any reasonable curtesy that he could grant. The next day hee writes a letter to mee desireing me to send this Armenian to him, pretending he owed monies to the diwan [at Golconda]. I presently applyed myselfe to answer itt and tould him I had inquired after the Armenian with an intent to speake to him to goe believing their [*sic*] was noe hurt intended him, but if hee refused to goe I could not in justice compell him, but upon returne of my inquiry after this Armenian I was informed that hee had taken boate and was departed to Metchlepatan, which also I writt in my letter to him which was given out [to] bee translated, but in the meane time before it was finished the Aveldore had intelligence that hee was gone from hence, who thinkeing that wee had conveyed him away fell into a rage and sent a mesinger to his peons that waited to carry my answer as soone as the translation was finished and comanded them presently to come away and bring noe letters in answer, and soe they did and would not receive it, though it was ready seald up by that time. The next newes I had was that the very next morning he caused all places on that side to

for judicial purposes (*E.F.*, 1665–7, 252; Love, i. 274). The Company, however, from March 1669 addressed him merely as 'our Agent', cf. 4 L.B. 243, 286, &c.

[1] This, or Metchlipatam, was the usual spelling of Masulipatam in the Factory records, cf. Yule, 561. The Armenian head of the French factory was named Marcara, cf. p. 202.

[2] Port. *peão*, orderly or messenger.

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bee sett and stopt all provisions from coming to the towne, and some few days after Chenepella Mirzah [Chennupalli Mirza][1] comeing with part of his army, to St. Thoma, haveing been at and about Pollicatt [Pulicat],[2] from whence I received a civil letter from him, hee being soe neare and a great person, I sent to vissett him and with the vissett a piscash to the vallue of 200 pagodas, but the Aveldore perswaded him not to accept of itt, for if hee would stop provisions from the towne, hee might force us to give him what more hee would desire. Upon which hee refused the present and turned it back. Wee considered that hee was a great person and of power [and] were wanting by all faire means to keepe his frindshipp and therefore was resolved to make an addition of 100 pagodas to it and sent it to him, which wee did accordingly and presently after hee sent a messenger whose errant was to perswade [us that] hee being a great man [we ought] to give him content and hee would be our freind, and the content was to give him 1500 pagodas, to which unreasonable demand wee answered that there was nothing due but of volentary curtesy, and soe we had been forward to show respect to him but hee had refused itt, and the English do not like to bee compelled to doe that from which they are free but of curtsey.

The next morning he besett the towne on all sides and hinders all provisions into the towne, which put us upon our posture of defence without offering any offence, and some debates passing between him and your Governour, the copyes of which we desired your Worships before to bee pleased to bee referred, he continued his seige untill, upon complaint of the Governour to the Nabob, hee was comanded to depart and to have nothing to doe to give us any trouble. This is the sume of this story, for which wee have referred you to those copies; hee concealed some comands from the Nabob untill at last he was sharply rebuked and then hee departed, attempting for his honours sake to have had the present that hee had refused, but the Governour seeing he had done the worst hee could would not consent but promised all frindshipp to him, when he was departed, if he continued in the same mind of frindship to us which he professed.

The exact time of the 'siege' is nowhere indicated, but it is clear from the date of the above narrative that it occurred in the first half of the year and was over before the arrival of this year's ships from England (p. 3). The despatch from the Company which they carried

[1] He was the local commander of the Golconda troops, cf. *E.F.*, 1668–9, 139. In subsequent correspondence he is sometimes referred to as merely 'Mirza', which is an abbreviation of Pers. *amirzáda*, son of a prince, but in this case a pure title of respect.

[2] Pulicat is twenty-four miles north of Madras and was the Dutch headquarters on the Coromandel coast, cf. p. 16 *n*.

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gave little beyond general instructions on the subject of the Golconda dispute, merely desiring them,

if it bee not already done and setled, that you will use your best endeavour to end all pretences past and to settle all for the future upon as good termes as you can, although it doth cost us some mony in presents or otherwise to accomplish the same.

Copies of all previous agreements, farmans,[1] and cowls[2] were also asked for.[3] These instructions were not as specific as the Agent and Council had hoped for, and in their letter of 19 July to the Company they stated that they wished it had been more positive in its directions, 'especially as to the admission of an Avaldore, which he principally insists on, but which, if granted will prove of greatest prejudice and inconveniency'.[4]

Foxcroft applied himself with energy and persistence to the task of securing a settlement on the lines laid down. The course of negotiations is shown in a voluminous correspondence with Golconda, of which copies were sent to the Company with a letter of 27 December 1670.[5] He pressed his arguments on the Nawab both by a succession of letters and through the native agent, Yenkatapottee (Venkatapati).[6] The latter and his duties at Golconda had been earlier described by Foxcroft in a letter to the Company as 'our Bramini, who is our servant to be alwaies resident there to give intelligence of what passeth there at no great charge'.[7] This last condition of the appointment was strictly observed by the Governor, and it was only with difficulty and after lengthy explanations that the agent extracted the funds which he considered necessary for the discharge of his duties.[8]

The help of influential personages and officers at the Golconda court was also sought, and generally, whenever letters of importance passed between the Governor and the Nawab or the native agent, these persons (usually referred to as the 'great Bamins' or 'great persons'),[9]

[1] Pers. *farmān*, an order, patent, or passport (Yule, 354). Here it has the meaning of letters-patent making a grant of trading privileges, &c.; but it is often used in the sense of a mere letter or order from a king or high officer.

[2] A lease or grant in writing, from Arab. *kaul*, word, promise (Yule, 268).

[3] 4 L.B. 291, 295.

[4] 3 Misc. 127. The Company sent more precise instructions in its despatch of 29 Nov. 1670, which are reproduced in *E.F.*, 1668–9, 290.

[5] 3 Misc. 131; 26 F.S.G. 1–32.

[6] Cf. *E.F.*, 1668–9, 291.

[7] Fort let. 23 Jan. 1669, O.C. 3247, cited in *E.F.*, 1668–9, 153.

[8] e.g. 26 F.S.G. 27.

[9] Baba Ibrahim, Cottapalli Yengana, and Susarla Condappa are the names which figure most

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were also simultaneously addressed, or themselves wrote letters to accompany those from the Nawab or Venkatapati.[1] Their help was not wholly disinterested, as the letters contain many references to various articles desired by them; and the importance of sending these aids to good relations and of friendly letters to them is repeatedly emphasized by the native Agent in his letters to the Governor.[2] The gifts desired and made were not necessarily always of a valuable or expensive nature, but their recipients were particular as to their quality. 'I have need of a civett catt', wrote one, 'and I doe likewise desire that you send me a very good one'; another 'has occasion for as much scarlett as will make me a coat and let it be very fine and of a very good redd colour'.[3]

Nevertheless, the course of the negotiations was far from smooth, and at the end of the year Foxcroft and his Council were obliged to report that the differences between the Nawab and the Governor on the matter still continued, and further that the former had 'changed his stile with some expressions unbeseeming his honour', whether to 'compass his end, or whether he did it out of a peevish humour arising out of a long sickness from which he had just recovered'.[4]

The copies of the correspondence which were sent at the same time show that the Agent had written at length to the Nawab on 9 July,[5] shortly after the arrival of the ships from England, bringing with them the Company's instructions. In this letter he thanks the Nawab for ending the siege, apologizes for troubling him, disclaims all thought that the Nawab was responsible or gave orders for any of the disturbances (though their authors had so alleged), and promises not to retain any anger or displeasure against Chennupalli Mirza. Six ships have arrived. By them he has had answers to the first letters he wrote after his restoration, but these had been in general terms as he had not known the Nawab's precise demands. His later letter, written after he had learnt these, had not reached England when the ships left. Hence he had not full instructions. Another reason is that all the agreements, farmans, and cowls are not forthcoming in England and copies have been asked for. He has been enjoined to endeavour to 'compose all matters in an amicable and friendly way', having regard to the agreed

prominently in the correspondence. Their positions or duties at court are nowhere exactly defined, but Cottapalli Yengana was described by Venkatapati (p. 24) as 'the King's private secretary' and Baba Ibrahim was said to be 'in great esteem with him [the Nabob]' (3 Misc. 127).

[1] e.g. let. 2 Sept., 10 Oct., & 21 Jan. 1671, 26 F.S.G. 7–11, 28–31, & (next sec.) 1–5.

[2] Fort let. 2 Sept. & 21 Jan. 1671, 26 F.S.G. 14–15, & (next sec.) 9.

[3] Let. 2 Sept. from Susarla Condappa and Cottapalli Yengana to Foxcroft, 26 F.S.G. 7, 9.

[4] Fort let. to Co. 27 Dec., 3 Misc. 131.

[5] 26 F.S.G. 1–4.

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rent, the privileges granted, and the previous government of the town without an Avaldar. He offers to pay up the arrears of the agreed annual rent of 380 pagodas, and promises 'some valuable and respectable testimony of respect'. He asks for a new cowl or farman to be granted and confirmed by the King of Golconda, wherein all the Company's privileges may be newly granted. These he proceeds to enumerate—freedom from customs on their goods, no hindrance of goods going from or coming to the town by any person in authority, rights to coin gold pagodas and silver rupees, to be current in 'all places in your dominions where we trade'. He further pleads for these to be secured before he leaves the country 'to end my daies among my friends and deare relations', and states that the Company have given him leave to return to England, though after the arrival of next year's ships.

The reply of the Nawab,[1] dated 25 August, was outspoken to the point of rudeness, and its tone and terms show that the reference to its 'stile' in the passage of his letter to the Company, which has been quoted above (p. 13), was fully justified. The Nawab had thought the Governor 'a person of good understanding and discretion, but now I have understood very well in this that you have no witt at all, neither doe deserve that you should have the title of Governor nor Captain More,[2] because you do not deserve it, and in all what you have said untill now I have not founde in one thing to be true . . .'. He accuses Foxcroft of raising 'false information' against the Mirza and indignantly denies that the latter had his (the Nawab's) orders to attack the Fort or to molest them; if he had given such orders he would not suddenly have countermanded them, and his people could have taken the Fort; the English, if they were to remain there, must endeavour to please him. He ends by stating that Foxcroft's successor would make use of the same excuses for delay, but would not be treated with the same forbearance.

A letter, dated 2 September, from Baba Ibrahim,[3] is of interest for the light it throws on the position and character of the Nawab. Baba Ibrahim describes him as 'very firey angery' because of the Governor's letter, and details his own efforts on the Governor's behalf with the Nawab, who 'is no less than second King'; he advises that the Governor should please the Nawab, if he wants to get his business done; also that

[1] 26 F.S.G. 4–5.

[2] Port. *Capitão-mór*, Captain-general, literally Captain-major: a term applied to Portuguese governors of towns or commandants of forts.

[3] 26 F.S.G. 7.

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some 'trusty and faithfull persons' be sent or that Venkatapati be 'enordered' to make an end of the business, 'for the greatness and plentifullness of riches of His Excellency [are such that] neither money nor goods doth make him change his countenance, but rather he despises all'.

Foxcroft's reply[1] was not sent till 10 November. The illness of his son Nathaniel, followed by his death on 26 October, is given as the reason for this long delay. He can find no good cause for the Nawab's changed opinion of him, and, after a perusal of his own last letter, 'nothing therein for which I can accuse myself of folly', or which can cause His Excellency so much to reproach and vilify him. He then in turn expresses his wonder that 'a Lord of soe much wisdome, honor and experience, should soe far depart from your wonted prudence and policy' and, while disclaiming for himself any 'eminency of wisdome or understanding', states that 'I may not reproach my Maker as if he had not given me a competency thereof'. He asks for his letter to be perused again and is willing to retract anything lacking of respect in it, if such can be found; he suggests that the Nawab's scribe may have been at fault or that the Nawab's disease may have affected his mind as well as his body. Dealing with the points raised by the Nawab in his letter he restates the privileges which the Company had so long enjoyed at Madras. 'These and other priviledges are [also] enjoyed by the English at Metchlipatam and in the Bay of Bengal and all the Factories belonging thereunto, as also at Bantam in Java and in all other places where they have traffiques . . . [and] I hope you will think it just and honorable not to make or endeavor any innovation in this place.' To the argument that the Golconda conquerors cannot give the same terms as their Hindu predecessors he answers that 'when the Moores conquered the Gentues,[2] yet the English in this Fort remained still upon the same termes in which they stood in the Gentues time, and never consented nor were forced to any alteration or surrender of their privileges.[3]

As usual the letter to the Nawab was accompanied by one to Venkatapati.[4] On the subject of the *salabad*,[5] or their established usage or privileges, and in regard to the Nawab's desire to put the English

[1] 26 F.S.G. 17–23. Some of this is reproduced by Love, i. 267.

[2] The Muhammadans are usually termed 'Moors', and the Hindus 'Gentus', in the records of this time.

[3] 26 F.S.G. 21.

[4] Ibid. 23–7.

[5] i.e. usual, from Pers. *sāl*, year, and *ābād*, ages (Yule, 786).

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in Madras on the same footing as the Dutch at Pulicat,[1] he repeats and emphasizes what he had written to the Nawab:

Upon what termes the Dutch stand at Pullicat I understand not, and yet both Cottapellee Yengana and Susarla Condapa, besides yourself, write that it is expected we should be as they. The English doe not use to make the Dutch their patterne, nor doe take the same course in their traffique; if they have agreed otherwise than was agreed by the English, it is fitt they should hold to their agreement; but, the English having held their priviledges from the Gentues and still enjoyed them before the Moores conquered the Gentues and since, and never did surrender them to the Moores, it is but reason and justice they should be continued to them, having bene at so greate charge to build and maintaine the Fort.

He rebukes the agent for his demands for money both on his own account and for presents at weddings, but in the end relaxes somewhat and sends forty pagodas for expenses and rewards to servants. He, however, adds a warning:

I do not like you should be allwaies craving and desire to heare no more of such matters from you; if I see you shall deserve well I should not be unmindefull of you, but would not that by too much craving you should hold my hand from a voluntary reward as I shall see your merrits.

Another letter from Venkatapati in November[2] (the exact date is not given but it was obviously written before the receipt of the above) also described the anger of the Nawab at the delays, his accusations that successive Governors put him off with lies, and his threats, made publicly, that, if the English did not agree to his keeping one of his men in the town, he would not suffer them to remain there.

The Company in their despatch of 7 December 1669[3] had instructed the Agent and Council at Fort St. George to find out some way for the redemption of about twenty-three Englishmen who had been detained in captivity in Ceylon since 1658 and 1660.[4] Efforts to communicate with and help them, and to secure their release or escape, continued during the year; in these the Dutch authorities in Ceylon gave useful

[1] Pulicat was the earliest settlement of the Dutch in southern India, and they had a factory there in 1609 (*S.M.* ii. 115 *n.*). It lay in Golconda territory, and its Avaldar exercised some jurisdiction outside the Dutch fort of Geldria (Love, i. 268; Manucci, ii. 387; Hamilton, i. 204).

[2] 26 F.S.G. 31–2.

[3] 4 L.B. 292.

[4] *E.F.*, 1668–9, 130, and the passages in earlier vols. there referred to. See also *Captain Robert Knox*, by D. W. Ferguson (1897), and Capt. Knox's own account of the captivity, first printed in 1681.

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assistance.[1] The Dutch Governor there, the celebrated Rijkloff van Goens,[2] sent to them letters and messengers, with money, paper, and 'writing tools'. Some of the messengers managed to reach the captives, but others disappeared; one, the Governor surmises, 'seemes to have runn away, or has bene killed by the way for the money sake'.[3]

The Dutch themselves had their troubles: some of their countrymen were also in captivity, and their ambassador at the court of the King of Ceylon was poisoned.[4] William Vassall, the chief of the English prisoners,[5] wrote of him that 'all Christians will miss him much, espetially the Dutch and English, for he was of help to all'.[6]

Most of the English captives were kept at Kandy, the seat of the King's Government, but some were in the mountains near Colombo. There were dissensions and distrust amongst them, and those at Kandy wrote that no money or anything else for them should be sent to Vassall, or the others would not be the better of it.[7]

He, on his part, had cross-complaints to make, and he reports that the others were blaming him for making away with letters that had never reached him. 'Pray God some of our people doe not undoe both me and the bearer', he writes in the letter quoted above. Letters had been disposed of by them as they pleased, and answered as they thought fit. For the benefit of messengers sent to Kandy he states that he is 'easily knowne and distinguished from the rest, viz. all the rest goe in the habitt of the country wearing cloutes, but I wear brit[c]hes with a short coate and a hatt and am known or called by [the name of] Feitor [Factor] Engles'.[8]

Their condition was miserable. They describe it as 'hellish' and 'lamentable and very poore like our brothers the Dutch prisoners who drinck of the same cupp of want'.[9]

[1] 3 Misc. 129.

[2] He was the elder Rijkloff. His son succeeded him as Governor in 1675.

[3] Let. to Foxcroft, 2 Sept., forwarded from Pulicat, 9 Sept., O.C. 3398, ff. 1, 2. The letters are printed and annotated by Ferguson, pp. 20–4.

[4] O.C. 3398, f. 2.

[5] William Vassall was appointed 'third' at Patna by the Company in 1658, and went out on the *Persia Merchant*, which was cast away on the Maldives in Aug. 1658. He was among a party of fifty that succeeded in getting to Kalpitia about ninety miles north of Colombo, where he and two others were made prisoners (*E.F.*, 1655–60, 182, 189; Ferguson, 4–6).

[6] O.C. 3398, ff. 5, 6 (Ferguson, 23). The date of this letter is obliterated or omitted, but it was written the day after the death of the ambassador. Parts of these letters are stained and torn or missing, and words or sentences are indecipherable.

[7] O.C. 3398, ff. 4, 8 (Ferguson, 22, 23).

[8] Ibid., ff. 5, 6 (Ferguson, 22, 23).

[9] O.C. 3398, ff. 4, 8 (Ferguson, 22, 23).

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Various schemes of escape were considered. A Dutch soldier that accompanied the body of the ambassador, 'whose corps the tyranicall King with a seeming griefe did send to Columbo', reported that it would be possible to rescue some of the captives that were in the mountains near there, but that the plan would mean the murder of the prisoners at the Ragia's[1] court 'and those the chiefest'.[2] Some of the prisoners, in appealing for help to the Dutch Governor, suggested a place and plan of rescue, 'for some of us are resolved if possible by the help of God to make our escape, seeing our state is miserable to the death'.[3] All such plans, however, came to nothing.

MADRAS, 1671

George Foxcroft continued to be Agent and Governor at Fort St. George throughout the year. On 17 February he was joined by Sir William Langhorn, who took up his office as 'second', and by Joseph Hinmers, a member of the Council, on their arrival from Masulipatam, where they had finished, as far as they could at that place, the inquiry under their commission into the affairs of Sir Edward Winter (p. 20).[4] The complete Council in order of precedence was then: George Foxcroft, Sir William Langhorn, Jeremy Sambrook, Joseph Hinmers, John Bridger, and Timothy Wilks. In the months of May to July they had the assistance of Richard Mohun, the Chief at Masulipatam, who was also one of the Commissioners, and came to Madras for the purpose of completing the inquiry (p. 207).

On his return from Masulipatam Sir William Langhorn, who had fallen ill on his first arrival at Madras (p. 2), was again 'dangerously affected with a feaver', but in letters of 11 April to Masulipatam and Surat he was reported to be much better.[5]

The two ships still due from the Bay (p. 8), *Rainbow* and *Zante*,

[1] i.e. Raja Sinha, the King of Ceylon.

[2] O.C. 3398, f. 2 (Ferguson, 21).

[3] Ibid., f. 8 (Ferguson, 24). At the end of Vassall's letter (f. 6) there is a list of the captives as below:

John Loveland, Robert Knox Junr, Roger Gould, Stephen Rutland, Ralph Knight, Francis Crudge, Will Hubbard, Peter Wynn, Richard Vernon, Nicholas Mullins, Charles Beard, John Berrie, George Smith, Thomas March, John Morginson, Daniell Hurleston, Richard Gelfe, Gamaliel Gardner, Thomas Curby, William Day, Thomas Stapleton, Hugh Smart & Your servt William Vassall.

(Deceased) Capt. Robert Knox, John Grigorie, Henry Mann, the Cookes Mate whose name I know not, James Goney, Will Bingham.

This agrees with the separate list given in a letter of 23 Jan. (ibid., ff. 3, 4; Ferguson, 21, 22).

[4] Fort let. 18 Feb., 26 F.S.G. 140; Mas. con. 8 Feb., 1 Mas. 25.

[5] Fort let. 11 April, 16 F.S.G. 27, 29.

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arrived on 3 and 9 January respectively and were dispatched together on the 16th. The former took home as passengers Francis Nelthrop, whose conduct at Masulipatam had been unsatisfactory (*E.F.*, 1668–9, 286–7), and Shem Bridges, late Chief of the Bay, who was assigned the 'great cabin'.[1] They carried cargoes of goods valued at pagodas 76,321 and 47,900 respectively, making with that of the *Coast Frigate* (p. 7) a total of over 183,000 pagodas. Madras and the Bay contributed about equally to these investments, while the share of Masulipatam was a little more than half of each of the others. Including the cargoes of the *Return* and the *Mediterranean* furnished by the Fort (p. 3), and that of the *Happy Entrance* (18,736 pagodas) by the Bay, the proportions became something like one-half for Madras, one-third for Bengal, and one-seventh for Masulipatam.[2] The relative deficiency of the last-named factory was not surprising, in view of the past neglect on the part of Jearsey as Agent there, and the fact that some of the cheaper and coarser goods, mostly saltpetre, from that place had to be unloaded to make room for more valuable cargo from Madras. This caused delay in the dispatch of the *Rainbow* and the *Zante*; and the Masulipatam factory was informed that it would have saved trouble if they had put less of such goods on board.[3] A similar intimation was sent to the Chief at Hugli, of whose shipments 1,300 bags of saltpetre, 162 bales of cotton yarn, and 48 bags of tincal (borax) had been disembarked at Madras.[4] The Fort had in hand 1,350 bales of cotton goods, for which there had been no tonnage available, as well as the goods taken from the ships. Masulipatam similarly had 300 bales in hand, as well as considerable quantities of saltpetre ready for the outcoming ships. Both places had thus a useful contribution to this year's investments for England.[5]

The prospects of disposing of the goods that would be received from England were not bright, as the disturbances to trade at Surat and elsewhere through the ravages of Sivaji caused the Madras merchants to fear that they would not be able to dispose of what they had already bought except at a great loss,[6] while most of the cloth sold to them in the previous year was still on their hands.[7]

[1] Fort let. 12, 16, & 19 Jan., 16 F.S.G. 4, 8, 9, 10. Nelthrop desired to go home, though the Company had modified its orders for his recall by allowing him to stay a year longer in service at Madras (4 L.B. 286).
[2] Fort let. to Surat, 11 April, 16 F.S.G. 28.
[3] Fort let. to Masulipatam, 12 Jan., 16 F.S.G. 4, & 9 Mas. 125.
[4] Fort let. to the Bay, 19 Jan., 16 F.S.G. 9.
[5] Fort let. to Surat, 11 April, 16 F.S.G. 28.
[6] Ibid. 29.
[7] Fort let. to Bengal, 31 July, 16 F.S.G. 36, 37.

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In the early part of the year much of the time and correspondence of the Agent and his Council were devoted to affairs at Masulipatam, where Jearsey and Walcot,[1] a factor who made common cause with him, were the source of serious trouble. The attitude of the Madras authorities to Jearsey's affairs was that these had been entrusted to Mohun and his Council at Masulipatam, that the latter had the orders of the Company for their guidance, and that the Madras Council, therefore, would not interfere nor accept any responsibility for the seizures or sales of Jearsey's goods. They, however, made no secret of their adverse opinion on what seemed to them to be the undue severity of the action taken against him, and they equally failed to approve of that against Walcot.[2] The correspondence and the events with which it deals relate to Masulipatam and are treated at more length in connexion with that factory (pp. 210–16).

To the charge drawn up against Sir Edward Winter by the Commissioners at Masulipatam the Agent and Council at the Fort were unable to add anything;[3] but on 26 January they asked the Commissioners, who had not then proceeded to Madras, to examine Jearsey, though Sir Edward declined to call him, presumably because he suspected that Jearsey's answers would not be to his advantage. They particularly wanted an answer as to the intent with which Sir Edward had seized the Fort, on the supposition that Jearsey 'can say more than ordinary of his knowledge of Sir Edwards confession that he did not doe it out of loyalty to His Majesty but for his own interest'.[4]

In March the Agent and Council pressed Mohun to come to Madras and join the other Commissioners for the completion and return of the commission, on which Langhorn and Hinmers were engaged. While declining, as unbecoming of them, to give a summons to one of His Majesty's Commissioners, they expressed their sense of the necessity for all the Commissioners to be in Madras and for the avoidance of delay in the return of the commission.[5] Mohun accordingly reached Madras on 27 April, and did not return to Masulipatam till the end of July.[6] The commission had then been executed and a report was submitted by the Commissioners to the Company;[7] but no copy of it, nor

[1] Cf. pp. 207, 216 *post.*

[2] Fort con. 29 Dec. 1670, 9 Mas. 167; Fort let. to Masulipatam, 12 & 25 Jan. & 28 Feb., 16 F.S.G. 5, 7, 11–12, 21, & 9 Mas. 126, 129–30, 142; Fort let. to Jearsey, 25 Jan., 16 F.S.G. 13.

[3] Fort let. 12 Jan., 16 F.S.G. 5, & 9 Mas. 127. [4] 16 F.S.G. 13.

[5] Fort let. 16 & 25 March, 16 F.S.G. 24, 26, & 9 Mas. 145–6, 147.

[6] Mas. let. to Co. 9 Aug., O.C. 3569, f. 1; Fort let. to Masulipatam, 31 July, 9 Mas. 1.

[7] O.C. 3569, f. 1 & 3575, f. 2.

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any summary of its contents, seems to be extant.[1] Jearsey had reached Madras from Masulipatam by 11 April, and it was thought that he intended to take up his residence at Madras.[2]

The outcoming ships this year were five in number—*Sampson*, *Humphrey and Elizabeth*, *Bombay Merchant*, *European*, and *East India Merchant*. The orders of the Company were that the *Humphrey and Elizabeth* was to go back to England direct from Madras, the *European* on to Bantam, and the others to the Bay, calling at Masulipatam on their way there. The chief items of their cargoes were broadcloth, lead, copper, coral, gold and silver ingots, and rials of eight.[3]

The *Humphrey and Elizabeth*, the *East India Merchant*, and the *European*, were the first to reach Madras, which they did on 14, 18, and 20 July. The other two, *Sampson* and *Bombay Merchant*, arrived about a month later, on 19 August,[4] and left for Masulipatam and the Bay on 26 August. They took with them the stock in goods and bullion for the Masulipatam factory, except a part which had already been sent in the *East India Merchant* on 31 July,[5] and certain pagodas which were to be coined at Madras from the gold ingots received by the ships. These, to the value of £7,682, followed in the *European* on 2 September.[6] She returned from Masulipatam to Madras towards the end of that month (p. 208 *post*).

With some difficulty the chief merchant, Kasi Viranna, was induced to take over all the European goods reserved for Madras. Foxcroft was pleased at this, as the merchants generally had reason to complain of goods remaining on their hands, especially coral, which was also in poor demand at Surat. Moreover, he was able to say that the Company had not incurred a single bad debt since he took over charge as Agent.[7]

The ships, in addition to four writers and an apprentice, brought out the Rev. James Hounsill as a minister, of whom the Company wrote,

[1] The Commission probably found that the Company had sustained serious damage by Winter's seizure of the Fort and the long interruption thus caused to its trade on the Coromandel Coast, but disappointed the Company's hopes of obtaining some satisfaction from him (*Ct. Min.*, 1671–3, 209, 210). The nature of the subsequent litigation between the Company and Winter, who was awarded £6,000, is stated in *E.F.*, 1668–9, 293–4.

[2] Fort let. 11 April, 16 F.S.G. 29. The Company had ordered that Jearsey might remain in India for one or two years with the consent of the Agent and Council (4 L.B. 297).

[3] Desp. 29 Nov. 1670, 4 L.B. 389–91.

[4] Fort let. to Surat, 4 & 22 Aug., 16 F.S.G. 42, 45; O.C. 3575, f. 1.

[5] Fort let. 31 July, 25 & 26 Aug., 16 F.S.G. 39, 47–50, & 9 Mas. 1–4.

[6] Fort let. 2 Sept., 16 F.S.G. 51–2, & 9 Mas. 5. Minting at Madras was allowed by the Naik's grant of 1639 (*E.F.*, 1637–41, 157), and gold pagodas had probably been coined from the start of Fort St. George (Love, i. 193).

[7] Fort let. to Co. 6 Sept., O.C. 3575, f. 5.

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'wee have had large testimony that he is an able and pious minister, and of such principalls as that he will endeavour to become all things to all (that can be reasonably expected) so hee may wyn soules'.[1] He succeeded the Rev. Edward Newcombe, whom the Company had designated for Masulipatam, but who remained at Madras and had died in March.[2]

Some time prior to September Thomas Clarke was, at his own request, relieved of his duties as Judge of the Choultry but continued his work of translating 'Persian, Jentue and Portingall letters'.[3] Joseph Hinmers, who 'is a person very able and very sedulous in business . . . and gives a quick despatch to what hee hath under hand', took his place. Another member of Council, John Bridger, 'a considerate, sober and sedate spirit, of experience, knowledge and understanding', succeeded Nathaniel Foxcroft, as a Joint Judge, so as to form 'a fitt mixture to carry on cases . . . with better content and satisfaction to the people than they might have had in either of them alone'.[4]

Hinmers also had charge of the Mint at the Fort. In this he was assisted by Nathaniel Keeble,[5] and a goldsmith by name John Gofton, whom the Company had sent out in 1670 and 1671 and recommended as persons with a knowledge of assaying gold; but Foxcroft said the latter was 'under so deepe a melancholy that makes him avoid all company or converse'.[6] No details of the coinage done during the year are available, except as to the pagodas sent to Masulipatam (p. 21). The Company had sent suggestions for improving the coining of gold pagodas, as well as some 'instruments and things pertaining to this art';[7] but no report on the subject was submitted during the year.

The *Humphrey and Elizabeth* sailed for England on 6 or 7 September, and the *European* was dispatched to Bantam on 23 October.[8] Of the other ships the *East India Merchant* arrived from the Bay on

[1] Desp. 29 Nov. 1670, 4 L.B. 393.

[2] 16 F.S.G. 29. The Agent in reporting his death to Surat described him as 'a worthy person of great deserts for learning . . . of sound principles, and of a most peaceable and sober spirit and blameless conversation'. Newcombe had come out by the ships that left England in Dec. 1669 (4 L.B. 287).

[3] O.C. 3575, f. 4.

[4] Ibid. The Company approved of these appointments in its desp. 15 March 1672, 4 L.B. 539.

[5] He was sent out by the ships that left in Dec. 1669 to assist in the mint, as he had some knowledge of assaying gold (4 L.B. 299, 398); but the Company in its despatch of Dec. 1671 complained that he was being kept 'ignorant, as well as idle', and practically debarred from having anything to do in the mint (4 L.B. 501–2).

[6] 4 L.B. 299, 391; O.C. 3575, f. 4.

[7] 4 L.B. 395, 396–8. The Company's note about the coining of gold contains some particulars about the Madras pagoda (4 L.B. 397). See also Langhorn's remarks about it in O.C. 3729, ff. 3, 4.

[8] 16 F.S.G. 54, 60, 61; O.C. 3575.

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13 December.[1] She was fully laden by 23 December,[2] but was not sent to England till the following month (p. 29). The *Sampson* and the *Bombay Merchant* had not left Masulipatam before the close of the year (p. 210).

The correspondence and negotiations with Golconda regarding the settlement of the rent, and the Nawab's desire to have an officer of his own at Fort St. George, continued throughout the year. Relations improved somewhat, and progress was made towards a settlement, though the outlook at the end of the year was unpromising.[3]

The death of the Governor's son led to the Nawab's sending a courteous and sympathetic letter of condolence on 21 January accompanied by five tashrifs.[4] Baba Ibrahim and the Court Brahmans sent similar letters, which did not omit to dwell on their services and to refer to their various wants,[5] while the agent Venkatapati, in a long letter of the same date which conveyed his sympathy, set forth in detail his exertions in the matter.[6] The news of the Governor's loss by the death of his son, the protest of the Governor against the Nawab's 'unkind letter', and his own arguments and advice to the Nawab were (he said) the causes of the more friendly attitude shown by the latter in his letter and the presents that were now being sent. He suggested that, when the presents, chosen by the Nawab himself, 'do come neare the towne, if your Worship should go as farr as our garden to meet the same with as much state as possible may be, and enter againe into the towne with that coate on and other vests the Nabob sent you, then the people frǫm St. Thomé and Punemalee[7] advising the Nabob of it he will be extreame[ly] pleased and glad to heare it'.[8]

The native agent took the opportunity of defending himself from the charge of prodigality in expenditure and undue demands for money which the Governor had made against him. He urged that on the contrary he endeavoured to avoid the expenses of former times, but was obliged to give 'the great persons' hopes 'that one time or other we shall acknowledge all the kindness they shew us in our business with the Nabob'. He himself had to give presents at weddings and other

[1] Fort let. 13 & 23 Dec., 9 Mas. 30 & 16 F.S.G. 72.

[2] Fort let. 23 Dec., 16 F.S.G. 70.

[3] Besides the copies of the correspondence in 26 F.S.G., the matter is discussed in O.C.3575, ff. 12, 13, & 3620, f. 1.

[4] 26 F.S.G. 1. 'Tashrif' means a complimentary gift, from Arab. *tashrīf*, conferring honour. In S. India, it was generally used for a dress-of-honour (Yule, 902).

[5] 26 F.S.G. 1–5. [6] Ibid. 6–9.

[7] Poonamallee (Tam. Pundamalli) is thirteen miles west of Madras.

[8] 26 F.S.G. 7.

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occasions, but being a stranger got none in return.[1] In referring to the letters from the great persons and the gifts required for them, he dwelt specially on the case of one of them, Cottapalli Yengana, who 'is the Kings private secretary and can do very much with the Nabob, seeing that he is one of his Councell'.[2]

It was not till 11 April that the Governor sent a reply to the Nawab's letter.[3] He duly acknowledged the latter's sympathy and present, and sent one in return. On the subject of the stationing of a Golconda officer in the town he made an advance. He could not agree that the government of the town should be taken out of the hands of the Company, as to do this would be to confirm the accusations of Sir Edward Winter that he had given up its government and sold it into the hands of the Moors. He was, however, willing, in order to please the Nawab, that one of the latter's people should be sent, 'not to medle in or exercise any jurisdiction or government in this Towne of Madras, but only to take notice of the customes that arise in it'. He made it plain that he only put forward this proposal reluctantly and to please the Nawab, and provided the latter would not otherwise agree to forbear to send such a person and to end the differences by confirming the Company's privileges.[4]

In a batch of letters of the same date to his friends at court and the native agent, the offer was repeated and the help desired and expected from them explained.[5] It was largely a matter of preparing the ground and creating the proper atmosphere for the acceptance of reasonable proposals, for 'although I know that ministers to princes and great men may not safely motion any things to them that they thinck may be ungrateful to them, yet a good word with modest and humble advice to them may be a great meanes to prepare them to bee that which otherwise of themselves they have little inclination to'.[6]

The offer made by the Governor did not appeal to, or placate, the Nawab: he repeatedly postponed the receipt of the present, though three or four times reminded by Venkatapati about it, a plain sign of displeasure and disrespect. The 'great men', however, advised patience, especially as the Nawab was ill; but writing on 12 September Venkatapati was able to report that 'the Nabob has bene sick all this while and now he is recovered from his sickness'.[7]

The policy of inaction left it to the Nawab to reopen the matter, which he did about the beginning of November, when he sent for

[1] 26 F.S.G. 9. [2] Ibid. 9. [3] Ibid. 10–12. [4] Ibid. 11.
[5] Ibid. 13–21. [6] Ibid. 16. [7] Ibid. (next sec.) 1.

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Venkatapati. The interview followed the usual lines and the old demands and arguments were repeated; but, arising out of it, the agent, in his report of 5 November, refers to a suggestion made some years before by Kasi Viranna, the Company's chief merchant at Madras, to the Nawab through Baba Ibrahim, that an annual cash payment of 500 pagodas and a peshkash of the same amount should be accepted. The Nawab at that time had rejected the proposal, but Baba Ibrahim and others were going to put it before him again.[1]

The end of Foxcroft's term of office and his return to England were now fast approaching, and he was anxious to arrive at a settlement before he left. He wrote, after less delay this time, on 9 December, advancing his terms and making an offer which, with certain modifications, led to an agreement and to the issue of the desired cowl.[2]

He first referred to the 'affront and disrespect' put upon him by the Nawab's long-continued refusal to receive his letter and present, and dealt with the demand of the Nawab, that the English should hold Madras on the same terms as the Dutch had Pulicat. He declared:

It is no reason to expect we should conforme to what the Dutch do at Pullicat; they never had the same priviledge as the English, for we have continued in the injoyment of our priviledges in the time of the Gentues and ever since, and having bene never dispossest of them by any treaty or any force to surrender them, therefore it is most right to have them to be continued, and in honour and justice they cannot nor ought not to be wrested out of the English.

After comparing the conduct of the English and the Dutch to the disadvantage of the latter, he went on to suggest friendly mediation, and, subject to the conditions which he had consistently laid down, authorized the new offer of a larger cash payment in the form of an enhanced rent and a yearly peshkash. His terms were as follows:

I am willing, so as I may be assured before my departure that the business should be ended, that Baba Ibrahim, Cottapelle Yengana and our other friends shall have the honour of being mediators to put an end to it; therefore I desire them to try what they can do, and although we have sufficient right by our former grants, yet if they can by their endeavours procure to have a new phirmand for the continuance of the government of this towne to us, and an exemption from any

[1] Ibid. 4.

[2] This offer, and the fact that agreement was reached before Foxcroft ceased to be Agent (p. 32), make it necessary, in justice to him, to modify the statement at p. viii of the volume for 1668–9 that, owing to his procrastination, &c., it was left to his successor (Sir William Langhorn) to settle the dispute.

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Avaldore to have anything to do in the government thereof, and an exemption from customes of all demands for the time past, I am content that they should promise 8 or 10,000 pagodas as a testimony of respect, and, if it shall be desired, that an annuall rent be continued for 500 pagodas the yeare and a yearly piscash to be given of 500 pagodas. . . .

He ended with the warning that if this offer, which had been made with the approval of his Council, were not accepted before his departure about the 10th of the following month of January, then his successor, Sir William Langhorn, would be free to make his own terms. If it was accepted, Sir William and the rest of the Council would 'give a promise under all their hands' for the performance of the English side of the bargain.[1]

The main letter was accompanied by a short covering letter, stating that the former was not to be opened, or its terms communicated to the Nawab, until it was ascertained that the Nawab would agree to such proposals.[2]

The letters were not received by Venkatapati till 26 December and he replied on the 28th. The Nawab had shown no disposition to settle the matter by merely accepting a higher rent, as proposed. In fact, his intention still was to appoint an Avaldore, and he had a man ready for the office. Nevertheless, as time was short, the agent had taken on himself to open the letter and to communicate secretly to the 'great persons' what the Governor had written, and they were to put the proposals to the Nawab as suggestions from themselves. They could not do so at once, as the Nawab was ill again; but immediately they were able to go to his presence 'they will know about it and will write to your Worship of it, these are the words they told me. The Nabob have [*sic*] bene indisposd this 15 daies with a great paine in his back that he did not come to his publique seate. . . .'[3]

The negotiations were thus left in an unsatisfactory position, but the next letters[4] were to bring their close in sight (p. 32).

Foxcroft continued his efforts on behalf of the English captives in Ceylon. On 28 March he wrote a very friendly and respectful letter to the 'Emperor of the Famous Island of Zeilon', 'having bene informed that your Highness hath lately bene pleased to shew some honor and respect to' them. He asked that their long captivity should be esteemed a reasonable compensation for any offence they might unwittingly have

[1] 26 F.S.G. 5–6.
[2] Ibid. 7.
[3] Ibid. 7–8.
[4] Ibid. 8–10.

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committed and that they might now be allowed to depart. He suggested that in the meantime they might be allowed to write to him, 'without feare, such things as you may see if you desire it and none that brings them to be molested for it'. He advocated the opening up of trade with Ceylon, if the King so desired and would give the English traders freedom, security, and a safe harbour.[1] At the same time he wrote to the captives themselves, sending a copy of his 'kinde and civill' letter to the King, and explaining that he had been informed that the King had lately been well disposed to the captives, so he had 'thought good to strike the iron while it is hott, and to turne every stone which may yeild any possible hope for your redemption'.[2] Whether the letter to the King ever reached him is doubtful, but in any case it produced no reply nor beneficial result.

MADRAS, 1672

FOXCROFT left India on 18 January, handing over his office of Agent and Governor of Fort St. George to Sir William Langhorn. With him went Jeremy Sambrook, a member of the Council.[3]

This left only three members, Hinmers, Bridger, and Wilks; and on 22 January, in view of 'the thinness of Counsell and the merits of the person' in question, Jacob Smith,[4] qualified by 'age and experience in trade, good repute and carriage', was elected a member, subject to the approval of the Company.[5] He also appears to have been made one of the Justices of the Choultry.[6] Edward Herries, who had acted as a member of the Council from 1668 to 1670 (p. 2), became available in June when the Company's allowance of his appointment was received; and by a consultation of the 17th of that month he was formally admitted to Council and assigned fourth place above Wilks. The latter protested and desired the matter to be referred to the Company for final determination. Herries, too, was not content with

[1] 26 F.S.G. 21–2.

[2] Ibid. 23. Ferguson (25) did not trace these letters, though he found a reference to them in O.C. 3576.

[3] Fort let. to Co. 23 Jan., O.C. 3620, f. 1. For information about Sambrook's subsequent career as a prosperous merchant in the city of London, see *E.F.*, 1668–9, 294, and *H.D.* ii. 282.

[4] He had gone out to India as assistant to Langhorn on a salary of £5 a year (*Ct. Min.*, 1671–3, 151).

[5] Fort con. 22 Jan., 1 F.S.G. 2 (*M.R.* 2); O.C. 3620, f. 2.

[6] PS. to Langhorn's let. to the Co. 27 Jan. 1673, O.C. 3729, f. 5; Sawcer's let. to the Co., O.C. 3764, f. 12.

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his place and claimed to be put above Bridger in the third place, producing a letter from Sir Andrew Riccard, the Governor of the Company, in support of his contention. This claim also the Council did not admit, but submitted to the Company.[1]

Foxcroft took home with him a large amount of goods and commodities, much exceeding the permitted allowance. Orders issued by the Company in 1670 had granted an 'indulgence' to factors returning from abroad to bring with them certain quantities of non-prohibited goods, the allowance being five tons for Presidents and Agents, three tons for 'seconds' at Surat, the Fort, and Bantam, two tons for other members of Council, and one ton for other factors.[2] In September 1671 he reported to the Company that these orders had not enlarged the allowances or helped their servants at the Fort, and that he was making use of the permission previously given him to bring home on his return twelve tons free from the prescribed 'mulct' of £40 per ton on the excess—a permission which (as will be seen below) was controverted by the Company. The property he took home comprised chests, 'tronkes', 'secretores' (secretaires), 'fardells' (baggage), 'peeces of moorees' (*muri*, blue cotton cloth), shirts, 'dimityes' (*dimyati*, a cotton cloth), and neck-cloths—a list which trenched on the preserves of the Company. He described them as, in general, tokens for friends or acknowledgements of civilities, 'commodities that are not like to yield any proffit'. He attempted to justify their dispatch and that of other goods sent the previous year on the ground of his misfortunes, saying: 'I believe, all things considered, you would wink at small matters which might be of no greate president unto others to crave the like favour, which they might do if they had suffered three yeares of imprisonment and the total loss of that time'.[3] This did not convince or pacify the Company, who, in a despatch of 15 March 1672, expressed their 'wonder that Agent Foxcroft should have made such a great mistake as to write wee have given liberty that hee might bring home with him twelve tons without paying mulct, when at his goeing forth [to India] wee allowed him but two or three tons, and since in our settlement wee have enlarged it to five tons'.[4]

[1] 1 F.S.G. 14, 15–17 (*M.R.* 7, 8).

[2] Desp. 29 Nov. 1670, 4 L.B. 394; cf. *Ct. Min.*, 1668–70, 380–1.

[3] Fort let. to Co. 6 Sept. 1671, O.C. 3575, ff. 15–17.

[4] 4 L.B. 540. The Company was mistaken: in Oct. 1664 it had allowed Foxcroft liberty to bring home his estate up to ten tons free of cost (*Ct. Min.*, 1664–7, 95), and it accordingly remitted the fines previously imposed on his goods (ibid., 1671–3, 184–5). The general settlement of account in 1676 (*Ct. Min.*, 1674–6, 359–60) was also in Foxcroft's favour.

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The *Sampson* and the *East India Merchant*, with Foxcroft and Sambrook on board, sailed on 18 January. The following night the *Bombay Merchant* arrived from Masulipatam with a cargo valued at 118,481 pagodas. As was not unusual, some of the cheaper goods shipped had to be taken out and replaced by piece-goods.[1] This accomplished, she got away about a week later, bearing a letter to the Company of 23 January. Sir Edward Winter was given a passage on her with 'the great cabin and accomodation befitting his quality'. Similar accommodation was offered for his wife and child if he desired it, which he did not, and they did not accompany him. He was given 'leave to carry of[f] his estate in any fine commodities not prohibited'.[2] With him went others, his friends and guests who 'must needs go home' on the same ship.[3] Certain soldiers, whose three years' term of service had expired, were allowed to return to England at the same time, 'now the danger ceasing'.[4]

The Company had dispatched five vessels for the Fort at the end of the previous year, the *Berkeley Castle*, *Johanna*, *Loyal Subject*, *Rebecca*, and *Anne*.[5] The last named was the first to arrive, on 13 June. She was followed ten days later by the other four. In addition the *Barnadiston*, originally intended for Bantam, arrived on 24 August.[6] The orders of the Company were that the *Anne* should proceed to Bantam with a cargo to include silk sent from the Bay, which was to provide £5,000 worth annually for Japan. The *Berkeley Castle* was to be sent back to England from the Fort with saltpetre and any calicoes that were ready. The others were to go on to the Bay, one or more as necessary touching at Masulipatam. Money and goods to the value of £30,000 were to be sent there, while the Bay was to have £40,000 which, it was thought, would, with money procurable through bills of exchange, supply them sufficiently.[7] The total 'stock' brought out by the five ships, in the

[1] Fort let. to Co. 23 Jan., O.C. 3620, f. 1.

[2] Fort con. 19 Jan., 1 F.S.G. 1, 2 (*M.R.* 2). This was in accordance with orders from the Company (desp. 7 Dec. 1669, 4 L.B. 298).

[3] O.C. 3620, f. 1. See *E.F.*, 1668–9, 293–4, for a short account of Winter's subsequent career in England.

[4] Fort con. 19 Jan., 1 F.S.G. 1 (*M.R.* 1), & let. to Co. 23 Jan., O.C. 3620, f. 1; O.C. 3720, f. 1.

[5] Desp. 18 Dec. 1671, 4 L.B. 497. The *Anne* was a different ship from the *Ann* which came out in 1673 (p. 235 *post*). The former was commanded by Capt. Abraham Dawes, and the latter by Capt. Zachary Browne; cf. *Ct. Min.*, 1671–3, index, p. 322. To distinguish them the original spelling, *Anne*, is retained for this one.

[6] Fort let. to Co. 16 Dec., O.C. 3720 & 3721, f. 1. It had been intended to send the *Barnadiston* direct to Bantam, but the Company in March diverted her to the Coromandel Coast on account of the breaking out of war with the Dutch (desp. 2 Aug. 1673 to Bantam, 5 L.B. 56).

[7] 4 L.B. 499; *Ct. Min.*, 1671–3, 75.

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form of coin, bullion, and goods of the usual kinds and descriptions, amounted to £161,214.[1]

On 2 July the *Rebecca* sailed for the Bay direct and the *Johanna* for the same destination, with orders to touch at Masulipatam and leave the goods, bullion, and coin assigned to that place. The *Loyal Subject* followed on 22 July and with the same orders and, after some delay, the other three ships sailed on 5 September direct for the Bay.[2] Later orders from the Company that arrived on the *Barnadiston* explain this diversion of the *Anne* and *Berkeley Castle* from the voyages to Bantam and London that the Company had originally wanted them to make.[3]

The Agent and Council had endeavoured to have goods ready for them, but had experienced difficulties in doing so, as cash was short, prices high, and the competition of the Dutch severe. The latter had 200,000 to 300,000 pagodas at their disposal, while the Fort authorities were in April only able to advance to Kasi Viranna and their other merchants the paltry sum of 7,500 pagodas against goods to the value of 59,000 pagodas, which in June had been, or were shortly to be, delivered.[4] Those obtained were mainly longcloth, sallampores, parcollas, bettellas, ginghams, and paintings.[5] So dear was the cloth and so limited the supply, owing to the large purchases of the Dutch and to a failure of crops in the previous year in the Bijapur country, that the Agent and Council issued orders that no 'perticular persons' (i.e. private traders) should buy any of the first four classes of goods, until the Company's merchants had completed their contracts for the London and Bantam shipments.[6] In the latter part of the year, when it appeared that there would be a shortage of goods for the homeward ships, which were more numerous than usual, Kasi Viranna and the other Company's merchants were ordered to procure saltpetre to complete their cargoes. The Masulipatam factory had been called on to supply 700 candies of this commodity, which, in the opinion of Langhorn and his colleagues, was likely 'to be much requested in Europe these troublesome times', but had intimated that it would probably be unable to supply anything like the required quantity.[7] There is no

[1] 4 L.B. 497–8. [2] O.C. 3720 & 3721, f. 1.

[3] Fort let. to Surat, 27 Aug., 108 Sur. 143. The ships were to go to the Bay and return to England with the others.

[4] Fort con. 1 April and 14 June, 1 F.S.G. 6, 11–13 (*M.R.* 6–7).

[5] Ibid. 13. 'Paintings' were hand-printed calicoes.

[6] Fort con. 18 April, 1 F.S.G. 8 (*M.R.* 14). The Council there complain of Foxcroft and Sambrook having been 'pleased ... to leave us so bare, notwithstanding the present Agent's frequent remonstrances in Councell thereabouts unto them'.

[7] Fort con. 10 Sept. & 5 Oct., 1 F.S.G. 21, 22 (*M.R.* 10, 11).

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further record of the progress of the investment at the Fort during the rest of the year, but the trouble that arose over the capture of San Thomé by the French (pp. 44–6) must have caused some interference with it.

Four factors and ten writers were sent out this year on the ships which arrived at the Fort in June. Of the factors Lawrence Sawcer, 'an experienced lynnen draper', was sent as assistant to the warehouse-keeper at the Fort on £30 a year, 'to see that our callicoes be well made, even sorted and packed'. Edward Bugden, 'who hath the language of the country and knowledge in navigation', had lately come from the Bay and was to go back there on a salary of £25 for employment on shore or at sea, as occasion presented, and to be admitted into Council.[1] Thomas Sprigg was to go to Masulipatam on £25, and Maurice Wynn, another linen-draper, was also to go there, as assistant to the warehouse-keeper, getting £20.[2] The writers were Thomas Tilley, Henry Croon Colborne, Elihu Yale,[3] Robert Crawley, Vincent Sayon, Francis Ellis, Stephen Guilliams, James Harding, Samuel Smith, and Richard Trench-field. Their pay was the usual one of £10. Crawley was to go to Masuli-patam, and Colborne was also to spend two years there.[4]

The Company directed that in future the writers' salaries were to be paid to them in full quarterly, so that they would be the better able to furnish themselves with clothes and other necessaries. Those already in service were also to receive payment of any part of their salaries that was in arrear.[5] It further concerned itself with their welfare and dis-cipline, saying:

Wee are informed that some of our youths with you, upon pretence that they have not allowance of suppers, and other conveniences pro-vided for them in the Fort, take liberty to go to Punch Howses and other places and spend their time therein deboiching themselves, which wee cannot allow off. Therefore wee require that a competent provision and accomodation bee made for them within our Fort, and that you restrayne all persons from this practize and take care [that they observe] good howers [hours] and orders.[6]

[1] Bugden had been elected a factor in 1667 (*Ct. Min.*, 1664–7, 376), having previously been employed at Balasore and Hugli. In 1671 he returned to England and was re-elected in November of that year (*Ct. Min.*, 1671–4, 84). [2] Desp. 18 Dec. 1671, 4 L.B. 499.

[3] Yale was the future Governor of Madras, 1687–92.

[4] 4 L.B. 499. As to Trenchfield, I retain the spelling of his surname by the Company, but he usually spelt it 'Trenchfeild', cf. *H.D.* ii. 285 *n.*

[5] 4 L.B. 500. Similar orders were sent to Surat and Bantam, cf. *Ct. Min.*, 1671–3, 90.

[6] Ibid. Langhorn had already anticipated these instructions by the issue of detailed rules in February, prohibiting the sale of 'the unwholesome liquor called parrier arrack' to any

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In the same despatch the Company took up the question of the inability of their servants to speak and write the languages of the country, and prescribed measures for remedying this unsatisfactory state of affairs. It wrote:

Wee are sorry to heare that wee have not any one of our servants that can speake the language. Wee now purposely send you over some young men which wee would have instructed therein, as also to write it, that wee may not have to depend on accidentall persons, and for the encouragement of those that shall atteyne thereto, so as to transact businesse with the natives, wee desire you to pay each of them £20 as gratuity, and that a school-master be allowed for teaching them.[1]

It thus discouraged the employment of Thomas Clarke, on whom the factory depended so much and who had been commended to the Company for his knowledge of languages and ability in the Choultry (p. 7), though it allowed use to be made of him on 'any extraordinary occasion, but not to reside in our howse, hee being a Roman Catholique'.[2]

Another minister came out this year, intended for the Bay or Masulipatam. He was the Rev. Thomas Whitehead,[3] who became chaplain at Masulipatam (p. 239*n*).

On the eve of his departure Foxcroft at last succeeded in settling the dispute with Golconda regarding the tenure of Madras, as on 8 January the Nawab gave his consent to a settlement on the general lines of the Agent's proposals. He did so in a short letter, leaving the terms of the agreement to be set forth by Venkatapati in an accompanying letter of the same date, written by the order of the Nawab and in his presence.[4] In this and in another longer letter written on the same day, in which his freedom of expression was presumably less curtailed, Venkatapati detailed at length both the terms and the lengthy proceedings and moves which had led up to their acceptance.[5] The last offer made by the Governor had been put to the Nawab only to be rejected; but appeals and arguments on the part of Venkatapati and the 'great men' led him by a series of steps to lower his demands from

of the Company's soldiers or servants, and the drawing of liquor for any person in public houses 'after the usual ringing of the bell' at 8 p.m. (*M.R.* 131, 135). His strict military regulations also included one that no Company's servant or soldier should be served with more than half a pint of arrack or brandy, or one quart of wine (*M.R.* 134).

[1] 4 L.B. 495. [2] Ibid. 496. [3] Ibid. 497.

[4] 26 F.S.G. 8–10: the letters of the Nawab and of Venkatapati are repeated in the next section, 26 F.S.G. 1–4.

[5] Ibid. (last-mentioned sec.) 7–12.

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15,000 pagodas for arrears and a yearly payment of 3,000 pagodas to the figures finally fixed, viz. a lump sum of 11,000 pagodas to cover all arrears up to and including the then current year, and a revised annual rent of 1,200 pagodas; if this was agreed to and the lump payment made, the proposal to keep a Golconda officer at Madras would be dropped. Venkatapati strongly recommended their acceptance, urging: 'it is not good to stand much or to run back because of 200 pagodas more, for the Nabob will not do otherwise, and therefore I advise your worship advice of it; moreover these great men said that the Nabob will give the coull in what manner and forme wee desire'. He also said that by putting an end to the dispute and getting a new grant, Foxcroft would acquire 'great honor . . . amongst all nations'.[1]

He ended the letter by stating that he had 'promised to every one of the great persons according to their merritts, because they have upon all occasions showed themselves to be our friends in this our business'.[2] The second letter expands his theme, and, in detailing the long discussions and negotiations which had preceded the issue of the letter from the Nawab, dwells on the part taken by the 'great persons' and the assurances given them that, if they succeeded in getting the grant of what the Governor wanted, he would give 'all [of] them much content', so 'that they shall all be well gratified without faile'.[3] He forwarded a batch of letters of the same date, 8 January, from the 'great persons' themselves, all explaining how the Nawab, by their persuasions and arguments and out of consideration to the Governor, had been led to agree to the proposals and strongly advising their acceptance.[4]

Venkatapati had secured another ally, a lady by name Butche Paupana, belonging to the family of the Naik by whom the original grant of the town was made. He described her connexion with Madras and certain previous negotiations in which uncles of hers had assisted:

> the daughter of Damoro Timapanaque[5] being heere, I have assisted her and made an end of some of her business with the Nabob, and whereas our toune [Madras] was made at first by her unckle Agapa Naque,[6] [who] was the man that made and begun Chinapatam,[7] after

[1] Ibid. 3, 4. [2] Ibid. 4. [3] Ibid. 8. [4] Ibid. 4–7.

[5] This Timappa Naik would appear to be the same as Damarla Venkatappa, the ruler of the district between Pulicat and San Thomé, cf. *E.F.*, 1637–41 & 1642–5 vols. Damarla was his family name, being derived from a hamlet in the Chingleput district (Love, i. 13 *n.*).

[6] i.e. Aiyappa Naik, brother of the above. He was the Naik of Poonamallee, to whom Venkatappa deputed affairs on the coast (Love, i. 14).

[7] Chinapatam, the original Indian name for Madras, was probably so called after Chenappa

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which the English have populated and augmented [it] so much that his name remaines now knowne in all parts: and that, when the Nabob was at Negleporam,[1] Verona & myselfe wee have been there to visit him and desired him to let the towne remaine under the English as couled, which he will not then give his consent to it, after which wee went to speake with Ackapa Naque and Timma Naque acquainting him [*sic*] of the answer . . . the Nabob gave us; and then they both went to the Nabob and told him that Chinapatnam was made in their fathers name and that strangers do live in it, and if his Excellency should not rent the said towne to the English 'twill never be populated or augmented; and whereas they spoke then very much in our behalf, the Nabob did then give his consent to accept the rent money wee paid him then.[2]

At Venkatapati's request the lady agreed to interest herself with the Nawab on the present occasion. Accordingly she sent her people with Venkatapati to the Nawab, and her chief man spoke wholeheartedly on behalf of the English. In his appeal for them he dwelt on her uncle's part in the foundation of the town and besought a favourable hearing for the English representative. This was at a visit which took place in the Nawab's 'private chamber where he did lodge, where there was all the great men about him',[3] who 'also speake very much on our behalfe'.[4] The Nawab after much further discussion and bargaining then made his final offer. This included the grant of a cowl in the manner and form desired, of which the Governor was to be allowed to supply the draft, and the waiving of the proposal to station a Golconda official at Madras.[5] The latter was an important concession, due in part to Venkatapati's argument that the presence of Golconda officers in Madras would necessarily lead to misunderstandings and friction, as 'they will be alwaies writing to his Excellency many false informations and troubles and thereby may cause great mollestation to both parties'.[6] The 'great men' now brought their influence to bear on Venkatapati, showing themselves, as he reports, 'somewhat angry' at apparent hesitation when practically all the demands of the English had been granted and the difference between the parties had been reduced to a

Naik, father of the above brothers, cf. *E.F.*, 1668–9, 291 *n.*; Love, i. 83–5; Yule, 199. Possibly Butche Paupana's father, Timappa, was a son of Chenappa's son Venkatappa, as in a letter to Sir William Langhorn she describes Chenappa as 'my grandfathers father' (26 F.S.G. 23); cf. Love, i. 347, where the letter is reproduced.

[1] Nagallapuram, in Chingleput district, eighteen miles north-west of Tiruvallur.

[2] 26 F.S.G. 8; cf. *E.F.*, 1668–9, 291.

[3] 26 F.S.G. 9; cf. Love, i. 346–7.

[4] 26 F.S.G. 10.

[5] Ibid. 9, 10.

[6] Ibid. 9.

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mere matter of 200 pagodas a year.[1] He strongly urged the Governor to accept the Nawab's offer, saying (among many other arguments) that the inhabitants of Madras would themselves be willing to pay the amount at issue. He ended his report with an estimate that the presents he had promised to those by whose aid he had succeeded in putting an end to the business—'all the great persons and small and all the Nabob's private servants and yet his very sweepers'—would amount to 1,000 pagodas.[2]

Foxcroft, then on the point of departure for England, and desirous of settling the long-standing dispute before he left, quickly closed with the offer. He assented to it in a letter written when he 'was ready to embarque' and signed for 'further assurance' by his successor, Sir William Langhorn, as well as by himself.[3] Thereupon, little time was lost in preparing and dispatching the draft of the cowl, as well as of a corresponding 'obligation' or undertaking of the English to fulfil their part of the contract, which the Nawab had required from them. The receipt of the documents at Golconda was acknowledged by Venkatapati on 27 February, and on 5 March he was able to report the completion of the grant by the Nawab, Neknam Khan, after some further hesitation and considerable persuasion on the part of the 'great men'.[4] The Nawab, as appears from another letter written two days later, had first acquainted King Abdulla Kutb Shah with the proposed grant and 'with his consent enordered [the scribe] to write the same'.[5] The cowl was in the exact form of the draft sent from Madras. There was some difficulty in securing this, for the Nawab objected that Foxcroft's draft contained much that was unusual and unnecessary in such a document, and a good deal of explanation and wheedling was required before

after many intreatings to the Nabob at last hee gave his consent to the same [viz. the draft], and presently [the great men] got him to write a coull in the same manner and forme as the copy your Worship sent and [they] have already put his chopp upon it.[6]

In another passage Venkatapati writes that

at last he granted it, [there] having past before some tenn dayes time, and then the Nabob got the coull write[n] by his people in the same manner and forme as the coppy your Worship sent hither, word by word, and has already put his chopp upon it.[7]

[1] Ibid. 10. [2] Ibid. 11.
[3] 26 F.S.G. (previous sec.) 10–11 (the copy in the records is undated).
[4] Ibid. 12–16. [5] Ibid. 16.
[6] Ibid. 16. [7] Ibid. 14.

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The translation of the cowl, which is contained in Streynsham Master's diaries[1] but is not reproduced in Sir Richard Temple's edition of them, is as follows:[2]

Coppy of a Phirmaund Granted to the Honble. Sir William Langhorne Bart. about Fort St. George & Madraspatam January 31 1671/2.

Cowle given in the yeare 1671/2 at 31 Day of January by Excellence the Nabob Necknam Canne to the Honble. Sir William Langhorne Bart., Governour of Fort St. George in Chinapatam for the affaires of the Honble. English East India Company &c. Councell & their Succesours in the said Fort of Chinapatam. I do hereby grant that the English shall henceforth enjoy the same priveledge & antient customes, as well of grounds belonging to Madrasspatam & Naremedo,[3] as alsoe all other priveledges which the English have hitherto injoyed from the time they began to inhabit the Towne of Chinapatam;

and particulerly to prevent any differences hereafter it is now declared, and I doe now accordingly declare, grant, and confirme, that whatsoever ships and vessells or boats, cloth, or any other goods as merchandize, shall be brought thither by sea to the said Towne & Fort of Chinapatam &c. for the use or account of the English Nation are and shall be free from any manner of dutyes either in or out;

and I haveing agreed now with the abovsaid Governour and Councell about the halfe of the custome of the Towne of Chinapatam which belonged to the Divan, which the English remained debitor for from some yeares agoe to the latter end of the moneth of May next, to pay unto the said Divan the summe of 11,000 pagodas new Chinapatam coyne which they had accordingly paid the Divan already;

and therefore I doe hereby discharge and acquitt of the same summe for all the former demands for the time past unto the end of May next aforesaid forever, and from the prime of the month of June next ensueing the English paying to the Divan for his Majestyes halfe customes of the Towne of Chinapatam belonging to him the summe of 1,200 pagodas new Chinapatam coyne every yeare in the latter end of it. The said Towne shall remayne rented for ever wholly under them;

[1] 14 Misc. 339–42. That it was a translation is shown by a marginal note to the document. Venkatapati also says (26 F.S.G. 13) that he read to the Nawab the copy of the cowl that had been sent him; and obviously it would be easier to get the Nawab's consent to a draft that was in a language he understood. This suffices to explain the differences (which are immaterial so far as the sense is concerned) between this copy of the cowl and the later one of 1755, reproduced in Love, i. 344–5. The date on the latter copy (23 Feb.) is no doubt more likely to have been that of the actual grant than that on the former copy (31 Jan.), which may have been the date of the original draft, as suggested by Love, i. 344 *n.*

[2] I have slightly altered the punctuation, and have spaced the document, to facilitate comparison between the two copies mentioned in note (1).

[3] i.e. Narimedo, *lit.* 'Jackal-ground' (Love, i. 344 *n.*).

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and the English shall not be obliged to pay the said summe of 1,200 pagodas to noe Avaldaars or Governours in those parts, but they shall send the same money to be delivered to the Divan at the latter end of every yeare.

I doe moreover grant hereby to the English that all things that are brought and carryed through the Countreyes that are under my government for the English owne use, they shall pay noe custome or Junkan[1] for the same, neither shall any Avaldaars or Governours of Forts or places under my Government or Command have to doe in the least with Chinapatam, nor shall the said Avaldaars or Governours or other officers nor any of them whatsoever give any stop or hinderance to any paddy, corne, or provisions, cloth, or any other goods, or merchandize, comeing or goeing to or from the said Towne or Fort of Chinapatam &c, but they shall pass freely in and out and without any lett or molestation;

and that noe Avaldaars nor any of the Divan's people shall be placed nor have anything to doe there, but shall wholly remayne for ever under the English, and all the government and justice of the Towne shall be executed by the English, haveing allwayes carryed themselves peaceable in their aboades in his Majestyes dominions and with all dutifullness and respect unto him and deserve to [be] accompted as the Kings freinds;

and therefore I doe alsoe grant and in[en]order that, if it should at any time or times hereafter happen that any of their ships, boates or other vessells or goods & merchandize belonging to the English should be cast away or come on shore in any part of the Kings Dominions under my Government, that they shall have all liberty and assistance from the Governours in place to save them and carry them away by land or sea for their owne accounts without paying anything by the way or custome or other dutyes for the same;

and further more that the English may have all needful incouragement in their tradeing, it is alsoe granted and established, being soe peaceable a nation, and so good friends to His Majesty, that whatsoever previleidges are or shall be granted unto any other nation liveing and tradeing in His Majestyes Dominions for the present or future shall be granted and understood to be granted to the English alsoe,

and that this Cowyle and all things therein conteyned and granted, being a winding up and conclusion of all differences for the past and prevention for the future, shall stand firme and unalterable soe long as the sunne and moone indureth, and if anybody wrong you in any part of this Countrey or in the said Towne either in your merchandize or any other matters, I shall take care to doe you write [right] &

[1] i.e. *changam*, customs-duty.

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justice, and [in] wittness whereof I have given you this Cowle sealed that you may and your Succesours may injoy it for ever, with a perpetuall quietness.

In his letter of 27 February Venkatapati goes at length into the question of the rewards to be given to those who had helped to secure this settlement, advocating more liberal grants than the Governor had shown himself disposed to allow. The opportunity was taken to dwell on the appreciation which the Governor had expressed of his own services, and to suggest that they too deserved recognition and reward.[1]

The Nawab had scruples about handing over the cowl before he received the 11,000 pagodas to be paid for arrears; but the difficulty was settled by Venkatapati's agreeing, under pressure, to go himself to Madras for the money and giving his bond for its payment to the Nawab at Golconda within sixty days.[2] The letter from Venkatapati reporting this was accompanied by others from Cottapalli Yengana and other great Brahmans, as well as from Butche Paupana, confirming the agent's news and laying stress on the importance of the delivery of the money within the agreed time.[3] The Avaldar of Poonamallee was ordered to receive it and to send it with the Naik of his fort, one 'Berrigalla Yenkanaque', and a guard of sixty peons. He wrote to the Governor on 10 April, telling him this and asking that it should be made ready in sealed parcels. He also said he had heard that 'tashrifs' had been sent to Langhorn by the Nawab and that the Governor had gone out to meet them 'with great deale of joy and honor', of which event he would 'give his Excellency [the Nawab] full notice'.[4]

Before anything could be done, however, news was received of the death of the Nawab. Cottapalli Yengana, writing on 7 April, reported his decease on 30 March, and that on the day of writing Nawab Musa Khan was being ceremonially installed to succeed him as 'cheif gennerall of all the Carnatt country'. He advised Langhorn to dispatch the money and with it Venkatapati, who was then at Madras, so as to arrive within 'the appointed time'.[5] The new Nawab on 21 April himself wrote, announcing his appointment by His Highness the Olampana[6] as successor in the 'command and government of the kingdome of Carnat', and confirming all that had been done by the deceased Nawab Neknam Khan.[7] On the same day Venkatapati also wrote to the

[1] 26 F.S.G. 15. [2] Venkatapati's let. 7 March, ibid. 17.
[3] Ibid. 21–3. [4] Ibid. 24. [5] Ibid. 26.
[6] *Alampana*, world-refuge, a title of the King of Golconda.
[7] 26 F.S.G. 24–5.

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Governor from 'his toune' of Madawaren, expressing his joy at the accession of Musa Khan, as their friend Cottapalli Yengana had great influence with him and he would do more for them than the last Nawab.[1]

Meanwhile, Venkatapati had arrived at Madras with the cowl on 7 April, and four days later the Council passed orders for the payment of the 11,000 pagodas. The consultation recited that the Nawab had declared that, if the money was not paid to him within sixty days from 10 March, the cowl would be void and of no effect, and that the Council resolved on its immediate payment to the Poonamallee Naik, who had come with his sixty peons to receive it. Venkatapati was to accompany them and the money to Golconda.[2] The concluding portion of the consultation sanctions a sum of 1,079 pagodas for the 'great persons'. Venkatapati's labours also received recognition, the consultation recording that

> Our Bramine comeing and goeing about the said business and his reward for his greate paines taken in this business for these eleven years past are in all pagodas 1280 : 8, whence deducting pagodas 188 part of the last years present, remaines pagodas 1092 : 8, a greate summe, but as it is not possible to bring it lower than this, so wee hope our Honourable Employers will accompt it, as ourselves doe, the best kinde of expenditure. . . .[3]

The news of the death of the Nawab caused the return of Venkatapati from Poonamallee to meet his successor and arrange for the giving of a suitable present to him. At a consultation of 25 April it was resolved to send him one to the value of 500 pagodas in 'fine scarlett, lookeing glasses and such like', to be presented by the Brahman, when he appeared before the new Nawab with the money.[4]

On 12 June Venkatapati was at Golconda and reported his arrival to the Nawab, asking for an interview and receiving the reply that he should send the money and he would be summoned the next day.[5] Before going, he visited Cottapalli Yengana, on whom the title of 'Prataprao' had been conferred and who was thereafter so designated

[1] Ibid. 27–8. It was perhaps because of Venkatapati's absence from Golconda that in his correspondence with Langhorn he makes no mention of the death of King Abdullah Kutb Shah on 21 April (Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, 269, cf. p. 224 *post*). He was succeeded by his son-in-law, Abul Hasan Shah, under the peculiar circumstances told by Ovington and summarized on pp. 90–2.

[2] 1 F.S.G. 7 (*M.R.* 3–4). A lengthy extract from the consultation is printed in Love, i. 348.

[3] 1 F.S.G. 7.

[4] 1 F.S.G. 9 (*M.R.* 4, 5). See also Love, i. 348, where the relevant part of the consultation is printed in full.

[5] Venkatapati's let. 12 July, 26 F.S.G. 36.

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in the correspondence. The agent presented a 'piscash' to him and left him 'very well satisfied'. Subsequently he was received by the Nawab, to whom he handed the presents sent by the Governor. The interview passed off satisfactorily, and was described at length in a letter of 12 July to the Governor. 'I have praised his Excellency very much, whereof he was very glad, after which he asked me what kinde of man was your Worship and what kinde of condition you had.' The reply was that 'amongst all your predecessors none [was] more worthy than yourself'. The Nawab bestowed tashrifs on him and his companions and 'enordered Prataprao to take care in giveing us dispatch [in all our business]'. Then followed visits to the great persons, to each of whom he gave what he had promised and got assurances that they would 'speake to his Excellency in our behalfe on all occasions'. New favourites were not neglected, as he 'went to all other greate men that are now in favor in this new Government', and 'tould them that wee should know how to gratifie them whensoever they shall befriend us in our businesse'.[1]

On 20 June a receipt was issued by Nawab Musa Khan to Sir William Langhorn, acknowledging the payment of 11,000 pagodas on 15 June.[2] So ended a contest of wills which had lasted some eleven years. The persistence of the English chiefs at Madras, the diplomacy and intrigues of their agent and other helpers at Golconda, and, perhaps, the last illness of Nawab Neknam Khan, finally secured for them success on the main points at a moderate cost, and the Agent and Council were justified in the view expressed to the Company that the increase in payments was to its interest, in view of the safety and conveniency obtained.[3]

The settlement was followed by the return of the village of Triplicane (to the south of Madras, between it and San Thomé), which had been seized in the course of the dispute. The Nawab wrote to Sir William Langhorn on 12 July that he had ordered Triplicane to be let 'as it was formerly and was salabad'.[4] With this he sent a copy of a letter addressed to Muhammad Salihbeg, Tarafdar (subdivisional officer) at Poonamallee, reciting its seizure and ordering its restitution at a yearly rent of 50 pagodas as before.[5] At the same time the Nawab agreed to

[1] 26 F.S.G. 37.
[2] Ibid. 35, 37.
[3] Fort let. to Co. 23 Jan., O.C. 3620, f. 1.
[4] 26 F.S.G. 36; cf. Love, i. 350, where the Nawab's letter is reproduced. *Salabad* means according to established custom (p. 15 *n.*).
[5] It seems, however, that this rental was eventually included in the pags. 1,200 payable for Madras, cf. Love, i. 517.

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the continuance of various villages near Madras, subordinate to Poonamallee, which had been rented 'to your merchants Hassan Khan [*alias* Cassa Verona or Kasi Viranna] and Beny Pedda Yenkatadry'.[1]

Langhorn, on assuming office at Foxcroft's departure, found the defences of the Fort in an unsatisfactory state. The outer fortifications had been neglected in the latter's time and only a week before he left, one of them, the 'Fishing bulwarke', had fallen down.[2] The new Governor described their bad condition in a letter to the Company of 23 January and expressed his ambition to leave them in a better state.[3] He lost no time in dealing with the matter. The buildings and fortifications were at once surveyed, and two consultations of 26 January and an unspecified date in February ordered their repair and completion.[4]

The following extract from the later of the consultations shows the disgraceful and dangerous condition into which the defences had been allowed to fall, and the measures then proposed to be taken to improve them:

Surveighed the Buildings and Fortifications, and findeing them goeing much to ruine for want of the needfull repaires of the last yeares, by advice of the Bricklayer, Carpenter, Leiftenant Sutton,[5] and Gunner Dixon, resolved to proceede to repaire them without delay, the plaster which should preserve them being gennerally decayed, the bricks in many places mouldred and eaten away, the Fishers point part fallen and all the rest being ready to fall, and the walls, points, curtaines and battlements in many places sunck, undermined and ruined, so that, should wee any longer delay, all would in a yeare or two more fall downe. Alsoe to finish and make batteries upon Sir Thomas Chambers point, and open others on the round Point[6] towards the Island for secureing that side of the towne, which lies quite open to the river and unfortified.[7]

It was resolved about the same time to pull down two empty houses belonging to, or claimed by, Sir Edward Winter and the late Agent,

[1] 26 F.S.G. 35, 36. Beny Pedda Yenkatadry appears to be the deceased Beri Timmanna (p. 5), who was chief merchant from *c.* 1662; cf. Love, i. 202 *n.*

[2] This 'bulwarke' was the bastion at the north-east corner of the outer fortifications, within which lay the White, or Christian, Town and the Fort (Love, i. 362).

[3] O.C. 3620, f. 1.

[4] 1 F.S.G. 3 (*M.R.* 3), 4.

[5] He was a private at Fort St. George in 1652 and a sergeant in 1658, who appears to have succeeded Chuseman as commander of the garrison in 1668 (Love, i. 362 *n.*, 381 *n.*).

[6] Sir Thomas Chamber's point was the fortification at the north-west angle of the Outer Fort; the Round Point was at the south-west. See Love, i. 362 et seq., for these and other details: the consultation is there reproduced.

[7] Fort con. in Feb., 1 F.S.G. 4.

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Foxcroft, as being 'only fitt to harbour rogues a nights or enemies'.[1] In June Jearsey, who had settled at Madras in the previous year, was forbidden to raise his house, 'called Agent Greenhills house', any higher, as 'it hath been the constant policy of this place not to suffer any house within the Town walls to be raised higher than a ground floor', a policy which (with three exceptions) had been duly observed 'untill Agent Foxcroft his time'. In order to show that the Agent and Council acted without malice to Jearsey, 'whatsoever his mind and carriage be to us', he was, as a concession, allowed to build up the new part as high as the old one; but he was warned through Lieutenant Sutton that 'on any occasion of danger of enemyes it must and may be taken down for the better defence of the Fort'.[2]

In April Mohun at Masulipatam was directed to send a supply of timber for the repair of the fortifications, the powder mills, and the construction of gun-carriages, as many of these were 'wanting and unserviceable'.[3] After this the records are silent as to defence and fortifications until July, when the capture of San Thomé by the French (p. 44) and rumours of war with the Dutch led to anxiety and activity. At a consultation on 17 July, two days after the fall of San Thomé, the Council considered a lengthy list of questions concerning measures 'for the safety of the town, fort, treasure and other interest of the Honble. Company', and recorded their formal conclusion on each point. The importance of the occasion was shown by the Council requiring the attendance of Captains Fisher, Goodlad, and Dawes, commanders of the ships *Berkeley Castle*, *Loyal Subject*, and *Anne*, as well as Lieut. Timothy Sutton, Hugh Dixon, and William Dixon, gunners of the outer and inner forts respectively, Captain Phillip O'Neale,[4] and Sergts. James Betts, William Richardson, and Nathaniel Bonus.

As the lengthy consultation has already been published,[5] it will suffice to give a summary of its main conclusions. These were that speedy provision for the safety of the town was necessary; that fortifications, artillery, men, arms 'ammunition of mouth[6] and war' were required; that the gun-carriages within the Fort were defective, but the guns, 49 in number, sufficient; that there were '1,400[7] iron

[1] Fort con. 6 Feb., 1 F.S.G. 5.
[2] Fort con. 10 June, 1 F.S.G. 10 (*M.R.* 5, Love, i. 383); O.C. 3729,f. 3.
[3] Fort let. to Mas., – April, 9 Mas. 46–7. See also p. 231 *post.*
[4] He was the commander of the garrison (Love, i. 334 *n.*).
[5] Love, i. 363–5; *M.R.* 9–10.
[6] Stores of food, cf. *munitions de bouche.*
[7] In *M.R.* 9 the number is 14,000.

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shot in ditto, 6 or 700 stone shott,[1] which with 5 or 6,000 more stone shott will be a competent provision, want pitch, tarr, ropes, armes sufficient for 400 men, wants 22,000 lb. of powder, 12,000 lb. being within the Fort at present'; that the inner Fort only required to have its gates strengthened, but the outer fortifications were insufficient, being much out of repair, Fisher's Point fallen down, the curtains low and the new Round Point not finished; that the outer wall should be raised and carried on in certain parts; that new batteries should be made on the side towards the sea, i.e. the east;[2] that various repairs and improvements to the outer fortifications should be undertaken including a new Point on the river or west side; that less than 300 Europeans would not suffice for the garrison, which indeed required 400 or 500; finally, that it was necessary to have at each Point '[one] belonging to the Gunner's crew that understands the employment; at Bombayn there are three to each Poynt'.[3]

The repair and increase of the fortifications at Madras attracted the notice, and aroused the suspicions, of the Golconda authorities; and on 8 June Nawab Musa Khan wrote to the Governor, expressing his displeasure at his mending the Fort, the bulwark, and the ditch. He asked him to undo what was newly done and informed him that he had ordered his subordinates not to allow him to do anything more than accorded with established usage.[4] The Tarafdar of Poonamallee, Muhammad Salihbeg, also addressed the Governor in a letter of 7 July, saying that the making of the bulwark had been repeatedly refused in the times of previous Nawabs and advising him not to 'keepe anything of what is done now; only what hath binn done before'.[5] The work was apparently stopped on receipt of these peremptory orders, for (on the appearance of the French fleet on 10 July off San Thomé) the Governor wrote to Venkatapati at Golconda that the 'points and fortifications to seaward lye all open and undefenseable and [this] merely out of my soe exact obedience to His Excellency Cawn Cawnas commands'.[6] He instructed him to repair to the Nawab and ask permission to finish the

[1] The copy of the record which Love reproduced would seem to have been defective from this point down to 'armes', as he was obliged to leave some words missing. They are supplied in the above extract.

[2] Three Members of Council dissented from this.

[3] 1 F.S.G. 18–20 (*M.R.* 9–10). The word 'one' is not in the India Office copy of the consultation, but appears in *M.R.* 10. For an interesting account of the distribution of the garrison at the various Points at the end of the year, see the unsigned report in O.C. 3765, which is reproduced in Love, i. 373–5.

[4] 26 F.S.G. 29.

[5] Ibid. 30, 31.

[6] Ibid. 31. The Nawab had been given the title of Khān Khānān.

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work.[1] Two days later and before this letter had arrived, the native agent reported that, with the help of the 'great men', he had secured permission for the work of repair of the bulwarks and walls to proceed, and that the Nawab's orders were ready except for their sealing.[2] This was satisfactory, as the Nawab had been informed that the making of the bulwarks had always been opposed by the Golconda authorities, and had much other adverse information supplied to him.[3] Prataprao on 26 July, however, was able to write to the Governor, confirming the news of the preparation of the orders and telling him that he might proceed with the work on the fortifications.[4] Unfortunately, however, allegations that the English had assisted the French in the capture of San Thomé caused their issue to be postponed till the accusation had been cleared up and the assistance desired by Golconda from the English against the French had been given.[5]

This capture of San Thomé by the French under Admiral De la Haye was, indeed, the chief and most disturbing event of the year. He and his fleet had sailed from France in 1670, and, after various vicissitudes, which included a long and useless stay at Madagascar, where he lost a large part of his men from disease, and another one of three months at Surat, had arrived at Ceylon in March 1672.[6] There he encountered the Dutch, and, though he was able to occupy the bay which lies at the back and just to the south of Trincomallee, was forced to leave through lack of provisions and the loss of men and ships.[7]

He anchored before San Thomé on 10 July and speedily found a cause or excuse for hostilities in the refusal of supplies by the Golconda Governor of the town. After a preliminary attack on 13 July, which might have been successful if pressed, De la Haye on 14 July landed his troops and guns and the next day stormed and took the fortress. The French were not long left in peaceful occupation of it; Golconda forces were collected and in the beginning of September were maintaining a rather ineffectual blockade—what Langhorn described as a 'kind of siege', with 'little of hostility'.[8]

[1] 26 F.S.G. 31.
[2] Ibid. 37.
[3] Venkatapati's let. 12 July, 26 F.S.G. 38.
[4] 26 F.S.G. 40.
[5] Venkatapati's let. 28 July, 26 F.S.G. 39.
[6] Cf. Kaeppelin, 80, & *E.F.* i. 51, 215, 309, 312. The loss of lives at Madagascar is mentioned in O.C. 3720, f. 1 (p. 45 *post*).
[7] Fort let. to Co. 16 Dec., O.C. 3720, ff. 1, 2; Fort let. to Mas. 9 April, 9 Mas. 47–8. Ten days after his departure a French ship that had been left as a magazine and hospital was captured by the Dutch, and the commander of the French capitulated and handed over a small island in the Bay which they had occupied (Kaeppelin, 94; Carré, ii. 430–1).
[8] O.C. 3720, f. 2.

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This siege continued till March 1673 when the Golconda forces retreated, to return some three months later in company with the Dutch. The second siege, conducted by the combined Dutch and Golconda forces, lasted from June 1673 to August 1674, when De la Haye after a long and gallant defence was forced by starvation to surrender. The story is told in full by Martin and Carré, and more briefly in Lt.-Col. H. D. Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras* (i. 310–34) and in the other authorities quoted by him; here it suffices to set forth such material as the Factory Records supply and to note the policy and actions of the Fort authorities in the difficult situation which the conflict created. They did not wish and could not afford to offend Golconda, with which they had just settled their differences; on the other hand the French were their friends and, after the outbreak of the war with the Dutch, their allies.

The first news of the event is contained in a letter of 10 July from Langhorn to Venkatapati at Golconda. In this he announces the arrival of the French fleet, saying:[1]

Heere is this afternoone come to anchor in St Thoma Road a fleete of seven French men of warr, greate ships. What their intent is wee cannot tell, but I have ordered the Honble. Companys three ships left in the roade to put themselves in a posture of defence for feare of the worst. A fleete also is expected of Dutch shipps.

Towards the end of the year the Governor and Council sent a long report to the Company, giving an account of the capture of San Thomé, as well as of the movements of the French ships and of the opposing Dutch fleet under Rijloff van Goens which preceded it. The relevant part is as follows:

The 8th Aprill arrived a small French pink from the Bay of Trinchinomala [Trincomallee], as well for discovery as to buy provisions for the fleete which under the command of Mounsr. De la Hay Generall [had] landed there the 26th March and fortified the Bahia de Larcos, within the said bay on the back of the Dutch fort,[2] haveing 8 shipps Royall and 5 others, one whereof sent for France with the newes, and with 1,100 landmen, the remainder of 3,000 brought out with them, the rest dead at Madagascar.

The Dutch Admirall Van Goense Senr. with 17 sayle (haveing mett and lost sight of them off the Mallabar Coast and since called at Cochin

[1] 26 F.S.G. 31.

[2] The Portuguese called the Bay of Trincomallee 'Baia dos Arcos' (Bay of the arcs) from its curving shores (P. E. Pieris, *Portuguese maps of Ceylon, 1650*, plate 13). The portion fortified was an island in the inner bay (Martin, i. 329, 338).

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to visit that garrison) followed and desired the Generall to desist and depart thence, offering what refreshments they needed. But hee claymed to hold the place in the name of the French King, and haveing found it free and unpossessed by the Dutch, although they had Forts on both sides at Trinchinomala and Cuttiaree [Kotiyar], which latter, on the French arrivall, the Dutch quitted to re-inforce the garrison of Trichinomala; whereupon Van Goense applied himselfe to intercept their shipps sent to this coast for provisions, the *Phoenix* [and] the *European*,[1] for Tringambar [Tranquebar][2] and the [3] hither. The 2 first fall into his hands [and] the 3rd, seeing 2 French [*sic*: should be Dutch] shipps make after her from the said Bay, durst not trust them, but stood away again for this road. So that the French, being in streights, were glad to leave two shipps to keepe possession, and with 6 men of Warr and one victualler[4] came the 10th July to an anchor in St. Thoma Road, whither I desired Mr. Hinmers and Mr. Wilkes to waite upon the Generall and offer him all the accomodation this place could afford, which he civilly refused upon the occasion of our shipps flaggs, a pretence they have begun in the streights and meane to trouble these parts with it also, as at Surrat already[5] (in which cases your instructions wilbee necessary). But the 13 Currant picking a quarrell with St. Thoma, battering it from their shipps and landed [*sic*] about 300 men, shewed there was other designs on foot. The peons[6] forsook that place leaving not above 30 within, so that, had their [the French] ladders bin ready, they had then entered it, but by the 15th morning, haveing gott ladders and 4 small brasse gunns ashoar and fitted all things, notwithstanding about 6 or 800 peons were gott in and about 1,000 neare [at] hand, they battered anew from sea, beat down parte of the parrapett on the south side with their 4 small peices, and in an houres time scaled and took the place with only 2 or 3 men hurt. The Moores peons most rann out of the gate, the rest kild or taken; those without came neare, but fledd at the first volley of small shott.

From which time little of hostility, not so much as the markett

[1] *Phénix* and *Europe*.

[2] Tranquebar is 143 miles south-south-west of Madras. The Danes had made a settlement there in 1616 (cf. p. 296 *post*).

[3] Left blank. She was the hooker, *St. Louis*, belonging to the French Company (Kaeppelin, 89, 92). Langhorn described her as a pink of about 100 tons, 12 guns, and 40 men (9 Mas. 47).

[4] Love, i. 313 wrongly includes the two captured vessels in the French fleet which arrived at San Thomé. Martin, i. 351, and Carré, ii. 427, give the same number and description of vessels leaving Ceylon as above, with the addition of a hooker (the *Barbot*) belonging to the French Company, which was dispatched to Europe and did not accompany the fleet to St. Thomé.

[5] Cf. *E.F.* i. 215–16. De la Haye contended that the Company's flag should be struck to his flag, being a royal one.

[6] Golconda foot-soldiers.

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disturbed (only once the French beat up the Moores quarters at Codumbark [Kodumbaukam] 4 miles off) till the 7 of September, when, haveing gott together about 11,000 horse & foote since encreased to 16,000, they drew neare and began a kind of seige but with as little successe as conduct, so that unlesse the Dutch engage with them wee beleive they would be glad to make peace, haveing already endeavoured a parley. But the French slight them, and refuse to treate unlesse with some persons sent expressly and commissioned from the King.[1]

After the capture of San Thomé there were many and repeated requests from Golconda that the English should assist in its recapture. The local Avaldar, Muhammad Salihbeg, 'to free himselfe from blame' —so Venkatapati on 28 July wrote to Langhorn—gave out 'many lyes against us, saying that you have assisted the French, giveing powder, shott and boates and have showed them the way to take the fort [San Thomé].[2] Prataprao again proved himself a friend, communicating to the Nawab only part of the report—'heere and there a word'—but he sent for the native agent and asked him to write to Sir William to assist the Golconda forces and free himself from the accusations. This Venkatapati did, stating that 'you cannot excuse or deney him this favor in assisting his people as desired'. He also put the English case to Prataprao, asserting that Muhammad Salih was their enemy, and that the presence of the French at San Thomé was unwelcome to the English, as it would necessitate a large garrison and heavy charges owing to the fear that they might 'attempt anything against our towne'.[3] From this time on until the end of the year there were continual letters on these matters from Venkatapati, Prataprao, and the Nawab himself, at Golconda; also from the commander of the Golconda army, Trimbak Ragia,[4] and others on the spot, including one Fattemea, a Brahman by name Sobnes Kishnapa, and an Englishman, Richard Cogan,[5] who were sent from Golconda to assist the local leaders.

These letters, besides containing complaints of the inaction of the

[1] Fort let. to Co. 16 Dec., O.C. 3720, ff. 1–3. The King was now Abul Hasan Shah, cf. p. 39 *n*.

[2] 26 F.S.G. 38. [3] Ibid. 38–9.

[4] In different parts of the correspondence he is variously designated or referred to as raja, raggia, ragia, or rays [rais].

[5] Cogan, who was then living at Golconda, was a son of Sir Andrew Cogan, a former Agent at Madras. After going in the service of the Company to Madras in 1642, he had become a servant of the Nawab of Golconda (Love, i. 58 *n*., 141; *E.F*., 1646–50, 198, & 1651–4, 260). According to Venkatapati he sent maliciously false reports to the Nawab, due to his being still in debt to the Company (26 F.S.G. 69). In 1670 his attempts to intervene in the dispute about the town had been much resented by Foxcroft (his let. 10 Nov. 1670, ibid. 24). Letters from Cogan to Langhorn will be found in ibid. 44, 56–7.

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English at the time of the capture of San Thomé, repeated news arriving from numerous sources of help given to the French, and asked or demanded assistance with blandishments or threats. On 30 July, for example, the Nawab wrote to the Governor as follows:[1]

Your Worship being soe neare neighbour to that place, how could you suffer that the enemy came and tooke the Fort of St. Thoma in the manner as they tooke it? However, I have now writt a letter to Trimbacke Rays that himselfe with his people and the Gentue captains and pallegars[2] should all goe, and your Worship along with them, to be altogeather neare St. Thoma Fort, and to use all the meanes and endeavors with all possible expedition to destroy the enemy utterly and to restore againe the Fort . . . if your Worship should make any delay therein, I shall take you to be an enemy.

On the next day he asked for 'guns, powder and shott, and your souldiers to help and assist our people', and that ships should be sent to prevent provisions entering the Fort: he looked on the Governor 'as one who wished our prosperitie and are verry faithfull to us'.[3]

Trimbak Ragia, the Golconda commander, wrote direct to Sir William on 10 August and 6 September, asking in his first letter that a member of the Council should be sent to discuss affairs,[4] and in the second that powder and shot should be supplied.[5] Neither request would seem to have been complied with, for on 28 August the Nawab complained that no 'higeeb' (agent) had been sent and renewed the demand for guns and ammunition. He asked the Governor to take council with Trimbak and Fattemea for the speedy capture of the Fort, complained that the French were going to and from Madras in boats and 'doe carry all necessary provissions and wood', and requested the Governor to join the Golconda commanders, 'to consider with them and to gett breast works made in such places as shall be necessary, giving your forts powder and shot, guns and fireworks for assistance'.[6]

On 12 September he renewed his appeal, asking specially for guns—'our most neede is of your guns which you will please to give Triamback Ragio, 4 or 5 guns at least and some good constables [? gunners]'. He asked at the same time that some French ships, whose arrival was shortly expected, should be utterly destroyed and that those in San Thomé road should be burnt.[7] It appears from another letter of the

[1] 26 F.S.G. 36.
[2] Poligars, subordinate feudal chiefs (Yule, 718).
[3] 26 F.S.G. 36.
[4] Ibid. 40.
[5] Ibid. 44.
[6] Ibid. 45.
[7] Ibid. 57–8.

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same date that the Nawab had leased Pulicat and some adjacent territories to Richard Cogan and a Persian partner,[1] possibly in the hope or belief that the former would be of help in the siege or in the negotiations with the English. On 18 September Cogan wrote to Sir William, under command of the Nawab, to ask for arms and ammunition, especially 'greate artillery, a mortar peice or two with their shells, two or three able gunners . . . given leave to receive salary from His Majesty [the King of Golconda] and enrold as his servants'.[2] Trimbak Ragia, writing four days later from his camp, added to the usual requests one for money 'for batty[3] for the pallegars and for other expenses of the army'.[4] None of the replies of the Governor to these appeals are forthcoming, but it is obvious that the desired help was not being supplied. The reason given may be gathered from a reference by Venkatapati on 3 October to a letter of 25 September from the Governor, saying that he could do nothing which 'might cause an enmity with the French'.[5] Prataprao suggested, with Venkatapati's support, that the Governor should send powder and shot—'though it be but a little'—by oxen privately at night, so that Prataprao and the agent might be able to speak on his behalf.[5]

On 20 October the Governor and Council, to avoid the troubles caused by the Commanders and Avaldars of the camp before San Thomé and their false reports to the Nawab, resolved to endeavour to make friends 'especially [of] Sobnees Kisnapa, the Nawab's second Brahmini, and Giagappa, cheif Braamini to Baba Saib,[6] whose camp lyes next to us'. For this purpose they authorized Kasi Viranna to give presents in money up to 300 pagodas to Sobnes, 120 to Giagappa, and to others in power smaller sums for their 'content and privacy'. Kasi Viranna said he had already spent 2,700 pagodas 'upon this very score'.[7]

Meanwhile, Venkatapati at Golconda was having a difficult time, and was sent for, questioned, and reproached on various occasions. He explained that the English had no wish for so powerful a neighbour as the French near them, one likely to spoil all their trade and merchandise.[8] On the other hand, circumstantial reports of help given from the Fort to the French were coming from Trimbak Ragia and from Cogan. It

[1] Ibid. 57. [2] Ibid. 56.
[3] Rice or, perhaps here, subsistence money (*batta*): cf. Yule, 72–3.
[4] 26 F.S.G. 57. [5] Ibid. 59.
[6] Baba Sahib was another commander of the Golconda forces.
[7] Fort con. 20 Oct., 1 F.S.G. 23 (*M.R.* 11–12).
[8] Venkatapati's let. 13 Aug., 26 F.S.G. 54.

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was alleged that people had been captured at night bringing flesh and toddy to San Thomé, who had admitted that they came from Chinapatam (Madras). Cogan asserted that this had happened not once but two or three times, and that some of the carriers had been killed.[1] The Brahman, Sobnes Kisnapa, wrote to the Governor on 26 October, recounting how he had been ordered to gather an army, and how he had brought from several places 'men, artilery, powder, shott, and fireworks, and the 25 present [month] I have approached to the suburbs of St. Thoma'. He reproached the Governor for his inactivity in the matter and promised favour from the King and the Nawab, if help was given in recapturing the town.[2] On 11 November Trimbak Ragia wrote from his camp asking that one of the French 'great persons', whom he heard was in the Fort, should be secured and sent to him.[3]

In answer to these appeals, the most that the Governor conceded was that a number of the 'Divans people' (Golconda revenue peons) should be permitted to remain in the town, to see that no assistance reached the French from there.[4] On 14 November one Himam Collebeg, apparently a commander of troops or other official,[5] wrote complaining that, having noticed some Frenchmen had come by boat to the Fort, he had gone there himself and had sent a message to the Governor, who had told him they were gone, but that he might 'keepe the Divans people their [*sic*] in all places to watch and enquire'; nevertheless the Governor had allowed these spies to be 'drubbed and disturbed so abusefully'.[6] The same matter was also made the cause of complaint through Venkatapati, who reported it to Langhorn on 25 November. The Nawab had again sent for him and had Himam Collebeg's complaints repeated in his presence. The account here is more detailed and relates how, on Himam's proceeding to the Fort to interview the Governor, the latter ordered all the guns in the Fort and its soldiers to be ready to prevent his entry. Venkatapati's reply was that, with 100 peons in the town, the presence of the French there, or the supply of powder and shot to them, would have been seen, and that the approach of Himam with armed men had necessarily caused alarm and precautions.[7] The same day the Nawab wrote to Sir William

[1] Venkatapati's let. 3 Oct., 26 F.S.G. 59. [2] 26 F.S.G. 60.

[3] Ibid. 62–3, 68. [4] Venkatapati's let. 3 Oct., 26 F.S.G. 59.

[5] Probably he was identical with the Himam Khan Beg, a commander of Golconda troops, referred to at p. 61. [6] 26 F.S.G. 63.

[7] 26 F.S.G. 68. Lawrence Sawcer's letter to the Company (see p. 122) gives an account of this episode, which supports Himan's complaint (see Love, i. 391–2); but its reliability is questionable, in view of his antagonism to Langhorn. He says that trouble was averted by Kasi Viranna,

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complaining that, although he had asked him to supply powder and shot and to attack the French ships said to be coming to San Thomé and to 'destroy all [of] them, fighting with them with your shipps, untill you breake them all unto peices', nothing had been done. The accusations that the French visited the Fort and were supplied with provisions from it were repeated, and the Governor was again asked to 'send all manner of provissions that my people shall have occasions off at the camp'.[1]

On 28 November Venkatapati wrote that the Nawab had sent his chief patamar (foot-runner), Vegula Naranappa, to the Governor and that, as he was 'very much our freind', Sir William should 'be pleased to give him all the good words that possibbly you can and to content him with some guifts', so that his report should be favourable.[2] Two days later he wrote further, saying: 'their comes letters every hower from those in camp at St. Thoma against us, and therefore I am both day and night continually at the Divan. Your Worship must keepe faithfull watches at all the gates, that none that are strangers may come into the towne'. Prataprao, he reported, assured him that the request that the English should fight against the French need not be taken seriously.[3] In a later letter there is a reference to the orders for the completion of the Fort bulwarks (p. 44), which could not be 'chopped' [sealed], as His Highness the Olampana had gone on a pleasure trip with the Nawab.[4] The appeals and reproaches from Golconda continued, and on 5 December the Nawab again informed the Governor of continual reports that he protected and assisted the French, and repeated the admonition to him to assist the Golconda commanders. Prataprao wrote also on the same date in a similar strain.[5] The Nawab Musa Khan added that he had been asked to give a receipt for 516 pagodas for powder and shot supplied to Trimbak by the English, but that if such had been delivered—which he obviously doubted—the commander would give a receipt himself.

Relations with the Dutch during this period were correct, though uncertain, at least on the side of the Dutch. War against them had been declared by the English and French in the early part of the year, but the news did not reach India until September; this was by the ships then arriving at Bombay, whence Langhorn received it.[6] The

who paid 2,400 pagodas to purchase peace again. This sum cannot have been included in the 2,700 pagodas which are mentioned at p. 49, as the latter had been spent by 20 Oct.

[1] 26 F.S.G. 67. [2] Ibid. 72. [3] Ibid. 72–3.
[4] Let. 4 Dec., 26 F.S.G. 73. [5] 26 F.S.G. 74–5.
[6] Fort let. to Co. 16 Dec., O.C. 3721, ff. 2–3. Cf. *E.F.* i. 49–50.

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Dutch, however, seem to have been without reliable or direct information of the outbreak of hostilities until after the end of the year, while the Governor kept his news as secret as possible,[1] for van Goens, after disposing of the French ships and garrison left at Trincomallee (p. 44 *n.*), brought his fleet of sixteen sail to the Coromandel coast and was in its neighbourhood in September and the beginning of October. It passed Madras on 1 September on its way north, but did not molest the French vessels, though they would have been an easy prey. Ten ships went to Pulicat and the remaining six to Masulipatam. On their return in October the uncertainty of the Dutch as to the position was shown by their saluting the Fort but not the French in San Thomé.[2] At the end of the year Langhorn reported to the Company that the Dutch at Pulicat had—

putt all things in the best order they can, scoured their ditches, made pallisades, etc., and in the countrey buy up all the cloth they can gett good and bad, though of the ordinary sorts and at this season, which they have never used to doe with this eagerness, though they are buying more or less all the yeare long, which has strangely hindred your merchants who, using to give way to each other to keep downe the marketts, are extremely disappointed, and this wee know not what to impute unto, unless to the expectation of a considerable fleet and perhaps a designe to gett in all the effects they can, the freelyer to put in execution that upon Diu Island [see p. 227] much suspected: which fleet, if by way of Mallacca may be here speedily but if by way of Ceylaon as it should seeme by some conjectures, not till February, so that if ours can but miss them off the Island, the danger were over. Meanwhile [we] have layd peons between this and Metchlapatam and cattamarans off of Pullicata & advised Metchlapatam to lay others off of Diu point for advices and discoveryes.[3]

The Governor was very circumspect in his relations with the French and refused to join them or to concert measures against the Dutch, his aim being, as he explained in his letter, to leave the Dutch as long as possible in ignorance or uncertainty as to the outbreak of war in Europe, at least until the Company's ships had got safely away on their homeward voyage. His negotiations with the French are described in the same letter to the Company, where he says:

[1] This statement is supported by the correspondence mentioned on pp. 53–4. On the other hand, the *Cambridge History of India*, v. 69, says that the Dutch had learnt of the outbreak of war in Sept. Probably no *official* notification about it came from Holland till the beginning of 1673 (cf. p. 59).

[2] O.C. 3721, ff. 2–3; Fort let. 2 Dec., 9 Mas. 1.

[3] O.C. 3721, f. 3. As to the Dutch large purchases of cloth, cf. Fort con. 1 April & 14 June, 1 F.S.G. 6, 11–13.

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The French Generall, to whome for the greater secresy I have been no freer of my advices then meerly of the opinion of a warr and hostillityes began, wrote to me lately, with offers of assistance, to advise about our government in order to the warr breaking out. To which with thankes for his kinde offer I returned him answer, that [we] had not yet any instructions thereabout, but that if while your shipps were here, any Dutch fleet should come, his and yours might weigh anchor and joyne for their mutuall deffence, more they could not [undertake] untill further orders, not thinking fitt to declare absoulutely against any joyning with them, nor to render the enemy too confident an assurance thereof.[1]

The French at San Thomé had been fortunate:

the winter monsoon having also soe strangely favoured them that their shipps have rode out the ill moons of October and November as quietly as if in summer, and before it was quite settled [they] brought themselves provisions from Porto Novo, where they have more ready for the first turn of the wind; neare whereunto they have bought a place caled Treinalaware, upon a small river, capable of shipps of 150 tonnes for 20,000 pieces of eight, half downe, the rest in 3 yeares, of the Naique of Tangiour [Tanjore].[2]

On the other hand, the French were being closely besieged by the Golconda forces, and there were continual combats between the two sides.[3]

In December Langhorn was in correspondence with Pavillon, the Dutch Governor of Pulicat.[4] Only the letters from the Dutch side are forthcoming. One of these, dated 22 December (N.S.), shows the receipt of a letter from Langhorn of 9 December (O.S.), through Jearsey, whom the Dutch Governor says he could have seized, as it was believed that the English had certain news of the outbreak of war, but he refrained from doing this,

relying wholy upon your honours negative word and freindship; neither doe I judge it convenient for either partie, provided you assuer me to be of the same minde, to hinder one another freely to pass and repass, allthough there be open war betwixt our nations, to which pass I hope the good God will never lett it come.[5]

[1] O.C. 3721, f. 4.

[2] Ibid., f. 2. 'Treinalaware' is probably Tirumavasul, situated on the Uppanar branch of the River Canvery: cf. Carré, ii. 433, 445.

[3] See Love, i. 322–3 for details of the siege, and cf. Kaeppelin, 99–100; Carré, ii. 450–80.

[4] His real surname was Paviljoen, but I retain the name Langhorn addressed to him.

[5] 26 F.S.G. 69.

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Some kind of agreement of the kind suggested would seem to have been arrived at, for some five days later he refers to a letter from Langhorn written the day before, and states: 'I am willing to governe myself accordingly, haveing thereto a power and good will.'[1]

In an undated letter, which appears in the records immediately before that from which the above quotation is taken, Pavillon refers to news from Masulipatam that the English factors there had told the Dutch that King Charles II had declared war on the Dutch.[2] His previous letter of 22 December also mentions the capture of the Dutch ship *Meijboom* by the English.[3] The year thus ended with this friendly understanding between the two Governors, though their respective countries were actively at war elsewhere.

As to 'home affairs' at Madras, Langhorn seems to have been so preoccupied with the capture of San Thomé by the French and the war with the Dutch that his letter of 16 December to the Company, and the postscripts to it,[4] contain nothing about them. Such details of the progress of the investment for the six homeward ships as are available have already been given (p. 30). None of them had returned to Madras by the end of the year (pp 230, 232).

There is little reference this year to the Ceylon captives. The Company, in its despatch of 18 December 1671 and another of 15 March 1672 received via Surat, spurred on those at the Fort to further efforts for their release and for the starting of a trade in Ceylon, instructing them to inform the King how advantageous it would be to him to be furnished with arms and artillery to resist his enemies and with merchandise in return for his cinnamon and other commodities.[5] The Agent and Council had already, before these instructions reached them, taken advantage of the presence of the French fleet and Admiral in Ceylon to write to him on behalf of the captives;[6] but there is no record of any result of this appeal, and the Admiral's own troubles there doubtless prevented him from rendering any help.

[1] 26 F.S.G. 71. This surmise is confirmed by Langhorn's letter of 31 Jan. 1673 to Pavillon, which promises to continue 'that good friendship hitherto betweene us' (17 F.S.G. 1).

[2] 26 F.S.G. 70.

[3] Ibid. 69. The *Meijboom* (later renamed the *Mayboom*) was captured off Karwar on 23 Oct., cf. *E.F.* i. 310.

[4] O.C. 3721. This, however, seems to be a letter from Langhorn alone, and no 'general' letter from him and his Council in Dec. 1672 or Jan. 1673 is forthcoming.

[5] 4 L.B. 494 & 540.

[6] PS. to Fort let. 3 June, 9 Mas. 59.

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MADRAS, 1673

In the early part of the year the chief trading transaction was the sale, on 10 January, to Kasi Viranna, and the merchants associated with him, of goods that had come out on the ships from England. A box of coral beads was sold at cost price, and lead and brimstone fetched 10 pagodas a candy. These rates were not good, but retail prices were low at the time and merchants had large quantities of the Company's goods on their hands to the value of nearly 90,000 pagodas, while they had already taken over 30,830 pagodas' worth in the same season.[1]

The six homeward-bound ships, which had been delayed at Masulipatam (p. 232), arrived at the Fort on the night of 16 January.[2] On 27 January Langhorn had them ready for dispatch. He had managed (as he wrote to the Company) to make his investments 'beyond my own expectations', and had shipped 3,000 bags of saltpetre, 144 of turmeric, 266 of cotton yarn, 44 of 'sticklack' (lac), and 3,380 bales of calicoes. Langhorn with justifiable complacency reported that he had put on board this cargo in eight days, 'the two Lords days exempted', in an open road, 'with only a few stitcht mossullaes [surf-boats] which must ever and anon be mending, holding them to it day and night'.[3]

On the ships Langhorn sent various letters to the Company, the first, written on 1 January, mainly relating to Jearsey, whose presence in the Fort and doings there were a source of trouble and annoyance.[4]

The French on their arrival at San Thomé had seized Jearsey's vessel, the *Ruby*, and for this and other troubles with them he blamed Langhorn. The latter attributed them to Jearsey's own 'evill tongue', which had used foul language about the French and 'incensed [them] faster than I could asswage'.[4] The Governor had attempted to prevent the confiscation of the *Ruby* through De la Haye's captains, who promised to oppose it; but the French Admiral's will was 'a law', and he persisted in it in spite of the opposition of his own Council.[4] The weakness of Jearsey's case, in Langhorn's view, was that the *Ruby* had neither licence, passport, nor despatches aboard to prove her English, that her crew were mostly natives, and that the ship and goods were seized when trading under a cowl given by the Golconda authorities and lying in a place (San Thomé) taken by storm. Langhorn also

[1] F.S.G. con. 10 Jan., 1 F.S.G. 24 (*M.R.* 12).
[2] Langhorn's let. to Co. 17 Jan., O.C. 3742.
[3] Langhorn's let. to Co. 27 Jan., O.C. 3729, f. 5.
[4] O.C. 3729, f. 1.

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asserted that Jearsey had endeavoured to draw away trade to San Thomé, and had neglected Langhorn's advice to remove his ship and effects from there when the French first came, even though the Agent had taken the trouble to go to his house to warn him, and had lent him two surf-boats to bring away his property.[1] The boats, however, were taken by the French on account of Jearsey's ill behaviour towards them. Thus Jearsey refused to part with any of his large stock of timber, some of which the French wanted to buy from him. Langhorn also required two timbers for laying the keels of two other surf-boats to replace those he had lent Jearsey; and the need of them was so urgent that Langhorn took them from where they lay in the open street, but debited their value in an account for its eventual payment.[2] Langhorn professed himself ready to afford Jearsey his 'just and charitable offices' in the quarrel with the French, provided they did not involve the Company in it, but he complained that for this offer and for other concessions, such as permission given to Jearsey to increase the height of his house (p. 42), Jearsey rendered 'clamours instead of thankes'; and he professed himself 'extremely mistaken if there be not close caballing for a new Agent more fitt' for the purposes of Jearsey and his friends. His house had, he said, become 'the center where all the ill humours meet and caballe'.[3]

The Council received assistance from Richard Mohun who was at Madras from about the end of March to the end of June (p. 235). Otherwise there was no change in its composition during the year, except in the case of Jacob Smith. The Company disapproved of Smith's sudden promotion to the Council over the heads of other factors, to their great discouragement and against its orders providing for succession according to seniority.[4] He accordingly ceased to act as a Member of Council after the arrival of the ships in July bringing the Company's despatch of 13 December 1672, which contained this decision.[5] The question of the relative seniority of Herries and Bridger (pp. 27–8) was decided by the Company in favour of the former.[6] Langhorn's annual salary was, by the same despatch, raised to £200, with £100 gratuity, the same as that of his predecessor Foxcroft, with effect from the date on which he became Agent.[7] His private fortunes were apparently not advancing as rapidly as he had anticipated or wished; and in a letter of 12 September

[1] O.C. 3729, f. 2. [2] Ibid., ff. 2, 3. [3] Ibid., ff. 1, 3.

[4] 5 L.B. 21. Cf. *Ct. Min.*, 1671–3, 151, 153, 192. The Company, however, sanctioned his entertainment in its service at a salary of £25 a year (ibid.).

[5] *M.R.* 14–18. [6] 5 L.B. 20.

[7] Ibid. 27. Cf. *Ct. Min.*, 1671–3, 199.

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he asked for an extension of his term of office for one, two, or three years, pleading that 'my perticular success, by reason of so great expence in setting out and sad troublesome times since, is not soe forward'.[1] Charges against Vincent in Bengal and against Mohun and Mainwaring at Masulipatam which had reached the Company had been sent out with the above despatch for investigation;[2] and Langhorn, doubtless wanting to dissociate himself from Mohun, explained that a joint letter from him and Mohun to the Company had been written before the latter fell ill or things went wrong at Masulipatam.[1]

Other orders from the Company raised the salaries of John Field to £30 and those of William Probart, John Davis, John Nicks, and John Thomas (four boys from Christ's Hospital who had come out in 1668) to £10.[3] Ten new writers were sent out this year at the usual salaries of £10 and one apprentice at £5.[4] Langhorn added one to the number of the writers by allowing John Pounsett, who was intended for Surat, to remain at Madras at his earnest request, the alleged attraction being that the minister there, Mr. Tutchin, was of the same persuasion as himself.[5] Tutchin had succeeded Rev. James Hounsill, who died prior to the arrival of the ships in July.[6] The Fort also lost Lawrence Sawcer, whose death took place on 29 May.[7]

In his letter of 1 January Langhorn gave high praise to Thomas Lucas, the scribe for 'these and allmost all papers sent to the Company'.[8] He repeated this recommendation in his letter of 20 September, adding 'I make bold to say that you have not his fellow on this side [of] India'.[9]

The despatch received by the ships in July brought orders on Jearsey's case. This the Company practically left to the decision of the Fort authorities. The Agent and Council were told to debit Jearsey with the demands of the Company against him and to settle the matter without further deferring it or referring it to the Company.[10] The same

[1] O.C. 3849, f. 2.
[2] 5 L.B. 20, 21. See also Walcot's 'information', O.C. 3663, and pp. 218–19 *post.*
[3] 5 L.B. 20, 25. As to the boys, see *E.F.*, 1668–9, 128, 155.
[4] 5 L.B. 24.
[5] Fort let. to Surat, 10 Sept., O.C. 3848. Tutchin had first come to Madras as a chaplain on the *Return* in 1669–70 (*Ct. Min.*, 1668–70, 245–6). He was allowed to draw his salary for work at Madras from 9 June 1672 (5 L.B. 96).
[6] Cf. Rev. Frank Penny, *The Church in Madras*, i. 55.
[7] Fort con. 31 May, *M.R.* 13.
[8] PS. in Langhorn's handwriting, O.C. 3729, f. 3. According to Sawcer, Lucas had come out to India as a soldier, and was employed by Langhorn as a writer on his own authority (3 Misc. 155).
[9] O.C. 3849, f. 3.
[10] 5 L.B. 20.

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despatch gave news of the progress of Sir Edward Winter's case. The Commissioners' report had been laid before Lord Arlington,[1] His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State, but nothing further had been yet done as regards it.[2] Langhorn expressed his gratitude that the Company took so little notice of 'the many ill offices' of Winter and others, saying that he had likewise 'cancelled all these injuries'.[3]

Political, rather than mercantile, matters were of chief importance during this year. Langhorn's policy and task were the maintaining of peace with the three powers in his neighbourhood, Golconda, the French, and the Dutch. This, as far as the Fort was concerned, he was able to achieve by a consistent but tortuous diplomacy, and on 12 September he reported to the Company that 'we are yet safe and quiett in the midst of three nations in armes, the one [the Dutch] our open enemy'.[4]

Both Golconda and the French sought help: and both had claims to it: the settlement of Madras was held from Golconda and friendly relations had been lately re-established with that kingdom on the grant of the new cowl; with the French there existed the British alliance in Europe, where these two powers were at war with the Dutch who, in India, speedily joined Golconda against the French. The task of maintaining friendly relations, or even neutrality, with all was, in these circumstances, one of difficulty and delicacy; and Langhorn essayed it by a policy of non-intervention and by giving as little help as he could to either Golconda or the French, thus endeavouring to avoid being embroiled on the side of either in the struggle which arose out of De la Haye's seizure of San Thomé.

To the French he allowed, or connived at, the stealthy carrying of small quantities of provisions by private persons, for which, he wrote, he had been 'much censured by most here in Councell, and Mr. Jearsey and other angry men out of it'.[5] His attitude was to 'hold it sufficient that we neither send ourselves to either, nor hinder any except such as are in your pay, whom I do, least their actings should be taken for yours and break the neutrallity'.[6]

[1] One of the five members of the Cabal Ministry.

[2] 5 L.B. 19.

[3] Langhorn's let. to Co. 12 Sept., O.C. 3849, f. 2.

[4] O.C. 3849, f. 1.

[5] Langhorn's let. to Co. 1 Jan., O.C. 3729, f. 4.

[6] Ibid. Sawcer's letter to the Company (O.C. 3764, f. 8, reproduced in Love, i. 392) alleged that Langhorn nightly sent provisions to the French, 'for if hee had not they had long before this been starved out'; but other records on this point, and his antagonism to Langhorn, disparage this statement, so far as it goes beyond connivance. Still more unreliable is the hearsay addition

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He was far from desiring the presence of the French, recognizing 'the extreme prejudice their neighbourhood' was to the Company's interests, but as they had 'paddy, arrack, and ammunition . . . enough without us, and much cattle both from land and sea', he contended that to oppose their 'refreshments' was merely 'to breed ill blood to no purpose', and that the strictness of the English guards within the walls of the Fort was sufficient obstacle to those who wanted to assist the French from Madras, while outside of the Fort it was for the 'Moors' themselves to prevent supplies reaching their enemy.[1]

He was satisfied with the results of his policy, saying:

Men often urge conveniency to me, I answer duty; although my judgment differs from them even in that, [since] for your security and undisturbance it appeares I leave nothing undone, and God bee thanked, with such success as sober persons have wonder at it; but as to unworthy, unlawfull actions, or tending to pull on you by our rashness, the violation of peace, running into one danger to avoid another, as the Moors demand [for the handing over] of the French men sent by their Vice-Roy and by me returned safe but empty, or to help block them up or joyn against either, and the Frenches counterdemands, no lesse troublesome, I must not do anything to be ashamed of.[2]

'Much better', he thought, was 'the repayment of complements and courtesyes in their kind, some triviall complacencys and a civill correspondence with the French' than the 'absurd rudeness which people here seem to affect'.[3]

With the Dutch Langhorn maintained peace as long and as far as he could, but by the beginning of the year they had news of the war in Europe.[4] Moreover on the west coast the English had begun hostilities by the capture of the Dutch vessel, the *Meijboom*, off Karwar (p. 54); and, provoked by this, the Dutch at Pulicat sent out boats and seized five country vessels from Masulipatam on their way to Madras with calicoes worth 9,708 pagodas, which had reached the factory too late for shipment by the homeward ships.[5] Both sides were at this time also intercepting, or suspected of intercepting, the other's letters or despatches.[6] Langhorn's policy and diplomacy are clearly

of his having been told that some people said they had seen gunpowder loaded into boats, 'and by these meanes your money goes to the Moores [in presents] and the French money to Sir William'.

[1] O.C. 3729, f. 4.

[2] Ibid., ff. 4–5.

[3] Ibid., f. 5.

[4] Fort let. to Co. 27 Jan., O.C. 3742.

[5] O.C. 3742; Fort let. to Venkatapati, 25 Jan. 1674, 17 F.S.G. 2, 5; cf. p. 234 *post*. The seizure is also mentioned in a letter from the Dutch at Pulicat, 25 Feb. 1673, *Dutch Records at the Hague*, 1st series, vol. 31, DCCCIII, p. 2.

[6] O.C. 3742.

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seen in operation in the events of the year and in his correspondence with the French, Golconda, and the Dutch, of which that with the French Viceroy was especially voluminous.

Early in January the latter was joined at San Thomé by the French Chief at Masulipatam, François Martin.[1] At this time there were overtures for the re-establishment of peace between the French and Golconda, but neither party was in a conciliatory mood. The French, according to Langhorn, 'pretended' to hold San Thomé by the sword, while the Moors, having made peace with the Mughal Emperor, had got close to the walls of the town and had reinforcements coming, so (as Langhorn evidently expected, and as events showed) these negotiations did not meet with success.[2] There was a report about this time that a Dutch fleet of seventeen sail under Van Goens had intercepted two French ships from Surat with provisions for San Thomé; but no Dutch fleet had yet come in sight of the Fort.[3] There was still no open break between the English and Dutch on the coast, and on 31 January Langhorn, while acknowledging a friendly letter from Pavillon, the Dutch Governor of Pulicat, expressed his regret at 'the ill offices done between us by rashness of some and too quick apprehensions of others', referring apparently to the capture by the English of the *Meijboom* and by the Dutch of the boats from Masulipatam.[4] The Dutch caused further annoyance by interfering with Robert Fleetwood, while on his way from Masulipatam to Madras, and by stopping peons and opening parcels. On the other hand, they refused to entertain a runaway English soldier, a courtesy which Langhorn promised to reciprocate in similar circumstances.[5]

In February complaint was made to Golconda about the Dutch seizure of the five boats with calicoes, and their interference with the English and other factory employees travelling peaceably on business. Langhorn thanked the Nawab for believing his promise not to assist the French against the Golconda forces, and protested against the falsities of Baba Sahib and Cogan, as well as their stopping provisions

[1] Langhorn's let. to Co. 15 Jan., O.C. 3742. Martin took part in negotiations with the Fort. On 27 Jan. (N.S.) he was sent there to ask for an alliance with the English against the Dutch and for permission to buy ammunition from the six English ships then at Madras; but, though he was received civilly, he met with a refusal of both requests (*Mémoires*, i. 410–12). He accordingly told the French Company that they were received coldly, adding that 'les ennemis déclarés ne sont pas les seuls que nôtre nation ait aux Indes' (Kaeppelin, 100).

[2] Let. 15 Jan., O.C. 3742.

[3] Ibid. & let. 17 Jan., O.C. 3742.

[4] 26 F.S.G. 1.

[5] Langhorn's let. to Pavillon, 31 Jan., 17 F.S.G. 1.

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and letters, searching peons, and sending them to the Dutch.[1] At the same time Langhorn wrote to Prataprao, pointing out that it was against both the interests and orders of the English at Madras to assist the French against Golconda, and to Venkatapati that the 'Moores' could themselves prevent provisions going to San Thomé by stationing a few of their men outside Madras.[2] In these letters he referred to the danger apprehended from the Dutch and their fleet, and asked the recipients to get the Nawab's permission, if the necessity arose, to transfer the Company's goods and the English women and children to some place of safety, such as Poonamallee.[3]

On 9 February the Nawab at Golconda wrote, stating that his commanders, Trimbak Ragia and Himam Khan Beg, were prepared and ready to attack San Thomé, and protesting against the encouragement and help given by the English to the French: he asked in his turn for assistance against them.[4] Langhorn sent a reply, whose contents are not on record,[5] but probably followed the lines of his previous letters. Shortly after this, there was a sharp engagement between the Golconda besieging forces and the French, in which the former were routed and driven back from the town. Langhorn in a letter to Venkatapati on 6 March calls it 'the rout of the Moores Camp from the siege' and said it clearly did not proceed from 'any great strength of the beseiged', as could be judged by 'the little hurt done', the casualties being only 140 killed the first day, and four or five the next.[6] He feared that the Golconda commanders, Baba Sahib and Trimbak Bussora,[7] and the Brahman advisers of the Nawab, would put the blame on him, and he reported that they were plotting to destroy the towns and growing corn in the neighbourhood with a view to persuade the Nawab that the English were his enemies. The ill success of the Golconda forces he attributed to Baba Sahib's failure to pay his men and the consequent desertion of the best of them. He complained of interference with the Company's 'traffic' and stopping of provisions, as well as of lies and threats to the Brahman representative of the English in the Golconda

[1] Langhorn's let. to the Nawab, 3 Feb., 17 F.S.G. 2.
[2] 17 F.S.G. 3, 4.
[3] Ibid. 3, 5.
[4] 26 F.S.G. 7, 8.
[5] Langhorn's let. to Venkatapati, 6 March, 17 F.S.G. 12.
[6] Ibid. Martin's *Mémoires*, i. 425–32 (summarized in Love, i. 324–5), and Carré (ii. 497, 502), supply the dates, 9 & 10 March (N.S.), i.e. 27 and 28 Feb. It appears that the French made a successful sortie on the 27th, which drove the Moors from their trenches and was followed up by their destruction on the 28th, whereupon the Golconda forces retreated and the first siege of San Thomé terminated.
[7] In the correspondence of this and later dates Trimbak Ragia is usually so named.

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camp that Madras would be set on fire.[1] In a letter to the Nawab of the same date he added that the French had seized and fortified Triplicane, and asked that, if Golconda was going to make peace, he might have timely notice, to enable him to write to the Company for orders as to a removal from Madras, for it would be unsafe to remain near 'such an unquiet people'.[2]

In February Langhorn, who wrote in French,[3] supplied De la Haye at some length with news from Europe, and on 1 March sent him congratulations on his success against the Golconda forces.[4] On 4 March he expressed his desire to render all the services in his power that he could without offending the Moors, and added a request for the release of a local Naik, whom the French had captured and to whom the English were under an obligation. Langhorn offered to pay a ransom for him, if necessary, but asked that an apparently accidental escape of the prisoner should be arranged, doubtless wishing to keep his negotiation about it secret.[5] In the same letter he requested that the English villages near San Thomé should not be molested, referring especially to Triplicane, which he claimed that the Company had held for twenty-five years, and 'Chiampaca, Nimgambaca, and Eagamure' (Chepauk, Nungambaukum, and Egmore, three adjoining villages to the south and west of the Fort.)[6] Other letters on the same subjects of the prisoner and of Triplicane followed on each of the next four days; one of these (on 5 March) pointed out that the cowl for Triplicane had but lately been renewed, and the last added news of Van Goens.[7]

Langhorn was apparently doubtful whether the alliance between the French and the English in Europe would continue for long, and on 7 March proposed to De la Haye a perpetual peace between the French and English companies in India, to be valid even in case of war in Europe between their nations.[8] This proposal was accepted by De la Haye in a letter dated 19 March (N.S.), and the relevant extracts from the correspondence were set forth and formally confirmed by Langhorn

[1] 17 F.S.G. 12.

[2] Ibid. 13: cf. Love, i. 325–6.

[3] For an explanation of Sir William Langhorn's good knowledge of French, see p. 88.

[4] Let. undated & 1 March, 17 F.S.G. 6, 7. Martin remarked that the English, though outwardly rejoicing at the raising of the siege, felt very vexed, 'our close neighbourhood not being to their taste' (Martin, i. 433; Love, i. 325).

[5] 17 F.S.G. 8. De la Haye refused the request to free the prisoner, in the belief that he was of superior rank to that represented by Langhorn (Martin, i. 431, 432, 433–4).

[6] 17 F.S.G. 8. Egmore was a village two miles west of Fort St. George. It and the other two places are now suburbs of Madras: cf. *Imp. Gaz. Ind.* xxvi (Plate 56), and plan facing p. 176.

[7] Let. 5, 6, 7, & 8 March, 17 F.S.G. 8–11. An extract from the letter of 7 March is given in Love, i. 326.

[8] 17 F.S.G. 11.

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and his Council with the seal of the Company attached. The documents exchanged provided for a 'faithfull and duerable friendship', notwithstanding any wars between England and France, but subject to their confirmation by the Kings of both parties.[1] About this time the correspondence was unusually copious and there was an almost daily interchange of letters.[2] The French mostly asked for provisions, assistance, and the return of deserters, while Langhorn's replies explained the difficulties as regards supplies, but agreed to the handing over of deserters. One of the letters complained of the conduct of French soldiers visiting Madras for refreshment who gave trouble when the 'racq' (arrack) mounted to their heads.[3]

Meanwhile the local Golconda commanders had been threatening to set fire to Madras and complaining to the King and the Nawab of assistance alleged to be given to the French. Langhorn in a letter of 11 March to Venkatapati denied the giving of any such help and asserted that 'these perfedious people in the Camp delude them'. He was preparing to 'bid welcome' to those threatening the town, but would not, he wrote, join the French, though they desired him to do so, unless he was denied justice by the Government of Golconda.[4]

This letter must have crossed one of 15 March from Venkatapati at Golconda. From its contents it appears that the Nawab, as desired by Langhorn, had prepared letters to the Dutch at Pulicat, forbidding them to attack the English, and to Cogan and Himam Collebeg, ordering them to assist them, if attacked; the Avaldar at Poonamallee had also been directed to receive and provide for the English goods, women, and children if it was found necessary to send them there. Venkatapati, however, added that these letters were being held up, owing to further reports that Langhorn had gone personally to talk with the French at midnight and was continuing to assist the French, which had made the Nawab very angry and put his own life in danger.[5] Reports of his imprisonment were, he said, false, but he was threatened continually and he asked that his wife and family should be looked after, if anything befell him.[6] Langhorn on his part did not like the possibility of Golconda making peace with the French, and their remaining as near neighbours at San Thomé. In reply to Venkatapati's report that he had spoken to Prataprao in favour of peace between the

[1] 17 F.S.G. 14.

[2] Thus between 13 and 19 March there were five letters from Langhorn to De la Haye (17 F.S.G. 15–16), and between 16 March and 1 April there were ten from the latter to Langhorn (26 F.S.G. 1–6).

[3] 17 F.S.G. 15. [4] 17 F.S.G. 17.

[5] 26 F.S.G. 8, 9. [6] Venkatapati's let. 15 & 31 March, 26 F.S.G. 9, 10, 11.

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French and Golconda, Langhorn rebuked him for a proposal so inconsistent with his instructions and told him that he must have nothing to do with any other nation than the English.[1] At the same time Langhorn protested against the delay in the issue of letters to the Dutch about their seizure of the Company's goods, and told Venkatapati to ask whether the Company were to have liberty to trade without molestation 'according to our coull and salabad', asserting that he was 'a good neighbour and affectionate friend' to Golconda despite the 'lying letters' which were disquieting the Nawab.[2]

In March Venkatapati reported that Chennupalli Mirza was being sent to supersede the local commanders of the Golconda forces, with reinforcements of some 5,000 cavalry and the same number of infantry.[3] The new commander was very unwelcome to Langhorn. He wrote that in the past Chennupalli had 'ever been an enemie to this place' and 'I can expect no better from him now but that he will take all occasions to exercize his spleane against us'. Venkatapati was therefore instructed to request the Nawab and Prataprao to give him strict injunctions that his behaviour now towards them should be different to that of the past.[4]

Venkatapati's request on 15 March for the original receipt for powder and shot supplied to the Golconda forces shows that Langhorn had to a slight extent yielded to the solicitations of the Golconda officials for ammunition (p. 48).[5] In the same letter Venkatapati asked him to pay the usual fee of 15 pagodas to the secretaries and porters at Golconda, explaining how the former helped him by reading to the Nawab the letters from the commanders in camp at favourable times when he was not 'at the height of his anger against us'.[6] By the end of March he succeeded in getting letters issued, prohibiting any hindrance of the customary free passage of goods to Madras.[7]

In this matter Cogan had given further cause for complaint. In March he and Baba Sahib were still stopping letters and provisions, and he had seized Mohun, Hatton, and others of the Masulipatam Council on their way to Madras; this formed the subject of vigorous protest from Langhorn to Trimbak Bussora, which resulted in their

[1] Venkatapati's let. 31 March, 26 F.S.G. 11; Langhorn's let. 17 March & 18 April, 17 F.S.G. 17, 19.

[2] 17 F.S.G. 19.

[3] 26 F.S.G. 9, 11.

[4] Let. 18 April, 17 F.S.G. 20.

[5] 26 F.S.G. 9–10; cf. let. 29 June & 29 July, 26 F.S.G. 23, 29, as to receipts being sent, &c. This assistance contributed to soothing the Golconda authorities in the dispute about English help to the French (p. 79 *post*).

[6] 26 F.S.G. 10.

[7] 26 F.S.G. 12.

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speedy release.[1] Langhorn had already written to Venkatapati that they looked on Cogan 'as a shame to the Nation' and, if he were handed over, he would be sent home to receive the punishment he deserved.[2] Langhorn's representations were successful, and in April the Nawab issued orders for his removal from his government.[3] In his letters the Governor laid much emphasis on the advantages Golconda gained in trade, customs, and the large rent paid, from the presence of the English in Madras, and foretold trouble to the State if their privileges were not respected.[4]

The months of April and May passed quietly: at the end of March De la Haye had gone with three vessels to Masulipatam,[5] and the correspondence with the French at San Thomé was mostly conducted with Mons. François Baron, a director-general of the French Company in India, who arrived with three of its vessels from Surat towards the end of April.[6] They were also assisted by the Abbé Carré, whom De la Haye posted in Madras as an intermediary for obtaining provisions and carrying on negotiations with the Governor.[7] A vivid account of his activities and the siege of San Thomé during part of this year is contained in the manuscript of his 'Courier de l'Orient', which is in the India Office (Eur. D. 1); and a few translated extracts from it, relating to Madras, are given in Appendix A at pp. 84–90.

Relations with the Golconda generals and officials improved. This was doubtless due to orders received by them from the King and Nawab, for which Langhorn conveyed his acknowledgements and thanks in a letter to Venkatapati on 8 June.[8] Friendly letters came

[1] Let. 21 March, 17 F.S.G. 18, 19. The offence was the more grievous in that, according to Langhorn, Hatton had redeemed Cogan from slavery in Pegu.

[2] Let. 11 March, 17 F.S.G. 17.

[3] Venkatapati's let. 12 April, 26 F.S.G. 13.

[4] Cf. let. 21 March, 17 F.S.G. 18.

[5] He was unsuccessfully attempting to negotiate a peace with Golconda from there. See Martin, i. 438, Kaeppelin, 104–7, and Love, i. 326–7.

[6] e.g. letters of 25 April and 2 June from Langhorn, 17 F.S.G. 20, 22. In the latter of these he expressed his readiness to assist one 'Sieur Deltor' (presumably the gentleman from Masulipatam referred to at pp. 96, 107) in his search for fugitives and to hand them over, if found in Madras (cf. Baron's let. 14 June, 26 F.S.G. 15). As to Baron's arrival, cf. Kaeppelin, 108.

[7] References to the Abbé Carré appear in some of the correspondence, e.g. Langhorn's let. 25 April, 17 F.S.G. 20; let. from San Thomé, 7 July, 9 & 28 Aug. & 16 Sept., 26 F.S.G. 17, 30, 33 (*a*), & (next sec.) 1. The Abbé in 1699 published an account of his journey to India and back in 1666–71 (*Voyage des Indes Orientales*). In 1672 Colbert sent him out again with letters for De la Haye. He arrived at Surat in Sept. 1672 and travelled partly by sea and partly overland to San Thomé (Kaeppelin, 85, 86, 110). A full English translation of his manuscript with annotations, by the Hakluyt Society (2nd series, vols. 95–7).

[8] 17 F.S.G. 22.

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from Trimbak and ceremonial visits were exchanged between the camp and Madras, Baba Sahib and Trimbak sending their chief Brahmans and Kasi Viranna returning the visit on behalf of the English Chief and Council.[1]

By this time the Dutch were on the scene. On 6 June Van Goens arrived at San Thomé with thirteen ships and exchanged shots with the French there. The Dutch ships afterwards came and anchored in the Madras road within range of the guns of the Fort. These, though kept in readiness, did not fire, as Langhorn considered that their intention was to provoke him to commence hostilities and give them a pretence to attack the Fort.[2] They also interfered with shipping in the road and compelled three ships to leave, though they were waiting for goods to be laden on them, to the prejudice of the inhabitants of the town and of its revenues. He asked that the Golconda authorities should order the Dutch to forbear such interference, and that the Golconda general and his officers should be instructed to see that they did so, pointing out the damage that was being done to their country, with which the English were trading.[3]

Langhorn at the same time gave details of the Dutch fleet and its men and armament. With reinforcements expected from Ceylon it would have 22 ships and 2,200 men, of which he anticipated 1,000 would be put ashore. Their guns were mostly iron, but a few were brass, 'and these not extraordinary bigg'.[4] Langhorn did not think that, without the aid of the Golconda forces, the Dutch could take San Thomé, where the French had 800 white men, including seamen as well as 'blackes'. De la Haye (who had not yet returned from Masulipatam) had, according to Langhorn, about 250 white men on his ships, and 350 natives. The French naval strength was decreasing, as they had now only one good ship in the San Thomé road. Two of their 'great ships' had been broken up and a third—the flagship—had been hauled ashore for the same purpose, all three having become so leaky that they could not be kept afloat. Their guns, which were of brass, had been taken out and planted on the walls of the fort at San Thomé.[5]

[1] 17 F.S.G. 22. A consultation entry of 15 May, which is not in the India Office records, sanctioned the grant of the usual 'piscashes' and special presents to Trimbak Bussora, Shaccala Kishnapa, and Atchana Pantula, totalling pags. 362 in value (*M.R.* 13).

[2] Langhorn's let. 8 June, 17 F.S.G. 22. He there gives the date of arrival of the Dutch fleet as 'the 16 current': '16' is an obvious slip for '6', O.S. Carré (ii. 543) gives 16 June, N.S., as the date in question.

[3] 17 F.S.G. 22–3.

[4] Cf. Fryer, who says (i. 114) that the Dutch came against San Thomé 'with 20 sail, 15 men of warr, great ships, some of 72 brass guns apiece, well manned'.

[5] 17 F.S.G. 23.

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Langhorn's ideas as to the future of that place are seen in the same letter, wherein he warns the Nawab against agreeing to any proposal that the Dutch should retain it, if they took it or helped in its capture. He counselled a decision that the fort with its brass guns should be delivered to the Nawab to keep himself or raze to the ground, for if the Dutch had it they would never rest content till they had obtained the whole coast between it and Pulicat.[1]

De la Haye at Masulipatam, after receiving news of the near approach of the Dutch fleet to San Thomé, sailed for that place, but was there intercepted by six of the Dutch ships, and after a fight with one of them escaped by pushing out to sea. In July he was back in San Thomé[2] and his frequent letters to Langhorn were resumed. A welcome piece of news that he sent on 6 July was that nine of the Company's ships from England had been sighted off Ceylon.[3] On 13 and 14 July he wrote letters complaining of hindrances put in the way of the passage of provisions from Madras to San Thomé, and suggesting ironically that Langhorn might have had orders from Europe of a contrary tenor to his own.[4] Further letters during the month asked for news and for help in apprehending deserters; one of 28 July thanks Langhorn for compliance and bears witness to his strenuous efforts to get Jearsey's ship, the *Ruby*, released, in spite of the latter's ingratitude: he described Jearsey as 'un homme qui appliquoit et applique tout ses soins a favoriser nos enemis . . . et mesme a frustrer vostre Illustre Compagnie', and praises Langhorn's charity in interceding for him.[5] This was in response to a request from Langhorn for two or three lines regarding Jearsey's ship, to show that he had never suggested or asked for its seizure and on the contrary had all along prayed De la Haye to release the vessel, since Jearsey was alleging in Madras that Langhorn was responsible for its seizure and had written to England to the same effect.[6] On 9 August Langhorn again pressed for the restoration of the ship, saying that, though when seized at San Thomé she had been under the protection of the Moors and not of the Company, yet Jearsey

[1] Ibid. 23 & let. to Trimbak, 9 June, 17 F.S.G. 24.

[2] Farman from the King of Golconda, inviting Langhorn to arrest De la Haye if he came to Madras, 29 June, 26 F.S.G. 19. See also Martin, i. 483, 484–92, and Kaeppelin, 107: according to these authorities he left Masulipatam on 31 May (N.S.), tried to enter San Thomé roads on 21 June (N.S.), and arrived off Pondicherry, where the French had been allowed by Sher Khan Lodi to start a trading-post, on 29 June (N.S.). From there he reached San Thomé on 5 July (N.S.), three days after Van Goens had departed. O.C. 3779 (Bombay Occurrences—July) has a reference to this fight and escape. For Langhorn's reply to the King of Golconda's farman, see 17 F.S.G. 33.

[3] 26 F.S.G. 17.

[4] Ibid. 18, 19.

[5] Ibid. 21, 22.

[6] Let. 17 July, 17 F.S.G. 35.

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could claim protection as a subject of the English King.[1] On 18 August he repeated this argument and pleaded earnestly for Jearsey, excusing his provocative language and arguing that 'a little passion of a suffering person does not deprive him of his right to his goods'.[2] To this a reply was sent by De la Haye on the next day to the effect that after taking counsel with his captains he had decided to refer the matter to Europe, to be settled there by the Kings of France and England. His letter alleges that friends of Jearsey had attempted to get the captains of the English ships to retake the *Ruby*.[3]

Langhorn's letters to the French Viceroy about this time were frequent and friendly. Between 26 June and 9 July he wrote seven times.[4] He congratulated De la Haye on his safe arrival, thanked him for his tidings of the English vessels, and gave news of events in Europe and of the Dutch fleet. He added excuses and reasons for not sending provisions, explaining that his situation between two friends at war, his dependence on the country for provisions and trade, and the orders of the Company to preserve peace and not to involve them in the affairs of others, made this impossible. At the same time he suggested that, if the French were more discreet and secret in procuring them, they could get more provisions without embroiling the English.[5]

His friendly attitude towards the French, and the tone of his correspondence with them, while quite comprehensible, assume an unpleasant aspect in view of the fact that he was at the same time stirring up their enemies against them. Thus on 18 June he had written to Trimbak Bussora:

I have thought it fitt to let you know that the French, finding no oppossition from your forces nor the Dutch, resort hither with that frequency and that confidence that, seing we suffer them to have no provisions from hence, they begin to threaten they will come and force their way into the Busar [bazar, market] to supply themselves, speaking with such contempt both of the Moors and of the Dutch as if they were not in the world. Now as I have often minded you and his Excellency [the Nawab] also, seeing our businesse is onely trafficque and peace and that we have no order to make warr unlesse in our owne

[1] 17 F.S.G. 38. [2] Ibid. 41.

[3] 26 F.S.G. 31. Martin (i. 389, cf. Love, i. 321) says that the seizure of the *Ruby* by the French was on a hint from Governor Langhorn, but beyond Jearsey's statement (p. 55) there is nothing in the India Office records to support this. Against it are Langhorn's persistent and seemingly sincere efforts to get the vessel restored; and he had also declined to act on Mohun's request that the *Ruby* should be seized at Pulicat (p. 210).

[4] 17 F.S.G. 27–32. De la Haye assumed the title of 'Viceroy' at Surat in Jan. 1672 (Carré, ii. 396). [5] Let. 5 July, 17 F.S.G. 31.

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defence, I know you to be more ratianall than to expect that we should engage the Honourable Company in a warr with them without orders or necessity, and [I hope] that, when his Excellency does really intend to prosecute it himselfe, he will send downe forces sufficient to keep them in.[1]

Langhorn at the same time continued his efforts to prevent the Dutch having San Thomé, and on 19 June wrote to Venkatapati strongly advising against any such step and quoting a proverb, which he said was current in Europe, that 'if you permit the Dutch but to gett one of their hands in, they will worke their whole body after it'.[2] He again asked that the Dutch should be ordered not to molest the English and compelled to restore the goods taken by the vessels they had sent from Pulicat, viz. 236 bales of calicoes and 51 bags of Coho seed (coffee).[3]

Before this letter reached Golconda Nawab Musa Khan and Prataprao were out of favour. On 26 June the former was dispossessed of his 'shalaskareenship',[4] as Venkatapati termed it, of the Carnatic and both of them were detained. The Nawabship was conferred on one Musikmea,[5] a eunuch, and all those in office in the time of Neknam Khan were re-employed by the new Nawab. News of these events reached Langhorn in letters from Venkatapati of 3 July and 29 June,[6] and through Kasi Viranna, in a letter of 11 July from Gauripati, a Brahman representative of the English in the camp of the Golconda forces. The latter also gave information that Shaccala Kishnapa, a Brahman official in the camp and all his people had, under orders from Golconda, been made prisoners.[7]

Venkatapati in his letter of 29 June was able to report the issue of orders by the Diwan that the Dutch were not to molest the English, but he advised that any protest against their presence at San Thomé would be taken as arising from a desire to help the French.[8] Similarly, Venkatapati had found it impolitic to communicate Langhorn's

[1] 17 F.S.G. 25. [2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid. 26.

[4] Pers. *sarlashkar*, commander-in-chief.

[5] Love, i. 337 *n.*, suggests that his real name was *Mustakim Miyan*.

[6] 26 F.S.G. 22, 23; Mas. let. to Fort, undated (*c.* 10 July), 6 Mas. 28. Ovington's entertaining account of the events leading up to the dismissal of the Nawab, Musa Khan, and subsequently that of the King's second minister, Sayyid Muzaffar, is reproduced in Appendix B at pp. 90–5. According to this account their rivalry for the King's favour, and their abuses in government, led to their downfall. The other arrests may have been in connexion with the charge against the Nawab of defrauding the King and his soldiers of great sums (p. 94).

[7] 26 F.S G. 20. [8] Ibid. 24.

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detailed reasons for inactivity against the French, as he feared that these would confirm the complaints from the camp against the English.[1]

Langhorn continued to maintain a friendly correspondence with Pavillon, the Dutch Governor at Pulicat. He asked for the release of one Peter Hayward, purser on the Company's ship, *George*, that had been captured by the Dutch, and received a favourable answer, as Van Goens and his Council had resolved to 'exercise a Christian benificience towards the English prisoners' in Ceylon.[2] Pavillon, however, said that deserters were being detained, and not at once expelled, lest they should lose their lives amongst the 'Moores'.[3]

Peace was, however, not maintained, for all the ten ships sent out by the Company this year were in Indian waters in July, and on 22 August a fight took place at sea, off Petapoli (Nizampatam)[4] between the English and Dutch fleets, in which the former were badly worsted. This engagement and the movements of the Company's fleet prior to it are described in the Masulipatam section (pp. 241–7). It suffices here to say that nine of the ships reached Masulipatam on 26 June and sailed thence on 19 July for Madras where they arrived without mishap on the 29th. The remaining ship, *Massingberd*, arrived there the next day (pp. 235, 240). After landing treasure and goods at Madras, the ten ships left for Masulipatam on 8 August, arriving there on the 15th. On 20 August they sailed for Madras and encountered the Dutch fleet on the way with the resulting loss of the *President*, *Sampson*, and *Antelope*. The others reached Madras on 1 September and left ten days later (pp. 247–8).[5]

In spite of having only about one month's warning between the news of the arrival of the ships at Masulipatam and their reaching Madras, Langhorn was able to send them off with the full quantities of goods required from him.[6] Investments and their dispatch had, as he wrote, been full and quick.[7] The value of the cargoes of the seven ships

[1] Let. 29 July, 26 F.S.G. 28.

[2] The *George* was on a voyage from Queda to Surat, when captured off Ceylon on 12 Jan., cf. *E.F.* i. 74. The decision to release the English prisoners was due to Aungier's kind treatment of the Dutch taken on the *Meijboom* (Fort let. to Surat, 20 Sept. O.C. 3848; Dutch Records, 1st series, vol. 31, DCCCV, p. 15).

[3] Langhorn's let. 12 & 14 Aug., 17 F.S.G. 39, 40; Pavillon's let. 12, 18, & 22 Aug. (N.S.), 26 F.S.G. 25, 26.

[4] Nizampatam is a port about forty-five miles south-west of Masulipatam and was called 'Petapoli', from the neighbouring village of Peddapalli, by the English, cf. *S.M.* ii. 136, 137.

[5] Abbé Carré was given a passage in the *Bombay Merchant* to Bombay, at the request of De la Haye, who sent him back to France to report the urgent need for help to the French at San Thomé (Carré, ii. 672, 675).

[6] Fort let. to Surat, 10 Sept., O.C. 3848.

[7] Langhorn's let. to Co. 12 Sept., O.C. 3849.

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amounted to 156,132 pagodas in all.[1] In addition he had, before they sailed, sold to the Company's merchants all the European goods which they had brought for the Coromandel coast at '10 per cent. profitt', except for lead, which was sold at 10 pagodas per candy.[2] These sales were to provide goods for the following year's ships.[3] Six chests of gold which had been landed produced 138,273 pagodas.[4] Of this sum, however, Langhorn computed that only 11,000 pagodas would be available for the maintenance of the Fort and factory, which would be 'too bare' in view of the 'double time' (referring apparently to the fact that the next ships would be late in reaching Madras),[5] the extra expenses that arose from the war, the proximity of enemies, and the dearness of provisions, and difficulty in obtaining them, due to the same causes.[6]

The gold from one ship, the *President*, had not been landed, as it should have been according to the express instructions of the Company,[7] when the ships first touched at Madras: this was because the bill of lading was not then forthcoming and her commander, Captain Hide, had refused to part with the treasure without it, with the result that it was lost when the ship was taken in the Petapoli engagement.[8] This gold was intended for Surat; but a part of the goods for Madras was also lost, as they had remained on the three captured ships owing to lack of time and the press of work in landing lead, guns, and stores, to which priority was apparently given in the interests of defence.[9] The work of packing the goods for dispatch had been economically done, the charges being reduced from ½ to ⅜ pagoda per bale, though owing to the war gunnies had to be obtained from Pulicat at a higher cost than usual.[10]

The orders of the Company were that any of the ships' crews that remained after the departure of the ships were to be employed in the garrison till the next year when they could be shipped to England.[11] Some five runaways are shown in the muster of the crews that was taken at Madras in September,[12] but their subsequent fate is not recorded. Of the surviving soldiers, twenty-one were landed after the engagement with the Dutch and presumably remained as a reinforcement

[1] Fort let. to Co. 20 Sept., O.C. 3853.
[2] Fort con. 28 Aug. [*sic*, ? July], *M.R.* 15.
[3] Fort let. to Surat, 10 Sept., O.C. 3848.
[4] O.C. 3853, f. 1.
[5] The next ships did not leave till the spring of 1674 instead of in Dec. 1673, as they would ordinarily have done.
[6] O.C. 3853, f. 1.
[7] Desp. 13 Dec. 1672, 5 L.B. 22.
[8] Fort let. to Surat, undated, O.C. 3846: cf. *E.F.* i. 130.
[9] Langhorn's note regarding the soldiers on the ships, 20 Sept., O.C. 3854, f. 1.
[10] Langhorn's note on Fort let. to Co. 20 Sept., O.C. 3853, f. 2.
[11] Desp. 13 Dec., 5 L.B. 25.
[12] O.C. 3854, f. 5.

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to the garrison.[1] This naturally required strengthening and Langhorn asked that it should be increased to 300 Christians in addition to native troops, which were then about 550, saying that this was 'the least that we can possibly make any show of defence with'.[2] He also made a request for authority to impose martial law, without which power he found it very difficult to maintain discipline and which (he stated) both the French and Dutch in India possessed.[3]

In 1671 Foxcroft had referred to the Company a proposal that the Portuguese in Madras should have judges of their own and be judged by their own laws.[4] The orders of the Company, received during the present year, refused to sanction this, as entrenching on their jurisdiction. On the other hand, they agreed that the Portuguese might be allowed to settle small matters amongst themselves by specially appointed 'prudent men', with a right of appeal to the Company's judicature, but matters of importance were to be brought before that judicature, half the jury being Portuguese.[5]

During the year Langhorn, moved thereto by the Company,[6] appears to have made inquiries as to the fate and condition of the Ceylon prisoners, but all that he was able to report was that he had not heard that any of them had died, and that Van Goens professed to have endeavoured to secure their liberty, but in vain.[7]

In the latter part of the year relations with the French continued unchanged, though Langhorn had at times to complain to De la Haye of the seizure of provisions and goods. On 21 July he wrote about

[1] O.C. 3854. The Company had ordered twenty soldiers to be sent on the ships to Fort St. George (*Ct. Min.*, 1671–3, 83).

[2] O.C. 3853, f. 2. A report sent to the Company in Jan. 1673 (O.C. 3765, reproduced in Love, i. 373–5) shows the garrison as then mainly consisting of 4 companies of 60 men each, that is 55 privates and 5 officers, or 240 in all. There was 1 man over, and 2 gunners with 12 assistants, making a total of 255. The above were presumably British, as 163 'Portugueze inhabitants' are also mentioned. Later in the year Dr. Fryer (i. 105) estimated the garrison, English and Portuguese, as 700; but this total seems excessive, unless it includes India auxiliaries.

[3] O.C. 3853, f. 2. All the same in 1672 Langhorn had made military regulations which savoured strongly of martial law and which lasted till they were superseded in 1678 (*M.R.* 132–4 and 136–8; Wheeler's *Madras in the Olden Time*, edn. 1882, 679–82). Cf. pp. 31–2 *n. ante*, and *B.J.* 215.

[4] Fort let. to Co. 6 Sept., O.C. 3575, f. 13, quoted in Love, i. 276. Most of the Portuguese inhabitants of Madras had migrated from San Thomé after its capture by Golconda in 1662 (*E.F.*, 1661–4, 146 *n.*; Fryer, i. 107; Love, i. 197). Some had also migrated from it when Fort St. George was founded in 1640 (Love, i. 304).

[5] 5 L.B. 19. The discretion allowed for the arbitration of petty cases by Portuguese judiciaries does not seem to have been exercised; and trial by jury (with the exception of the trial of Mrs. Dawes for murder in 1669 under a special commission from King Charles II; see Love, i. 273–5) was not introduced in Madras till 1678 (*B.J.* 201, 212).

[6] 5 L.B. 20.

[7] Fort let. to Co. 20 Sept., O.C. 3853, f. 1.

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some 299 sheep, belonging to inhabitants of Madras, that had been carried off by the French from Egmore; and these were released on Langhorn's protests and promises that he would see that sheep from Madras were not taken there again.[1] Friendly letters from De la Haye were numerous in the early part of August,[2] but on 18 and 20 August Langhorn had again to complain—this time of the seizure of 400 oxen with paddy for Madras and of others laden with cloth belonging to the Company.[3] According to him, the English were then blockaded both by sea and land and 'a garrison in all these straights [could not] suffer our victualls to be bought out of our mouthes'. If they sent supplies to the French, they would be immediately deprived of all supplies themselves. He at the same time gave a firm reply to De la Haye's threats of a complaint against him to the King of England.[4] On 22 August, while objecting to the tone of a letter from De la Haye, and saying that since the seizure of the paddy, for the transit of which they had with much ado obtained leave from the Moors, the latter had strictly forbidden any more provisions to be sent to Madras, Langhorn thanked him for the restoration of the cloth. He explained that all cloth coming to Madras belonged to the Company, 'though brought by the blackest of the country', and asked that the Company's goods should pass without let or hindrance. On his part he denied that he interfered with people passing outside Madras with provisions for San Thomé, and vindicated his conduct generally. He repeated at length the political and practical reasons which made it impossible for him to permit provisions to be 'extracted' from Madras or to join forces with the French without orders from the King and Company, much as 'my ambition to serve you would oblige me to appropriate that priviledge to myselfe and doe it with all the strength I could make, proud to act under soe able conduct'.[5]

With this may be contrasted a suggestion Langhorn made through Venkatapati to Golconda that, if the Nawab wanted to recover San Thomé without injury to the English, they might stop 'flesh provisions' from coming to the bazar, but allow the English to send to the camp for their supplies, though cloth and other merchandize should be allowed to pass freely.[6]

The end of the month and the beginning of September brought news

[1] 17 F.S.G. 36–7. [2] 26 F.S.G. 30–1. [3] 17 F.S.G. 41, 42.
[4] Ibid. 41. [5] Ibid. 42, 43.
[6] Ibid. 44. (The letter containing this suggestion is dated 19 June, but the context and its position in the records suggest that the correct date was 19 Aug.)

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of the naval defeat off Petapoli, and fresh demands and offers of help from De la Haye.[1] These Langhorn courteously but firmly excused himself from complying with or accepting, on the grounds of lack of authority, the ignorance of the King of England and the Company of the doings of the French in those parts, and the necessity of avoiding a rupture with the King of Golconda.[2]

On 4 August the King himself again wrote to Langhorn, comparing the payments made to his State and the help given by the Dutch and the English to the disadvantage of the latter, and reproaching him for giving supplies to the French; he called on the English to join in the attack in San Thomé, as the Dutch had done, and added threats, if they assisted the French, and promises of greater privileges, if they kept apart.[3] To this letter Langhorn replied on 19 August, repeating at length his assurances that he had not helped, and would never help or counsel, the French and that news to the contrary was false:[4] he pleaded his inability to intervene in the quarrel without orders and impeached the Dutch as a people 'never quiet', as contrasted with the English who only sought what the King had confirmed in his farmans.[5] Letters to Venkatapati of 20 and 23 August confirmed these statements and expressed a determination not to be drawn into hostilities, 'except in our own defence, peace and trafficque'.[6]

In these letters there is news of the progress of the siege. The Dutch fleet had left San Thomé and the French were 'uncontrolled by sea as by land'. On 10 August they had routed the Moors and with only 500 Europeans and 500 'blacks' had pushed them back as far as Poonamallee.[7] They had taken advantage of the absence of the Dutch fleet to force a Goanese ship from Madras into San Thomé, though Langhorn explained that she carried no succour from Madras for the French. According to him they were masters of the country, marching up and down with no one daring to oppose them, and 'to say the truth it is we, and not they, are the persons besieged'; they had paddy, wine, and ammunition in abundance from France, Surat, and Porto Novo; had

[1] Let. 28 & 31 Aug. and 1 Sept., 26 F.S.G. 32*a*, 33*a*, 32*b*.

[2] Let. 2 & 3 Sept., 17 F.S.G. 44.

[3] 26 F.S.G. 27.

[4] In contradiction to the report of his having been to San Thomé (p. 63 *ante*), Langhorn says that he had neither seen De la Haye, 'though often desired by him', nor since his arrival ever been 'on that side of the Barrs mouth', i.e. the mouth of the River Cooum, which lay between the Fort and San Thomé, and which (except in heavy rainfall) had a sand bar across it (*Imp. Gaz. Ind.* xi. 51). See also the similar statement in O.C. 3853.

[5] 17 F.S.G. 45.

[6] Ibid. 46–7.

[7] Kaeppelin, 111–12, refers to this as a 'sortie victorieuse' on 20 Aug. (N.S.).

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taken provisions from ships at sea; and had swept up all the country round.[1] He advised that San Thomé must be taken by force, and not by famine as the Dutch counselled; their advice was faint-hearted and they had failed to attack the three or four French ships, lest it might weaken themselves. He also had information that a 'chief person' of the French had gone to Pulicat by sea on the Dutch flagship and had been visited on board by the Governor there. His conclusion was that, if the King of Golconda did not send sufficient forces to clear the country, all trade would stop and the King's customs and rents could not be paid.[2]

The news of the defeat of the English fleet and the capture of three ships led Langhorn to protest to Golconda through Venkatapati against the Dutch attack on the Company's ships that were 'coming peacably' from Masulipatam. He also renewed his request for the King to issue orders that the goods taken on the five boats off Pulicat, of which the value was now put at 10,002 pagodas, should be restored by the Dutch. He accused the Dutch of designs to take Madras, and of asserting that they had permission from his Highness to do so, though they were determined to take it with or without such leave.[3]

At Golconda the King (Abul Hasan Shah) was now better disposed towards the English;[4] and Venkatapati reported that he had prevailed on him to send 'tashriffs' to Langhorn. The King had taken on himself this year all business relating to the Carnatic;[5] and Venkatapati dwelt on the necessity for early payment of the balance of the town rent still due, which would facilitate requests to the King. He also asked for presents for various officials and for money for himself, as three months' pay of his and 15 pagodas intended for secretaries had been taken and not returned, apparently at the time that Musikmea succeeded as Nawab. The latter (he said) was in great favour and the King had now given him the title of Namdar Cawne (Khan) and 'four

[1] Cf. Fryer (i. 115) as to the absence of the Dutch fleet encouraging the French 'to sally out upon the Moors (they before being beaten from their works near the city, had decamped seven miles off St. Thomas), and with an handfull of men pillaged and set fire to their tents, foraging the countrey round about, returning loaden with spoils'.

[2] 17 F.S.G. 46–8.

[3] Let. 2 Sept., 17 F.S.G. 48–9. As to the threatened attack on Madras, cf. p. 98.

[4] Langhorn wrote to London that the correspondence forwarded by him showed 'after two years' contention and tryall how fully they [the Golconda authorities] acknowledge the justice, truth and constancy of my proceedings' (let. to Mr. Cooke at London, 10 Sept., 3 Misc. 183).

[5] Cf. Ovington (App. B, p. 95 *post*): 'The King . . . having thus la[i]d aside his two partners in the Government . . . leaves his retirement; dismisses the lew'd women and dancers; and breaks the charms of his former pleasures, with the thoughts of business, which he wholly minds and delights in.'

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horses, two elephants, tashriffs [dresses-of-honour], a sword and a fe[a]ther, honouring him very much'.[1]

Sometime early in September Van Goens landed with a comparatively small force and joined the Golconda army in the siege of San Thomé.[2] On 7 September he sent to Madras a request, and a letter of safe conduct, for an envoy to 'treat about some matters of consequence'.[3] Bridger was sent with as full instructions as the unknown nature of the business made possible, covering the English relations with the French, the desire for peaceful intercourse with the Dutch, and proposals for keeping their forces apart. He was also to broach the release of English prisoners, basing this demand on the release of the Dutch who had been captured on the *Meijboom*, and the practice in Europe, where (Langhorn wrote) prisoners on both sides were freed within forty-eight hours after capture.[4] The result of this mission was a letter from the Dutch commander, stating his intention of attacking San Thomé and threatening that all who impeded him in this would be considered enemies, but promising otherwise not to use arms against the English or Madras. He announced that he had, some three months previously, ordered the release of English prisoners held by the Dutch in Ceylon, and that he would in due time treat with Langhorn for the release of the others, most of whom had been taken in the Petapoli engagement.[5]

Langhorn took exception to the threats in Van Goens's letter, to which he replied on 13 September at some length. He denied that he rendered any assistance to the French, disowned any who did so, and pointed out that the Dutch were employed by the King of Golconda against his enemies, the French, and not against the English, his friends, whose relations with him were direct and not through the Dutch.[6]

[1] Let. 26 Aug., 26 F.S.G. 35. As to the feather, cf. Fryer, iii. 52, about plumes of feathers being used to distinguish the Kings of Persia.

[2] Fort let. to Surat, 2, 10, & 20 Sept., O.C. 3845, 3846, 3848; cf. Love, i. 328. In Langhorn's let. of 12 Sept. to Venkatapati the Dutch force is given as 'about 1,000 white men and 1,000 blackes' (17 F.S.G. 2). He subsequently reduced the estimated number of 'white men' to 700 (p. 83 *n.*). Fryer (i. 115) puts the total force at 700 men; this exceeds the 500 men, which Langhorn in Feb. 1674 said the Dutch had ashore (p. 99).

[3] 26 F.S.G. 33*b*.

[4] Instrns. to Bridger and let. to Van Goens, 7 Sept., 17 F.S.G. 49, 50.

[5] Let. 18 Sept. (N.S.), 26 F.S.G. 34. A note to the same effect about Bridger's negotiations and the result will be found in Dutch Records, 1st series, vol. 31, DCCCIX, pp. 1–4. As to the agreement reached, for the English to abstain from hostilities against the Dutch by sea or land, see ibid. DCCCV, p. 21, & vol. 32, DCCCXIV, pp. 1–2, 5–6.

[6] Let. to Van Goens, 13 Sept. & to Venkatapati, 12 Sept., 17 F.S.G. (2nd sec.) 1, 2.

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By 20 September the Dutch were at Triplicane and joined the Moors in the siege. Four Dutch ships from Ceylon and Batavia had come and were riding off the Madras-bar mouth. From them had been set ashore sixteen Englishmen and two 'Caphreys'[1] who had been taken prisoners by the Dutch in the English ships the *George* and the *Recovery*.[2] The Dutch ships that had taken part in the fight had not yet returned to Madras, and Langhorn could only express his hopes for the release of the English prisoners in them when they arrived.[3] On 22 September he thanked the Dutch general for the release of the prisoners who had reached Madras. He also gave assurances, as asked for by Van Goens, that he would not molest on land or sea the Dutch forces in the King of Golconda's service, and requested reciprocal assurances, also that letters and patamars (messengers) should be suffered to pass freely; he promised not to join interest with other nations, nor to violate the liberty enjoyed from the King of Golconda by giving assistance to his enemies.[4]

In the same month the desertion of three French officers of the *Breton* gave rise to negotiations and correspondence. M. Champignolle, the commander of the ship, with two of his lieutenants, had run away in disgust at the putting of another over his head. De la Haye accused Englishmen at Madras of causing and fomenting desertions from his forces and demanded the return of the officers. The commander was a relation of the French Minister, Colbert, and probably on this account Langhorn, departing from his usual practice, refused to return the officers, pleading the laws of hospitality and the impossibility of sending them back like malefactors 'as if they were some criminalls of the deepest dye'. He, however, in accordance with De la Haye's remonstrance, refused to give them passages in the English ships, contenting himself with sending three trunks for them to Europe.[5] De la Haye retorted by asking for a passage on the ships for a messenger to the King of England, writing with a scarcely veiled threat, 'Il est de consequence que Sa Majeste seache les choses que j'ay l'honneur de luy escrire'.[6] It would seem that the ships had departed from Madras

[1] Arab. *Kafir*, pl. *Kofra*, an infidel, an unbeliever in Islam (Yule, 140–1).

[2] The *Recovery* was a vessel belonging to Gerald Aungier (*E.F.* i. 202).

[3] Fort let. to Surat, 20 Sept., O.C. 3848.

[4] 17 F.S.G. 8.

[5] Fort let. to Co. 12 Sept., O.C. 3849; let. 16 & 19 Sept. (N.S.) from De la Haye, 26 F.S.G. (2nd sec.) 1, 2, and Langhorn's let. 7 Sept., 17 F.S.G. 50. For further particulars about these officers, see Carré, ii. 639–44.

[6] Let. 20 Sept. (N.S.), 26 F.S.G. 2.

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before this request was received; at any rate there is no record of a reply to, or compliance with, it.

On 12 September, in writing to the Company, Langhorn explained his views of the agreement he had made with the French for local peace, whatever wars should break out in Europe, saying he looked on it 'only as some fixation to those spirits of mercury and sulphur wee are so obnoxious unto', and that it would not 'lull [him] into the least security'. On the other hand, he thought that De la Haye might have persuaded himself that it involved 'a union of interests and forces' such as he pressed for, but which Langhorn denied, as being contrary to the Company's interests and orders.[1] He also refused to entertain a proposal by Mons. Baron in August and September for a loan from the treasure on board the ships, repayable at Surat—an attempt described by Langhorn as 'strange proffers of the French to get the Surat money at Fort St. George into their hands'.[2]

A lengthy and sharp correspondence with recriminations on either side took place in September between Langhorn and the King and Nawab of Golconda, both direct and through the Madras envoy there. Earliest in date was a long letter on 12 September from Langhorn to Venkatapati recounting the misdeeds of Muhammad Salih[3] and Baba Sahib at the first siege, and fresh complaints against the former and Chennupalli Mirza in the renewed attack, saying that, under cover of allowing provisions only for Madras itself to come in, they stopped both all provisions and all merchandise, caring not what damage they did to the King's subjects as long as they could put money in their own pockets.[4] To the King himself Langhorn alleged that these officials were trying to extract great sums of money from the English on promises of friendship.[5] He also complained of the Dutch interference with trade and their plots to capture Madras and engross its trade themselves in accordance with the policy pursued by them in Cochin, Ceylon, the Spice Islands, and other places. Details were given of their recent seizure of 300 oxen laden with paddy and 17 loads of cloth belonging to Kasi Viranna. The oxen had been killed and the cloth given to Dutch soldiers, and on Trimbak rebuking Van Goens he had

[1] O.C. 3849, f. 1.

[2] F.S.G. con. 9 Aug., *M.R.* 17; Baron's let. 14 Aug. & 16 Sept., 26 F.S.G. 14, 16; Langhorn's let. to Mr. Cooke at London, 22 Nov., 3 Misc. 184; cf. Kaeppelin, 110.

[3] It seems certain that he was identical with Mahomed Sala beg (Muhammad Salihbeg) referred to at p. 40.

[4] 17 F.S.G. 1, 2.

[5] Let. to the King, without date, but probably of 12 Sept., 17 F.S.G. 3.

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replied that, being in the King's service, he could rob as he liked and had suggested that the King's soldiers should do the same.[1] Langhorn made similar detailed allegations against Chennupalli Mirza and Muhammad Salih of seizures near Poonamallee, under pretence of orders from the King to do so and to besiege Madras.[2] To the King he detailed the advantages arising from the trade in his dominions both to the Government and the people, pointing out that, as the Dutch camp and ships now lay between Madras and San Thomé, they could not pretend that the English sent supplies, while to do so was against both their obligations and their interest. He ended with the usual request for liberty to receive supplies and carry on commerce.[3]

These letters must have crossed two angry letters from the King and the Nawab written on 14 September, accusing the English of continued assistance to the French, the Nawab asserting that they 'continually send to our deadly enemies great store of ammunition, provisions etc.', and affirming that the enjoyment of the farman granted them and the peaceful conduct of their business depended on their behaviour.[4] Venkatapati in a letter of 18 September described a stormy interview with His Highness the Olampana, to whose presence he had been summoned. The King 'shewed himself very pationate' and 'told me whether it were handsome for your Worship to assist the French in that manner in his prejudice'. Concerning the capture of the Company's three ships by the Dutch, the King told the agent that the question of taking action about it was awaiting a reply from Langhorn to an inquiry by Trimbak as to the amount he would give the Diwan, out of any money taken on them that was restored. Venkatapati further reported that he had arranged for one Raganaya to be kept with the Sar-i-khail,[5] to assist in the disposal of business relating to Masulipatam. He further said that the Dutch had been ordered not to proceed against Madras but only against San Thomé.[6] Three days later Venkatapati confirmed this and asked for help to be given to Trimbak, and that the balance of the town rent should be paid, after deducting the value of powder and shot supplied to him.[7]

To these letters Langhorn replied on 30 September. To the King he expressed himself as 'infinitely sorry' that His Highness was so misinformed, denied any assistance to the French beyond the civility of

[1] 17 F.S.G. 2.
[2] Ibid. 2, 3.
[3] Ibid. 3–4.
[4] 26 F.S.G. 4.
[5] i.e. chief revenue minister or treasurer, cf. *E.F.*, 1665–7, 242. It was usually shortened to sarkhel (sarkhail).
[6] 26 F.S.G. 7, 8.
[7] Ibid. 8.

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'free egress and regress', and hoped that the farman would be faithfully observed.[1] To the Nawab he wrote similarly.[2] The letter to Venkatapati surveyed and set forth at length his policy and sentiments towards the French, and explained the accusations of the local commanders of the Golconda forces, 'those needy avaldars and captains whose whole practice has been of a long time to exact and rob all those countries committed to their charge', as merely intended 'to hide or excuse their unskillfullness and cowardize' and further their designs to extort money from the Company. He asked whether it was not more likely that such men would write thus 'than for one of my quallity and experience in the world, who have also now spent 27 yeares in travells, studies and considerable employments, to be soe ill advised as to act against our own interest in helping the French to settle so neare us to our exceeding charge, trouble and danger, prejudice of our traffique, which is all the business we come for, and perpetuall disquiet'.[3] In view of the slighting manner in which the Nawab wrote to him as if his predecessor 'carryed hiself so much better', he asked Venkatapati to 'inform them of my quallity, which (as a Baronet) was, he wrote, much greater than that of his predecessors and deserving of due courtesy and civility.[4]

All these considerations, and much more, he instructed his representative to represent to the King and the Nawab with a view to having the restrictions to trade and supplies stopped, goods taken by the Dutch and Chennupalli Mirza or Muhammad Salih restored, and the latter officials punished. The Dutch, he added, were at first misled into thinking he was helping the French, but now that they were so near they had found this to be false and were much more friendly than the King's people. Until the arrival of the Dutch, provisions had reached the French in great quantities from people living on the far side of San Thomé, and earlier in the first siege, from Baba Sahib's camp itself.[4]

The month of October showed an improvement in relations with Golconda. On 8 October Venkatapati was able to report that the 'great persons' there all assured him that the interference by Chennupalli Mirza and others with provisions and merchandise for Madras was of their own accord and had not been ordered; they also promised that letters stopping it would be issued. On 12 October he wrote that he had been sent for by the King, though he was engaged in preparations for the dispatch of an army to the north, doubtless to meet threatened

[1] 17 F.S.G. 4.
[2] Ibid. 5.
[3] Ibid. 6.
[4] Ibid. 7.

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attacks by the Mughals. At this interview Venkatapati had the help of Darga Khan, who, he explained, had been appointed Sarkhel, 'with whose councell and order all business are mannaged in the Nabobs army'. Through his intervention and pleading, the King, after some upbraiding about the French being allowed to resort to Madras, gave orders—which were sent off by 'post peons'—that provisions should be allowed to reach Madras and that cloth seized should be sent to Golconda, where it would be handed over to Venkatapati.[1] As a result Langhorn received a letter of 12 October from the 'chief matcher[2] Camall Cawne', informing him that Chennupalli Mirza had ordered that all necessary supplies should be allowed to reach Madras, but asking that notes should be sent for these in future, as other people carried things in Langhorn's name.[3] The Nawab also wrote on 21 October in friendly terms to Langhorn, saying that he was convinced from Langhorn's letter and his own inquiries that the accusations that the English combined with the French were false, and acknowledging that Langhorn had furnished powder and shot to the Golconda forces in camp: the King therefore had cancelled 'a very angry phirmand' that he had ordered to be prepared and had warned his people not to send any more 'misinformations'.[4]

The extant communications with the Dutch during this month are limited to a letter of 6 October from Langhorn to Van Goens, thanking him for favour shown to certain Portuguese inhabitants of Madras,[5] and promising help through the Justices of the Choultry towards the finding and return of a Cingalese slave or servant of Van Goens.[6] Some Dutch ships had come in sight the previous evening and Langhorn said he had hoped they would have called, that he might have asked for the liberation of the English prisoners on board them.[7]

Towards the end of October Rijkloff van Goens departed for Ceylon, leaving his land forces and three ships to carry on the siege under Pavillon.[8] On 5 November Bridger and Wilks received instructions for

[1] 26 F.S.G. 9, 10.

[2] The word 'matcher' presumably refers to the 'matches' then in use, consisting of prepared wicks, cords, or ropes, for firing cannon or other fire-arms: cf. *E.F.* i. 10 *n.*

[3] 26 F.S.G. 11.

[4] Ibid. 4, 5.

[5] This apparently related to their wish to make use of an English pilot 'lately released by the Lord van Goence' (let. to the commander of the Dutch camp, before 6 Oct., 17 F.S.G. 11).

[6] Ibid. 9.

[7] Ibid. The four ships in question bombarded San Thomé and left after landing some munitions (Kaeppelin, 114; Love, i. 328).

[8] Cf. Love, i. 328; Kaeppelin, 114. In a letter of 22 Nov. to Mr. Cooke at London, Langhorn

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conversations with the latter, which related mainly to the stopping of supply of provisions to the French.[1]

During November Robert Fleetwood of the Masulipatam establishment was at Golconda, apparently trying to procure a lease of Verashroone (Viravasharam), and Langhorn used him as an unofficial representative there, though enjoining him to take care not to 'thwart nor discreditt our *egyb* [agent], as if the employment were taken out of his hands'.[2] The King and the Nawab were, he said, now satisfied of the justice and constancy of his proceedings, and Fleetwood, who had free access to the Nawab, was asked to confirm this good opinion. He was also instructed as to the views to be put forward on a variety of topics, but was told, as far as possible, not to raise them himself but to bring it about that the Nawab 'may still either begin and offer the occasion, or at least think he did soe'. Of the Dutch and the French, Langhorn wrote that he would prefer the former as neighbours, but he wanted neither. If the Dutch got San Thomé he would be sorry, though he found that, as open enemies, they behaved more civilly and quietly than the French, who were accounted friends. His policy towards the latter he explained at length on familiar lines, dealing especially with accusations about the supply of provisions.[2]

Fortunately those for the Fort itself were now supplied from the Golconda camp under orders of Chennupalli Mirza, who also was allowing goods to come in freely. The latter dwelt on this fact in a letter that he wrote on 13 November, pressing Langhorn to come to his camp to meet the Dutch Governor, an invitation of whose acceptance there is no sign.[3] On 9 December Muhammad Salih also addressed Langhorn, under orders of the Nawab, requesting to be furnished with lead from the Company or its merchants,[3] but the result is not recorded.

On 12 December Langhorn wrote to the Nawab, Darga Khan, and Venkatapati. To the Nawab he said he had 'with much contentment' noted that the King and the Nawab were now satisfied with his conduct, in spite of the artifices of some persons 'who do brigue [i.e. strive] for employments' and abuse their trust.[4] He referred with satisfaction to the same matter in his letter to Venkatapati, and promised to send

expressed the view that Van Goens had intended to attack and take Madras, but had been deterred by the state of its defences and Langhorn's good relations with the King of Golconda (3 Misc. 184). Some of the auxiliary soldiers entertained by Langhorn were discharged on Rijkloff's departure, see Fort con. 30 Oct., *M.R.* 18–19.

[1] 17 F.S.G. 9.
[2] Ibid. 10, 11.
[3] 26 F.S.G. 11.
[4] 17 F.S.G. 13.

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fitting presents to the King and notables, as he had been pressed to do, as soon as the rains were over and the roads safe, though he contended that the 11,000 pagodas paid to Nawab Musa Khan should be treated as a respectful present and not as arrears of rent.[1] Langhorn informed him that the previous strictness in stoppage of provisions had abated, and that inhabitants of Madras were now allowed to buy provisions at the camp. The Dutch on 9 December had sent off 100 coolies to Pulicat, and it was believed by many that they were abandoning the siege, which hitherto had been 'continued but to very little purpose, their force by land and sea being soe very inconsiderable, *viz.* but 3 shipps in the road and about 500 Christians on land'.[2] He understood that De la Haye was demanding various villages, such as Kodumbaukum, Egmore, Trivembore, Triplicane, Chepauk, and Pudupauk, which formerly depended upon San Thomé, and he asked Venkatapati to try by all means to hinder such a grant.[3] The more villages the French got, the more people and soldiers they would bring there, and the more insolent and disobedient they would be to the King; while, if peace were made before San Thomé was retaken, it would be a blow to his prestige. 'A factory without any fort were the most that should bee allowed them and that as farr from St. Thoma as can be.' He thought that, if any nation had a right to the place, it was the Portuguese, but that it would be best for the King to demolish it. He added that Venkatapati could now pay the balance of the town rent to the Nawab.[4]

At the end of the year the Englishmen captured in the fight off Petapoli were still in the hands of the Dutch. On 7 December they wrote to Langhorn from the *Cransden* and *Rheyne* (*Craensteyn* and *Rheenen*), on which they were prisoners, appealing to him to get them released and send them clothes, as they had only what they wore in the engagement. They made no complaint as to provisions, saying they got the same as the Dutch.[5] Langhorn sent them 'two changes' of clothes for each person, and told them what he had done towards procuring their liberty, and that orders thereon had to come from Van Goens, who had left before their arrival.[6]

[1] Ibid. 14, 15.

[2] Ibid. 15. In Fort con. 30 Oct., *M.R.* 18, the land force is given as 700 white men, 500 Cingalese Christians, and 1,000 Blacks.

[3] Cf. alleged copy of De la Haye's let. to the King of Golconda, 26 Aug., 26 F.S.G. 14–15. An offer of 2,000 pagodas a year is there made for the three villages of Egmore, Corumbaia, and Trivembore.

[4] 17 F.S.G. 16. [5] 26 F.S.G. 5. [6] Let. 15 & 27 Dec., 17 F.S.G. 13.

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APPENDIX A

(See p. 65)

The Abbé Carré's manuscript Journal, which he called *Le Courier de l'Orient*, was purchased by the East India Company in 1820. It affords an additional and useful source of information about Madras in 1673 and Sir William Langhorn's policy during the siege of San Thomé. The extracts from it have been selected for the light they give of that kind. The translation varies slightly from that in the Hakluyt volume II of *Abbé Carré's Travels*, and parts of the original text have been abbreviated, without detracting from its general sense.

May–September 1673

[Carré is recounting the history of the siege after his arrival at San Thomé on 14 April 1673. All the dates in these extracts are New Style, i.e. ten days ahead of the corresponding Old Style dates, which were then used in English chronology.]

Friday, 5 May 1673

In the morning I went to Madras where I was received by Sir [William] Langhorn, the English Governor, with every courtesy. He kept me nearly all day with him, regaling me with complaints of the worries and annoyances that our French were incessantly causing him. He did not even spare our Viceroy, of whom he complained bitterly on the subject of the vessel belonging to Mr. Jearsey, one of the principal English merchants, which he had seized. The Governor also told me that our officers and men came every day to Madras and insulted the Moors [visiting the town] and the inhabitants. He tried to persuade me that he much feared the power of the Moors, who threatened continually to pillage Madras, because of his allowing the French to come from San Thomé to get provisions.

Sunday, 18 June 1673

[Carré tells of a panic among the native inhabitants of Madras caused by a Dutch sloop ordering three Portuguese vessels to leave the road of Madras, and of the consequent steps taken by the English to defend Madras.]

There was indeed reason for anxiety, as the place was not easily defended. The town is inhabited by English and Portuguese, of which the first are paramount. There is a garrison of three or four companies of English and black Portuguese with some lascarins [Hindu soldiers], in all hardly 200 men, of which only 60 are English.[1] The last are the only ones who would offer any resistance, as all the others, especially the Portuguese, are mere peace-time soldiers, who engage in a military career merely to get the wherewithal to lead a wretched, low, and cowardly life. Their Fort, called St. George . . . serves as a storehouse for merchandise and valuables, and as a residence for the Governor with the officers

[1] As to the incorrectness of this estimate, see p. 87 *n*.

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of his Council. The others live in the town, which has no defences seaward, except on the sea-front where are four bastions with about fifty six- and eight-pounder guns. On the land-side there are only some low weak walls, washed on the west by a river, which can be forded in several places. Besides this, there is yet a second town, or large suburb, inhabited by Hindus, Moors, and natives of the country and other different castes, as well as by some Portuguese. Between the town and this suburb is a large open space, serving as a bazar for the sale of all sorts of provisions and supplies. This place is bounded on the east by the sea, and on the west by a custom-house and a Court of Justice called the Chaudry,[1] where there are some English officers who have to serve a three years' term.

Monday, 19 June 1673

In the morning some twenty of our Frenchmen from San Thomé, who had come to Madras to buy provisions, went to see me in my lodging, where they generally did all their business. The Madras Governor, hearing of their arrival, sent for me, so that, while our Frenchmen were getting their provisions, I went to the Fort to see him. After some civil conversation, he told me that the Moor generals had threatened to pillage Madras with all their army, if he continued to permit anything to be sold or taken away from Madras for the French; and he said he could not allow the passage of any more food convoys, as formerly. I replied politely that, as we were friends and allies, I could not believe that he would wish to do anything against our nation, and that if he thought it wrong that I should give visible help to my compatriots, I would send food only at night. I also let him know that there were some of our officers and men already in the town buying provisions, and I begged him to allow them to pass out this time with their purchases. This he very civilly granted me; so I returned at once to my lodging with the intention of sending them all back as soon as possible, for fear that, when they had spent all their money, they might desert as they sometimes did.

Hardly had I left the Governor when some Englishmen, who were ill disposed towards our nation, went to the Governor and clamoured in his ear that the French were taking all the provisions and comestibles in the bazar, in defiance of his orders and prohibitions, and were threatening violence to any who tried to control prices in the sale of goods. You must understand that near the retail market the English have a judicial court, where there are always two judges to settle the quarrels and disorders that usually occur in a town. These two great personages, who generally had only country-folk to deal with—like our village judges in France—wished to exert their authority on our Frenchmen by obliging them to buy their goods at a higher price than that paid by the local people. Consequently there were daily disputes of which these petty judges to-day complained to the Governor, inciting him to show his displeasure to our Frenchmen.

The English Governor, taking this as a point of honour, and believing his

[1] More commonly known as the 'Choultry'; cf. pp. 7, 22, 27, *ante*.

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authority to be defied, sent a company of the garrison, armed with matchlocks, under an officer to the bazar to seize all the provisions that the French had bought. Happily most of them had already taken their purchases to my lodging, where they awaited their companions, who had not returned.

Tuesday, 20 June 1673

I could not help admiring the remarkable accuracy of English navigation, by which, knowing the time their fleet left every year for India and how long it ought to take for the voyage, the Governor and officers bet large sums on the exact day of their arrival on the Coromandel Coast before the end of June. So the English Governor, seeing that the Dutch fleet (after its defeat by a single French ship which they did not dare follow) was hanging off San Thomé, evidently waiting for the English fleet, which was expected daily from England, wisely sent couriers to Porto Novo, Tranquebar and other places on the coast to the south, with orders to keep boats ready there to warn the English ships to avoid Madras, where the Dutch fleet was lying in wait for them. It is certain that without this foresight, which was timely and successful, the English ships would have fallen into the hands of the Dutch. It would have been difficult for them to resist an attack, enfeebled as they were by death, illness, and shortage of food after the long voyage from England to this country, to which they generally come direct without stopping except at the Canary Islands or those of Cape Verde, to get water. Consequently, when on 18 June a fleet of ten English ships appeared off Porto Novo, the boat that awaited them put off at once with the Governor's letter of warning. The English fleet therefore kept out to sea and followed a course to Masulipatam, where they awaited news from Madras.

Thursday, 22 June 1673

The Moor generals sent one of their chief officers to the Madras Governor with a proposal which so embarrassed the English that they suspected the Moors were seeking a pretext to break with them—taking the proposition to be what we call in good French 'a German [i.e. a groundless] quibble'. They suggested that, if the English wished to give them a token of their alliance and friendship, they should send provisions to the Dutch fleet. The English thus found themselves in a dilemma, not knowing how to take this absurd suggestion. On the one hand they feared a break with the Moors whom they dreaded, and on the other they did not wish to give assistance to a nation with which they were at war. Hardly knowing what reply to give the Moors, who were pressing the matter, they sent word that, being at war with Holland, they could not give the Dutch any assistance, but that they would not prevent the Moors from giving what was needed. This satisfied the Moors, who supplied the Dutch with food at night, actually using Madras boats. Thus these generous English freely granted to the Dutch, their enemies, what they never wished to permit to the French, their allies.

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Monday, 26 June 1673

Our Governor at San Thomé and Director Baron sent some French officers with a civil letter to the Governor of Madras, asking him to allow the passage of some refreshments for their own table. I gave him the letter, at which he jeered, as well as at the offer which Mons. Barron generously made him. This was to send 300 Frenchmen and as many lascarins as might be needed, in case the Dutch tried to surprise Madras. He actually laughed on reading the letter, and in reply said haughtily that the French required help more than the English, who had nothing to fear from their enemies. I was therefore obliged to send back our Frenchmen, without being able to obtain anything from this English Governor.

Next morning, 27 June, I went to the parade ground of Madras to see a review of their garrison. I counted only 40 English, 60 black Portuguese, and about 150 lascarins.[1] Considering this small force and the weakness of the place, I wondered at the arrogance of this Englishman, who, though our ally, had despised the generous offer of help made by our San Thomé gentlemen in case of need.

Tuesday, 2 August 1673

The English in Madras coin money of three sorts: pagodas, fanams, and cash. The pagoda is a small gold coin, stamped only on one side with the figure of a Hindu idol[2] and worth two écus [about 9*s*.]. The fanam is another small coin, half gold and half silver, stamped with some Hindu characters, worth 3 sols and a liard each, and 18 go to the écu.[3] The cash is the lowest coin for the populace and poor folk; they are small pieces of copper, and 120 go to the fanam. The pagoda is current all over the country in the kingdoms of Golconda and Bijapur, and on the Malabar Coast. Fanams are used only in Madras and neighbouring places.

Thursday, 10 August 1673

We saw out at sea a large ship which came under full sail to Madras and dropped anchor in the middle of the English fleet.[4] After having saluted, she sent ashore a boat, in which was a French sailor. I had him brought to my lodging. He told me that this tenth ship had come straight from England, where it had started in January with the rest of the fleet for India; but it had been entirely dismasted in a gale and had been obliged to leave the fleet and return

[1] Evidently Carré saw only a small portion of the garrison, which (according to official reports) then numbered about 255 English, 163 Portuguese, and 550 Indians (p. 72 *ante*).

[2] The Madras pagoda bore a figure of Vishnu on the obverse, as also did the Golconda pagoda: see the illustration facing p. 88, taken from casts of such coins in the British Museum, with the kind permission of Mr. J. Allan, the Keeper of Coins; cf. Love, i. 195 & ii. 332; *Madras Man. Admn.* iii. 643.

[3] The Madras fanam probably bore what may be intended to be a rude figure of Vishnu, as in the same illustration, but others bore various devices, such as a cobra, connected with the Hindu religion (*Madras Man. Admn.* iii. 294). About this time it was generally valued at 3*d*. (Fryer, i. 106; Love, i. 194; *S.M.* i. 277).

[4] This ship was the *Massingberd*, which reached Madras on 30 July (O.S.); cf. p. 240 *n*.

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to England. After an overhaul there, she did the whole voyage alone, and arrived in Madras at the same time as the others. This shows the excellence of English navigation and the difference between their commerce and that of the French, who have never been able to send their ships to India up to time, nor arrange for their prompt return, whereas these English are never out more than fifteen days or three weeks in the voyage to and from India.

Monday, 28 August 1673

I received a letter from the Viceroy [De la Haye], in which he advised me not to send any more grain by the inland route, because of the risk and trouble entailed—not from fear of the enemy, as the country was free from the Moors whom he had driven from their camp, but because of the two rivers which were in flood and difficult for our Coolies to ford. . . .

In my letter there was another for the English Governor, with a peremptory demand that he should let our provisions pass. I went and presented this letter to him; and after reading it he gave it to me to read. He said I could see how offensive the Viceroy's manner of writing was, and that he absolutely refused to grant the demand, and would never permit anything to be sent by the coast-road. In reply I civilly pointed out the glory and honour he would gain in rendering this service to the greatest king in the world [Louis XIV]. He was, however, inflexible to all I could urge and told me haughtily that he was a greater friend of the King of Golconda, whom he feared more than our French King. I was so deeply wounded by this insolence that I could not help retorting that I knew (from a sure quarter) that it was not the King of Golconda that he wished to help to our detriment, but rather the Dutch, with whom he had a secret treaty to help them in a second siege of San Thomé. In the end I could get no satisfaction from this Englishman, except that he would assemble his Council to settle a reply to the Viceroy's demand.

Tuesday, 29 August 1673

The English Governor called his Council in the morning to discuss the answer to be made to the letter I had brought from the Viceroy the previous day. The reply was brought to me about 8 o'clock by the Capuchin Father Ephraim, who expressed much displeasure at the Viceroy's having written in such a way to the Governor. This reply was in English, it being the only time I had known the English Governor to write in that language to the Viceroy,[1] as his custom was to use our own, which he knew very well. It was indeed the only thing he had brought back from the several years he had lived at Saumur at a time when, I believe, Cromwellians were being hunted in England. He would have done better to have learnt the respect and honour due to crowned heads than to have studied the French language.

[1] This probably refers to Langhorn's letter of 18 Aug. (o.s.), which is in English (17 F.S.G. 41), while (as stated by Carré) all the previous letters are in French.

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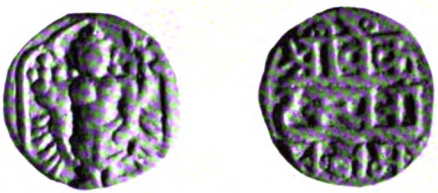

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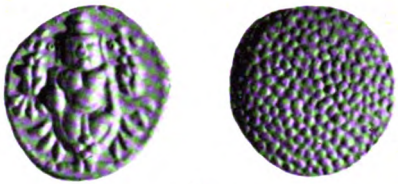

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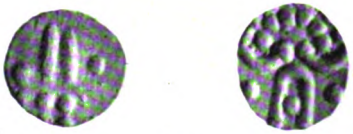

3

1. *Golconda pagoda*, a gold coin of the late Vijayanagar type. The *obverse* shows the god Vishnu standing under a canopy. The *reverse* bears a Nagari legend *Shri V(en)kat(e)-svara(ya) namah*, i.e. 'Adoration to the blessed Venkateswara', the latter being the deity of Venkatadri, a sacred hill near Chandragiri, which was the last capital of the Vijayanagara dynasty. (Cf. Elliot, *Coins of Southern India*, 152 E, no. 105; Hultzsch, *Ind. Antiquary*, xx. 307–8, no. 35; Bidie, *JASB*, lii. 46, no. 15; Brown, *The Coins of India*, 64.)

2. Madras pagoda, a gold coin of a similar type. The *obverse* has a figure representing the god Vishnu, while the *reverse* is merely granulated. (Cf. Tavernier, *Voyages*, ii. 16; Carré, ii. 596, and see p. 87 *n. ante*; Love, i. 195; Brown, loc. cit. 65.) This was the type of pagoda struck at Madras during the period dealt with in this volume: the famous 'star pagoda' came much later, the first mention of it being in 1741 (Love, ii. 312).

3. The fanam, a coin of base gold (i.e. half gold and half silver). It is of the type described by Carré (p. 87 *ante*), viz. bearing 'some Hindu characters'. The *obverse* may be the remains of a degraded standing figure, while the meaning of the device on the *reverse* has defied detection (Elliot, loc. cit., 147).

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Wednesday, 13 September 1673

The English Governor, hearing that many people and their families in the town were leaving for San Thomé, where they thought they would be safer from Dutch attacks, assembled a large number of the populace, men, women and children, about eight hundred in all, and made them work on a large ditch, which he was making to join the river at Madras to the sea, so as to close the road to San Thomé along the seashore. He also made them work at two earth bastions on the sea-front, intended for two batteries, each of ten guns of eight- and twelve-pounders, to protect the roadstead while they were lading ships. And yet the garrison and all the citizens were under arms day and night, and in a continual state of alarm from the reports of spies, who came at every moment with news that the Dutch were preparing terrible engines of war.

Friday, 15 September 1673

I went in the morning to the English Governor with a letter from the Viceroy, inviting him to join him against the Dutch with a force of only two hundred men, which he could easily take from his ships, saying he would thus cover himself with glory by the capture of Riclophe [Van Goens], the Dutch general, who was only four hours by road away from Madras. . . . But the Governor, having read the letter in my presence, laughed scornfully and said: 'What! Have I not told you often enough, nor fully enough by letter to your Viceroy, that I am a man who will never recognise any business or interests other than those of our Company? The only orders I get from it are for lading its ships, receiving its merchandise, and carrying on its commerce, at which I work, as you see. So all I can do is to fortify the place and defend it bravely, if I am attacked by enemies.' Such was the answer of this English Governor.

Wednesday, 20 September 1673

In the morning I went to San Thomé, where I stayed nearly all day in private conference with the Viceroy on the existing state of affairs. It was decided that I should leave for Surat in an English ship, to see the Company's chiefs there and induce them to give him financial help. From Surat I should go to France by land, with letters from the Viceroy, so as to let the Court know the real state of our affairs in India.

In the evening I returned to Madras with a polite letter from the Viceroy to the English Governor, asking him for my passage in one of their ships to Surat. He very civilly granted this, promising to put me in a ship in which he had an interest, and whose captain was the finest in their fleet. I met the latter that evening at a party, to which all the English officers were invited, and we became friendly. He told me he was delighted that I was going in his ship, and that he would be pleased to take me not only to Surat but to Europe, if I wished to go all the way by sea.

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Thursday, 21 September 1673

In the morning I went to Fort St. George to take leave of the English Governor and to thank him for the courtesy and civilities I had received during my five months' stay in Madras, which I would always remember. I added that I would publish all over Europe the affection and generosity he had always shown to his allies, the French, in the East. He saw well that my compliments covered polite reproaches for all his unjust proceedings towards us; and he assured me that he was very sorry to have been obliged to act like this, under pressure from the officers of his Council and the threats of the Moors.

APPENDIX B

The History of a Late Revolution in the Kingdom of Golconda, by the Rev. J. Ovington, was published as an Appendix (pp. 525–52) to the original (1696) edition of his book, *A Voyage to Suratt in the year 1689*. A reprint of the latter work, edited by Prof. H. G. Rawlinson, was published by the Oxford Press in 1929, but this appendix was deliberately omitted as containing nothing of value. Since, however, the main events of this 'Revolution' relate to 1672–3, and are referred to in this volume (pp. 69, 75), Ovington's account of them is thought to be worth reproduction. The first part of it, which reads like a fairy-tale,[1] is merely summarized, as it is too lengthy for inclusion.

In his opening paragraph Ovington says 'these memoirs' were communicated to him by 'a very worthy Gentleman, Mr. Daniel Sheldon'. This must have been the Company's servant of that name, who was 'second' at Kasimbazar in 1659 (*Ct. Min.*, 1655–9, 212; *E.F.*, 1655–60, 189, 190, 291). He was a son of Ralph Sheldon, who became Chief of the same factory in 1661 (Ibid. 1661–4, 150), and a nephew of Gilbert Sheldon, a well-known Archbishop of Canterbury. He returned to England in 1666 and at intermittent periods between 1672 and 1680 served as a 'Committee' of the Company in London (Ibid. 1655–60, 190). Sheldon probably obtained his information from a factor or other Englishman serving on the Coromandel Coast, who was in touch with the Golconda State, and much of it is corroborated by the India Office records. The account first describes how King Abul Hasan Shah came to succeed King Abdullah Kutb Shah, who died in 1672. The former's father was 'an Arabian of good family and esteem, but low in estate and fortune', who came to Golconda and attained 'considerable commands'; but on his death his estate was seized by the King, 'who is the general heir of all his nobles and persons employed by him, . . . so that his son was reduced to a very poor condition'. All he had to live on was a salary of 12 or 15 pagodas a month, which he derived from services as a *mansabdar*[2] under King Abdullah.

[1] Dr. Fryer (i. 82–4) gives a somewhat similar version of this part of the 'revolution', but it is not so clear and does not seem to be as reliable as Ovington's account, which appeared two years before the first edition of Fryer's *New Account*.

[2] The word *mansabdar* means officer, and is generally used of high officials, but here it seems

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The latter had no son, but three daughters. Of these the eldest was married to Sultan Mamood, son of the Emperor Aurangzeb; the second to an Arabian of good position, Meera Mamood;[1] and the third was unmarried. An Arabian of high birth and quality, called Siud [Sayyid] Sultan, was 'an importunate suitor' for her hand; and this was countenanced by the King, who was determined to keep Aurangzeb's son out of the succession, and who had 'no kindness for his second daughter or her husband'. He hoped to marry his third daughter, of whom he was extremely fond, to someone 'whose quality, parts, and courage, might make him able either to break or manage the factions of his Court', and who would therefore be a suitable person to succeed him.

Siud Sultan, however, incurred the hatred of the King's ministers by his insolent behaviour towards them, and they resolved to hinder the match. The chief persons about the King were Moso Cawne (Musa Khan), Siud Meer Zapher (Sayyid Muzaffar), and Musshuke (Musikmea), who between them managed his affairs. With the help of the King's son-in-law, Meera Mamood, they persuaded his Majesty that Siud Sultan was a danger to him as an ambitious man, who had designs on his safety; and the King, 'being naturally jealous, and frightened with the shadow of anything that he thought might disturb his pleasures', broke off the match. One of the three (probably Musikmea) then advised him to get a husband for the Princess 'of small fortune, but noble birth and courage; a comely person, and of a generous and chearful disposition, and inclined rather to pleasures than business', who would be 'contented with the condition he was in, without aspiring to untimely greatness'. The other two ministers (wanting the government to remain in their hands) confirmed the King's opinion that this was sound advice by approving of it. The young Arabian soldier, Abul Hasan, was then proposed as in 'every way qualified according to the King's desire'. Muzaffar had him brought to his house, commiserated with him on his poor condition, and promised to help him to get a handsome command. Unknown to him, the King had gone there to see and hear the interview; but he was dissatisfied with Abul Hasan's appearance and objected that he had not the 'life and vigour in his countenance that he would willingly have in the person he made choice of'. Muzaffar said this was due to the lad's poverty which induced melancholy; and that if he was supplied with money to maintain himself according to his birth and quality, he would soon prove to be 'such a one as his Majesty sought for'. Accordingly the King ordered Muzaffar to contrive to let Abul Hasan have money, without his knowing 'the bountiful hand that relieved him'. With some difficulty

to imply that Abul was merely a horseman, who received *mansab* pay; cf. Bernier's *Travels in the Mogul Empire* (Constable & Smith's edn., 1914), 215. Such allowances did not necessarily entail the maintenance of a contingent of troops; see W. H. Moreland, 'Rank (mansab) in the Mogul State Service', *J.R.A.S.*, Oct. 1936, 641–5.

[1] According to Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, 268, it was the second daughter who married the emperor's eldest son, Sultan Muhammad, while the eldest married a noble Arabian from Mecca, called Sayyid Ahmad; but both Martin (i. 331) and Carré (ii. 485–8) allocate the eldest daughter to Sultan Muhammad.

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this was done through money-lenders, who pretended to want the young man's assistance in approaching some 'great men' for their business. At first he refused their offers of monetary help, but his necessity at last prevailed on him to take the money they offered and live in a way worthy of his ancestry. He provided himself with a handsome house, a retinue, and other things fit for a person of his quality; this quickly effected the desired alteration 'in his person and humour', and he gained the esteem of all his acquaintances. The King, at Muzaffar's request, then saw him again and was so gratified at his improvement that he took every opportunity of seeing him. Eventually he resolved one evening to have him married at once to his third daughter.

Abul Hasan was entertaining himself and a few friends with some dancing women when news was brought him that some high officials of the Court were at his door. They had come with a guard of horse to fetch him to the Court and he went to meet them with trepidation, being unable to imagine why they wanted him. His fears were increased when the King's Secretary presented him with a rich vest from his Majesty, for he believed it was poisoned and that this was a way of the King's showing his displeasure and punishing him for 'the more plentiful way' in which he had been living. He protested that he knew of no crime he had ever committed, that at the least intimation from the King he would have retired to his former obscurity, and that he was ready to lay down his life for him, even though it was merely to give him pleasure. He bravely put on the vest. The courtiers then assured him that the King had sent them to confer a high honour on him, but Abul Hassan was not satisfied of his safety till they brought him 'a goodly horse with rich furniture' and desired him to mount it. He rode with them to the Court, where he was married to the Princess the same night. The second son-in-law, Meera Mamood, who only heard of the event after it occurred, was enraged by it, and took himself off to Delhi, where he was well received by Aurangzeb. The King became every day more and more content with his third son-in-law, but (in order to give him no opportunity of enriching himself) kept him out of high military or civil office and provided him with only enough money to cover his expenses. Abul Hasan, having an excellent understanding, quickly perceived his design and wisely resolved to comply with it by seeming to have no aspiration for power. The result was that the Golconda nobles and governors liked him, while the King, who doted on him, contrived in every way to secure his succession to the throne. Some eleven years after the marriage, King Abdullah on his death-bed publicly declared Abul Hasan his successor and made his nobles swear to carry out his wishes. On his death (in April 1672) his second daughter (wife of Meera Mamood), with a small party of supporters, tried to set a stepson on the throne, but Musa Khan, Muzaffar, and Musikmea quickly suppressed this attempt, and proclaimed Abul Hasan as the new King.

The rest of the story is now given in Ovington's own words.

'After all the Ceremonies both of a Funeral and Coronation were perform'd, the King begins to think of gratifying those that had made him so; for tho' he had long observ'd Moso Cawne, and Siud Meer Zapher, to be corrupt and ill

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Governours, yet they had done him good Service, and he could not, without lessening his Name in the World, but continue, and something increase their Honour and Commands: (nor perchance was it in his power to lessen them in either, since those that had made him King, might still be made able to make another so) yet it very much troubled him to think he should add to the too great Power they already had; therefore taking some little time to consider what was fit for him to do, at last he concludes, that the way to lessen these two powerful Noble-men, was to make them both too great, for very well knowing they mortally hated one another, and would never endure each others greatness, but be always striving which should throw the other out of his Prince's Favour, he therefore resolv'd so to divide the Administration of Affairs between them, that they should be sure to check one the other, and to carry himself so equally, that it should not be discern'd which he most favour'd; by which he both answer'd the Opinion the World had of his Bounty, (a thing much regarded) in rewarding them with Honour and great Imployments, and yet secur'd himself from the danger of two such powerful Subjects, by making them too great ever to agree in an Attempt against him; and setting them both up at so equal and spreading a height, that they must of necessity justle one another down; concluding they could not be dangerous to him, while they were so to one another; and sought only by the advantage of his Favour to ruine each other. To Moso Cowne he therefore gives the Title of Cawne Cawna, and being a Man of Courage, makes him General of his Army. To Siud Meer Zapher he gives the Title of Emir Zemla, and being a Man of Business makes him Duan (in which Office is comprehended both that of a Chancellour and Treasurer) so that the General being to receive the Army's Pay of the Duan was sure to find delays and affronts, and the Duan being by his Place to inspect into the Disposal of the King's Money, and Payment of the Army, [here there is a lacuna,? would have cause for complaint against the General]. After the King had honoured and Rewarded others likewise that deserved well of him, he seems wholly to retire from Business to his Pleasures; but posted himself at so convenient a Distance, that he had perfect Knowledge of every thing that pass'd. In this time of leasure he would often sequester himself from all kind of Company, to meditate and write; and its since certainly known, that when he was thus retir'd, he took particular notice of all the Abuses in the State, and the best ways of redressing them; likewise set down in Writing several Rules and Maxims for his future Government.

'In the mean time the two great men (or rather Kings) strove who should procure the finest Women, best Minstrels and Dancers to divert the King, thinking by such Charms to continue him in the Lethargy they thought he was in. But what the wise Prince foresaw soon came to pass; for they (not enduring each others Greatness, and inrag'd at the equal Favour of the King) endeavour'd, by finding out matter of Accusation aginst, to ruin each other; and the Duan (being by his place to inspect into the Payment of the Army) receiv'd many Complaints against the General, whose wretched love of Money made him defraud the King and his Souldiers of great Sums. Of this the Duan complains to the King, who

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seems not to believe, and takes little notice of it. The Duan therefore resolving to bring such Evidence as should convince the King of the Truth of his Complaint, seizes the General's Braman or Accountant, who kept all the Accounts of the Army; at which the General is so inrag'd, that taking some Souldiers with him, he is resolv'd to go and cut the Duan in pieces; but the Duan, being a notorious Coward, is the more careful to have Valient Men about him, and always paying them well, they now serve him faithfully, stoutly defending him against the General, till the King sent and Commanded him to retire. At first he was so out of his Wits, that he would not, but (being perswaded by better temper'd Men, and his Friends) at last he return'd to his own House, leaving the Duan half dead with Fear; who coming to himself, goes immediately to the King, and desires him to consider with what safety he could be in his Palace, if such Outrages were committed in the Garrison. The King calmly tells him, he will take care both for his own, and his future safety, by preventing such Violences for the time to come, and by perfectly reconciling the General to him; and tho' the Duan knew that to be impossible, yet seems to go away contented. The King sends to the General to let him know that he had undertaken a Reconciliation, and therefore would have him frame himself to it; but he storms, and calls the Duan a thousand Names; at last better remembring, calms himself, returns the King Thanks, and a submission to what he shall Command. Some few days after the King sends for him (as accustomary) and he (having by that time considered the rashness of what he had done) is unwilling to go, but (being perswaded by some he thought Friends, there was no danger, and that the King had inwardly more kindness for him than for the Duan) to Court he goes, and was no sooner entred the Palace Yard, but is seiz'd on, and clapt into Irons and Prison.

'The Charge against him was for slighting the King's Commands; daring to assault one of his Counsellours within his Garrison; purloyning the King's Treasure, and converting it to his own Use; and for refusing to pay several Sums of Money to the Embassadours of the Great Mogul, very much to the Dishonour of the King (he having pass'd his word for the punctual Payment of them); for which and some other things he was Imprison'd, and had all his Estate seiz'd on; in his House being found in ready Money, Five Hundred Thousand new Pagotha's (which is about Two Hundred Thousand Pounds Sterling) besides Jewels, wherein he was very Rich, having for many Years been Governour of the Diamond Mine of Coulour [Kollūr].[1] Immediately after he was seiz'd on, the King muster'd the Army, pays them their Arrears, gives the Command to Musshuke; but, to their great satisfaction, inrolls them in his own Rolls, and promiseth to take care of them himself for the Future. The Duan is infinitely pleas'd at the fall of the General, and thinking he had no Equal in the King's Favour, takes upon him to meddle in every Man's matter, depriving several of the Benefit of their Places, by taking their Bussiness out of their Hands; and the King lets him go on without taking notice of small Presumptions, so that by degrees he grows so confident of his own

[1] As to the old diamond mines at Kollur, see *Manual of the Kistna District* (1883), 170–1; Tavernier, *Travels in India*, tr. V. Ball, 2nd edn. 1925, ii. 56–8, 351.

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Authority, and the King's neglect, that he begins to do things of the greatest Consequence, without acquainting his Majesty; and at last (having make himself hateful, by doing and undoing every Man's Business, according to his own Interest and Designs) his Ruin was so generally wish'd, that there was a necessity of removing so great a grievance; which gave the King a fit opportunity of doing what he had so long design'd. Notice is therefore given, that such a Morning the King intends to appear at the Durbar (that is at the place where he usually shows himself to his Nobles), so that the Duan and all the rest of his Omrahs (or Nobles) were to come according to Custom to make their Salam. When the King was sat, and had a little look'd about him, he commands the Duan to stand before him, and began to speak to him in so obliging a manner, that every one at first verily thought he design'd him some fresh Honour, and not Disgrace; telling him how particular a kindness he always had for his Person; how great a Confidence in his Fidelities and Abilities; insomuch that he had left almost the whole Affairs of his Kingdom to his management, making him, as it were, King in Power, and contenting himself only with the Name. But that, to his extreme Discontent, he found himself quite deceiv'd in him; for he had made Use of the good Opinion he had of him, and his own great Abilities, only to Affront his King, and oppress and wrong his fellow Subjects. Then in the sharpest Language he could speak, tells him of all his Insolencies and Affronts, by presuming to do things of the greatest consequence without acquainting him; likewise reckons up all the Miscarriages of his Administration; then telling him, that he preferring his own Honour, and the good of the Publick, even before his own Life, he could not expect he should spare his, but Sacrifice it to his own Vindication and publick Justice, on the behalf of his oppress'd and injur'd Subjects: However as a Reward of some former Services he had done, he gave him his Life and Government of such a Province, commanding him immediately (upon the forfeiture of both) to retire to his Government, and for the future not to meddle with any Business but what concern'd it. And so, without further Disgrace, dismiss'd him, not permitting any to affront him, but commanding all to respect him as the Governour of a Province.[1]

'The King, with Reputation, and the infinite satisfaction of his People, having thus lad aside his two Partners in the Government (as if he thought himself then and not before a King) leaves his Retirement; dismisses the lew'd Women and Dancers; and breaks the Charms of his former Pleasures, with the Thoughts of Business; which he wholly minds and delights in; appears frequently at the Durbar; inspects into the whole Affairs of his Kingdom; calls for all the Accounts of his Revenues, the auditing of which he leaves to Musshuke (who is now the Favourite); rewards bountifully; punishes not with Death, but other ways, very severely; giving his People great assurance of being happily Govern'd for the future, by a Wise and most excellent King.'

[1] According to Langhorn's letter of 23 July 1676 to the Company (O.C. 4215, f. 1, reproduced in Love, i. 356), both Sayyid Muzaffar and Musa Khan had by that time been finally 'laid aside and all taken from them'.

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MADRAS, 1674

THE new year brought no change in the situation at Madras. The siege of San Thomé by the Golconda and the Dutch forces continued; and Langhorn and his colleagues pursued their policy of non-intervention in the quarrels of their neighbours and their efforts to maintain, as far as possible, friendly relations with the three contending powers.

The French were in straits for lack of money and provisions, as shown by renewed requests for help. Baron followed up a message of good wishes for the New Year with an earnest petition for a loan of money on 4 January. He put no limit to the sum and was prepared to accept any terms. He further asked that his envoy, 'le Sieur Deltor',[1] might be permitted to send by night 'avec tout le secret et toute la discretion imaginable quelques petites provisions'.[2] There is no record of any reply to it; it may have been an oral one to Deltor, and Langhorn possibly thought that he had sufficiently explained the difficulty and impossibility of helping the French in a letter which he had sent to Baron only a few days before.[3] His correspondence with De la Haye about the same time was confined to the expression of friendly sentiments and the communication of news of events in Europe, received by messengers sent from Bombay on 6 November, and of the progress of the seven English ships up the Malabar coast.[4] The letters from De la Haye at this time related mainly to the same matters, but one recommended to Langhorn a 'reverend père', probably a Portuguese Jesuit priest from San Thomé, who wanted to spend Lent in Madras.[5] The frequency and publicity of communications with the French led to trouble, and on 24 February Langhorn wrote to the French Viceroy to confirm a request he had already made through Deltor for a slackening of them, as they had led to the stoppage of provisions by the King of Golconda's forces.[6] A letter to Baron on the day following similarly complained of the embarrassment caused by the frequent coming of catamerans[7] from San Thomé, and he suggested that they should only be sent on occasions of great necessity. Langhorn explained that the

[1] i.e. Pierre Deltor, who had been the French 'second' at Masulipatam and was now in Madras.

[2] 26 F.S.G. 17–18.

[3] Let. 27 Dec. 1673, 17 F.S.G. 18.

[4] 4, 11, & 24 Jan., 17 F.S.G. 19, 20.

[5] 19 Jan. & 10 Feb., 26 F.S.G. 18; Martin, i. 570.

[6] 17 F.S.G. 22.

[7] A catamaran (from Tam. *Kattumaran*, tied together) was a raft formed of three or four logs of very buoyant timber, and was in common and skilful use on the Coromandel Coast (Yule, 173; Bowrey, 43–4; *Madras Man. Admn.* iii. 137).

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English themselves had been blockaded for 18 months, 'ce qu'à une nation qu'a la reputation de si bons appetits est tres incommode, bien qu'en mon particular pour rendre service aux amys je me contenterois avecq du riz et de l'eau'.[1]

Langhorn's correspondence with the Dutch about this period mostly related to this matter of assistance, or alleged assistance, to the French. On 3 February he wrote to Pavillon politely but firmly declining, in view of the war between their countries, to admit any of the Dutch into Madras, so that they might keep watch against the sending of provisions to the French, as the Dutch commander had apparently proposed. Langhorn pointed out that the King of Golconda's people were already permitted to be there for this purpose, and that it was strange if both they and his own men, whom he kept for patrolling the strand, were deceived or corrupted. As Pavillon, however, had information of 'prejudices done us by night', he promised to 'enquire further after it and act accordingly'. Jacob Smith, who was sent with the above letter, was instructed to explain that it was not to be imagined that, because the French sent occasional letters, provisions reached them in the same way.[2] About the same time Langhorn complained to him that Chennupalli Mirza had stopped provisions, pretending that this was done at the instance of the Dutch, though as 'your servant came hither this evening in your owne name for some necessaryes from hence (which as I heard [on account of] your name were let pass), I concluded the imputation to be one of his usual artificies'.[3] To this Pavillon replied that the stoppage was really due to the Golconda King's hope that this would 'the sooner' persuade him to consent to his (Pavillon's) reasonable request, 'without the which none of us both can be at rest in the just cause of the said Majesty against his enemie in St. Thoma, being we are certainly informed that the assistance by night out of Madrosspatam never ceases, notwithstanding that you have promised to do the same according to your obligation'. He entreated Langhorn to meet his desires, as he could easily do without any prejudice.[4] The correspondence closed with a letter of 23 February in which Langhorn stated that he would not trouble Pavillon farther, as it was not proper to treat with him about it in view of the war between their countries.[5]

The authorities at Golconda were kept fully informed through Venkatapati of events at Madras and especially of various grievances

[1] 17 F.S.G. 24.
[2] Ibid. 21, 22.
[3] Let. to Pavillon without date, ibid 23.
[4] 26 F.S.G. 18.
[5] 17 F.S.G. 23.

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of the English against the Dutch. Of these the earliest in the year occurred on 19 January—a Spanish ship from Masulipatam, which came into the Madras road, was commanded by the Dutch flagship to come close to her and was boarded and searched for English goods. There were none of these on board, but Langhorn said it was an act of great abuse and disrespect both to the King of Golconda as well as to the Fort, under the reach of whose guns it took place, and only respect for the King's commands withheld him from firing on the Dutch. Venkatapati was instructed to entreat the King and the Nawab to issue orders, preventing such conduct in the future and showing the King's just resentment and indignation for the contempt of his authority: he was also to point out the encroachment on the King's sovereignty and the damage to his country and revenue which it entailed, as no ship of any country would dare to come and trade on his sea-coast in such circumstances.[1]

The state of the siege and the main events dealt with in the correspondence with the Dutch are set forth in a long note,[2] written probably about the end of February by Langhorn for Venkatapati's use, which is given below:

A true and impartiall relation of some passages which have lately happened at the Siege of St. Thoma from 15th February to 28th Ditto 1673/4.

The Dutch and Chinnapelle Mierza and all their people lye on the side of Triblicane, the Moores all out of cannon shott, and like sheep keeping those few Dutch in the middle, between them and danger; its true by day they keep 3 or 400 pittifull peones on the other side farre enough off, but in the night time they all goe for feare the French should meet with them, soe that the French freely range abroad on the south side of St. Thoma as farr as 2 or 3 coz[3] and very often bring in paddy from those parts wheresoever they find it, 4 or 5 times to our knowledge 500 calangs[4] and 50 calangs at a time, as particularly 6 dayes since they brought in about 200 calangs by land from Trincamboar [Trivembore], which is 2½ coz from thence.

As for the Dutch they ride here only with 2 ships, and have not soe much as brought any armed boates to keep the French in, as they

[1] Let. of 21 Jan., 17 F.S.G. 16, 17.

[2] Ibid. 31–2. The note is unsigned and undated. The first part of it is mostly reproduced in Love, i. 361.

[3] i.e. *cos*, a variable distance in different localities, but generally about two miles.

[4] This should probably be 'calums' (Tam. *kalam*), a measure of capacity for grain: *Madras Man. Admn.*, iii, s.v. *calam*. Thus in 1679 Podela Lingappa wanted paddy to be sold in Madras 'at 10 calums for a pagoda' (*M.R.*, 1679–80, 18).

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should and ought to have done; nor indeed have they men enough to man them, haveing not above 500 Christians white and black ashoare, and the 2 ships but ordinarily manned, for the French come out when they please with their armed boates in despight of them and have already taken 4 boates from the Dutch, the first by night very neare to the Dutch camp with 3 Dutch men therein; 2d: 5 dayes since in the forenoon [a boat] goeing from the camp to the shipps with 25 hens, 4 or 5 hoggs, and some bread; 3d: yesterday about noone [one] comeing from Pallicate with about 4 garrs[1] of rice, 50 hoggs, 500 hens, 7 cowes, 6 cask of salt meat, 2 great cask of salt meat, 2 great butts of arrack, 12 chests of wine, 18 jarrs of sweet meates, 30 bales of tobacco, and 9 duppers[2] of butter, and in paintings and clothes for seamen and souldiers is to the value of 15,000 pagodas [the boat] bound to Ceyloan, when whiles the Dutch shipps (who had advice the day before of the said boates coming from Palicate, and yet (instead of staying on this side to secure her) foolishly made sayle that very morning to the southward of St. Thoma soe farr off that they could not come to rescue her, 4th: yesterday afternoon [one] going of[f] from the camp to the ships with 30 goates, 15 hens, 4 hoggs, 5 cowes, 5 baggs of rice, close by the Dutch shipps who did not know how to help them. I am loth to beleive the Dutch doe these things on purpose, for as I would not act against our owne interest, neither doe I beleeve they would against theirs; but truly they have been very much to blame, first to bring noe more ships, no armed boates, noe more men for their service, and then to bee soe careless withall.

They dare not ride asunder for feare of the French ship in St Thoma Road, but sometimes they lye on this side and then boates get in from Pollicheri [Pondicherry], and then on the other side when those last boates were taken as above said, whereas, had they kept 5 or 6 ships here together and half a score good boates well armed, none of those things could have happened, and the place had been taken before now, soe that if they doe not take it, it is through their own fault, and they ought to make his highness full satisfaction for all the charges of the warre.

Since which, 21st at night, the French sallyed out with 200 men as farr as Vallecherri [Vellacherry] almost 3 coz from home up towards the [i.e. St. Thomas's] Mount, where they surprized 20 horse of the camp, who thought they might have slept quietly at that distance, kild severall of them and brought away 12 horse, 5 garce of paddy and about 11½ garce rice and gram;[3] meanwhile to drowne the noise of ill watches they keepe, they raise falsities of us, soe many that it is to noe

[1] i.e. *garce*, a cubic measure of rice, of varying capacity (Yule, 364).
[2] i.e. dubbers or jars (ibid. 308).
[3] As to this and other excursions by the French, cf. Love, i. 330.

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purpose for mee to goe to rehearse them, it sufficing that upon the word of an honest man and a gentleman, the French have not had any manner of releif either of provisions, powder, lead or any sort of ammunition, no nor of counsell from us, or any belonging unto us; and indeed this place having been now so long blocked up, and all provisions stopped but only from day to day, wee must bee very unadvised should wee goe about to give them the meat out of our own mouthes, and to that people who wee have more reason to wish further off then the Dutch themselves as being nearer and therefore more like to bee troubled with them, whom truly wee accompt to bee the most inquiet neighbours in the world.

All these provisions have been got in from the Dutch and Moores quarters by land and sea, and not the least from hence, and all this while the seige is their business not ours, and yet they are allowed to put all these abuses upon us, and have been those 2 yeares complaineing thereof without remedy.

The 28th February.

The Dutch have made a great deal of noise for a victory by sea in Europe, which by our advices proves quite contrary, just as they did last yeare, but it is not our custome to boast like them; meane while upon some news which they have now received about van Goens being ordered to goe to Batavia, they beginn to cavill with [Chennupalli] Mierza, and pretend they cannot hope to doe any good against St. Thoma because Mierza is, under hand, a friend to the French, and [they] have 26th current withdrawn their guards of Pundelis[1] from the land side of the place, biding Mierza look to it himselfe, which makes good what I have already advised you, that they doe but look for pretences to excuse their own weakness, when indeed nobody is soe much in fault as themselves, and I hope the King will not be soe abused by them, and [will] make them repay all the charges and dammages and wasting of his country round about, which hee hath sustained by their meanes, for want of bringing such a strength of land and sea forces to

[1] I suggest that 'Pundelis' should be 'Bundelis', i.e. Rajput settlers or mercenaries from Bundelkhand, who are now known as 'Bondilis': cf. *Madras Man. Admn.* iii. 100, & Thurston's *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, i. 257–8. Census statistics (e.g. *Census of India*, 1901, xvi, pt. ii, 190) show they are now spread over the Presidency, a large proportion of them being in the Kistna district, which includes Masulipatam. The account of 'the Bundelas' in *Imp. Gaz. of India*, vol. for *Central India*, 110, mentions their accepting service under the Emperor Akbar. The same *Gaz.* (xxi. 98) says that, after Akbar's settlement of Rajputana till the middle of the eighteenth century, Rajput clans did all their serious fighting under the imperial banner in foreign wars, or in the battles between the competitors for the throne. References to fighting by a Bundeli contingent in Central India during the seventeenth century will also be found in *C.H.I.* iv. 194, 195, 201. These facts support the possibility of men of this Rajput clan serving as soldiers under the Dutch at the siege of San Thomé.

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make good their undertakings, and keep the beseiged from sallying forth.

Wee now find that there were 33 butts of [ar]rack more in the Dutch boates taken by the French, besides all the aforesaid provisions, vizt 33 buts of [ar]rack from Palicat in the boat and 2 do. in the boate from the camp.

The King's people and the Dutch are paid for what service they doe or ought to doe him; our guards are at the Hon. Companys charge, and yet I am sure our watches against any provisions being sent or procured from hence are without comparison more strict then theirs.

You have here a very long letter not of many words but of many particulars, for wee must provide for all that our false and malicious enemyes can invent against us as farr as wee can discover, wherefore what you cannot bee allowed to represent to his highness, and his excellency at one time, you may doe it at another, still as the occasion requires.

Venkatapati, as usual, was kept busy replying to complaints which reached the King and the Nawab that the French were being supplied with provisions from Madras. He was sent for on a number of occasions to answer allegations made by the Mirza; these he denied, though his doubts on the subject were shown by advice to Langhorn that a good watch should be kept to prevent provisions being taken to San Thomé by stealth.[1]

Another matter raised by him at the request of Golconda was that of a ship and goods delivered by the Avaldar of Carery [Karedu],[2] by name Muhammad Ragia, to one John Perira, said to be an inhabitant of Madras. It was asked that an embargo should be laid on the vessel when she arrived at Madras, as Perira had traded with the ship for four or five years without giving an account, and that the Agent and Council should inquire and secure what was due. They replied that John Pereira de Sylva had left for Malacca five years before and had never returned, nor was likely to do so, as he went away in debt to many of the inhabitants.[3]

In spite of the complaints against his English masters, Venkatapati received a high honour by the permission given to him by the King to remain 'at the tenth gate within his pallace in the hall called Bostabanka', a licence granted only to great persons; but this entailed a

[1] Let. 3 Jan., 11 & 28 Feb. & 7 May, 26 F.S.G. 20, 21, 24–5, 33.

[2] A small port about midway between Madras and Masulipatam, now in the Nellore district, cf. Bowrey, 36 *n.*, & *E.F.*, 1651–4, 264.

[3] Venkatapati's let. 3 Jan. & 11 Feb., 26 F.S.G. 20, 23; Langhorn's let. 22 Feb. & 26 March, 17 F.S.G. 25, 38.

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monthly payment of two pagodas to the gatekeeper, which he evidently expected to be reimbursed by Langhorn.[1]

His efforts to secure the restoration of, or compensation for, the goods taken by the Dutch on the five boats from Masulipatam resulted in the issue of letters to Chennupalli Mirza and the Dutch, which were sent to the Fort for delivery from there. The former was told to recover the money from the Dutch and deliver it to the Fort, as well as to restore any longcloth which his own men had taken. The Dutch were also rebuked for their search of the Spanish vessel and the capture of the five boats, and told to pay the value of the goods in money, if they had disposed of them. Venkatapati suggested that half of what was recovered should be promised to the Golconda Government, as without some such promise nothing would be forthcoming.[2] He also asked for presents for the secretaries who wrote the letters and for the great men, who were pressing the King to send tashrifs to the Agent.[3]

On 11 February a farman was issued by the King to accompany these tashrifs: this contained a request for the payment of the town rent, though not yet due.[4] By 28 February the tashrifs were ready, and had been handed over to the custody of one Mingham.[5] Venkatapati, in reporting this, dwelt on the fact that no present had been sent to the King since he came to the throne, and asked Langhorn to send a good one on the arrival of the dresses-of-honour, and also to pay the town rent.[6] The Brahman, Madana, who had now succeeded Cottapalli Yengana as 'surnees' of all the Carnatic country,[7] proposed to send a horseman and peons to collect the town rent, a proceeding which Venkatapati estimated would cost the Fort 100 pagodas. To save this he entered into an engagement to be responsible for payment of the money.[8] At the same time he had to promise a large looking-glass to Chinna, a brother of Madana, which the latter demanded before he would prepare the farman to accompany the tashrifs from the King.

[1] 26 F.S.G. 20, 24.
[2] Let. 11 & 14 Feb., ibid. 22, 23.
[3] Ibid. 23, 24.
[4] Ibid. 26.
[5] He was the chief gunner in the service of the King of Golconda, cf. Love, i. 58 *n*.
[6] 26 F.S.G. 24.
[7] Ibid. 23. 'Surnees' is probably a contraction of Pers. *sar-navis*, head-clerk: cf. Grant Duff, i. 193, as to the 'soornees' in Sivaji's administration, and p. 131 *post*, where Pollepalli Yengana is described as 'the chiefe booke-keeper' of the Carnatic. In a letter of 6 April from Venkatapati, 26 F.S.G. 27, Madana is also described as acting 'sharkell' (*sar-i-khail*), i.e. treasurer. He and his brother, Akanna, later on became the rulers of Golconda under King Abul Hasan (*C.H.I.* iv. 286). They fell, however, temporarily into displeasure, for on 6 May Venkatapati reported that owing to differences between Madana and the Nawab 'all the Brameny officers' had been apprehended and fined (26 F.S.G. 31).
[8] Ibid. 24.

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Another item of news sent by Venkatapati in February was that Fleetwood, who was then at Golconda and had spent a 'greate deale of mony' there, had succeeded in renting Ponapelly and two other towns.[1] In May he was in Madras and according to Langhorn's information had rented four towns.[2]

Langhorn's letters to Golconda about this time were mostly concerned with events connected with the siege, and covered in part the events referred to in his 'true and impartiall relation' (p. 98). In general he cast blame on the Dutch for the ill success of the operations against the French. In a letter of 22 February he stated that they kept ill watch and that the French were able to obtain provisions both by sea and land. Kasi Viranna and other merchants proposed to ship paddy to Karedu for the relief of Golconda people who were famishing there, but to prevent false reports about it this was stopped. Three days previously the French, without any hindrance from the Dutch, had searched boats bringing firewood to Madras, but had found nothing else. Nevertheless, when the French took two Dutch boats laden with provisions, the Dutch and Chennupalli Mirza, 'to stifle their owne shame', agreed to put the blame on the firewood boats for this capture, and again stopped all provisions coming to the English. Until then firewood, straw, and grass had been allowed to pass, though other provisions came only from the Golconda camp. Mirza had 400 peons in and around Madras, who would do better service at San Thomé: these took something of all that passed and raised the price of paddy to double what it was outside. Langhorn protested that the French had not had 'the value of an orange or handfull of paddy, nor any other thing from this place', and complained of Chennupalli's 'childplay' in first allowing things to come to Madras and then in three or four days stopping them.[3] He also accused the French of fomenting lies to cause the Moors and the English to fall out, and asserted that it was only respect for the King that led the English to forgo the opportunity of attacking the Dutch, while they were so weak in the absence of their fleet.[4] They tried to avoid giving satisfaction for the ill success of their venture at San Thomé by pretending they were hindered by the English.

[1] Ibid. 25.

[2] Langhorn wrote: 'Mr. Fleetwood is returned home and as I heare has farmed the other two townes of Verasharoon [Viravasaram] and Sengersham of Hussain Begue, the Governor of those parts . . . having already . . . Nawraspoora [Navarazpuram] and Punepolly' (17 F.S.G. 53). Fleetwood got into trouble with the Company for these transactions on his own private behalf (pp. 257–8, 274–5 *post*).

[3] 26 F.S.G. 25, 26.

[4] Ibid. 27 .

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As for the Mirza, he had lain all the time a mile behind Triplicane and the Dutch quarters and never done any service at all, whereas the other Golconda generals, Bussora, whom he taxed with cowardice, and Modala Naik, had in half the time brought their approaches close to the walls of San Thomé and would have played a good part in the siege if the latter's men had not left him for want of pay, although he had sold and pawned all he could to keep them together.[1] Of the others, Baba Sahib, Muhammad Salih, and the Mirza, Langhorn wrote they 'do the King no service, his enemyes no harme, and his friends no right'.[2]

On the same date Langhorn wrote letters to the King, the Nawab, and Darga Khan, protesting against the stoppage of provisions and maintaining the truth of all that he had written.[2] A further cause of complaint speedily gave occasion for a demand through Venkatapati for justice against the Mirza. Langhorn said that among ten peons sent to the sea side of the Fort towards Triplicane, he had included five Dutch, with intent to betray the Fort.[3] On 28 February he sent news of an inconclusive engagement between French and Dutch ships, writing to Venkatapati:

The French ship went out to sea in the morning with about 30 men, the Dutch two ships followed with about 150 men in all; that night and the day following they had severall ingagements but the Dutch, under-gunned and under-manned, still kept afarr of[f], fearing the aboarding. The French ship, finding they durst not come neare, returned into their Road that night and the Dutch into ours, finding themselves safe there by reason of our respect to his highness in whose service they are.[4]

In this letter, and one to Mingham at Golconda on 1 April, Langhorn again dwelt on the failure of the Dutch to carry out their undertakings as regards the taking of San Thomé, and asserted the right of the King to demand satisfaction from them.[5]

False reports from the Moor camp as to the supply of provisions and ammunition from Madras to the French continued. Langhorn again protested against them through Venkatapati and pointed out that one side of the town was not besieged and that boats got in freely. Thus

[1] 26 F.S.G. 27.
[2] Ibid. 28.
[3] Let. 23 Feb., 17 F.S.G. 30.
[4] Ibid. 33. The French ship was the *Breton*, which had been dispatched to Pondicherry for provisions, but was forced to return. Martin (i. 591–2) shows that the action occurred on 10 March 1674 (N.S.), i.e. on 28 Feb. (O.S.).
[5] Ibid. 33, 34.

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the French a week previously had taken a number of boats from the Dutch off Porto Novo, and brought in the captured provisions by day past the Dutch ships, which did not venture to molest them. He estimated that they had got provisions for a year, all of which had come from the Dutch and not from the English.[1] He denied a report by Trimbak Bussora of an offer of half the value of the goods taken on the five boats, if they were restored, but acknowledged the friendly assistance of the Nawab in the matter and instructed Venkatapati to make him on their recovery a 'handsome and becomeing' present.[2]

The letters from Golconda to the Mirza and the Dutch were sent on, but without effect. The latter professed to be awaiting the return of Van Goens, and (according to Langhorn), instead of making restitution, were threatening to assault Madras.[3] They were, he alleged, short of money and were regaling their soldiers at the camp, whom they had not paid for four months, with hopes of being recouped out of the Company's money on the fall of Madras. While regretting the loss of Prataprao (p. 102), Langhorn welcomed Madana as having gained a useful knowledge of Golconda affairs from a long service under Sayyid Muzaffar.[4] Venkatapati was told to give him a short account of the past events respecting the 'arts and designes of the camp people and the Dutch on the one side, and our unblameable carriage, sufferings, and patience, and constancy through all these troubles towards the Diwan', with a view to making him as much a friend of the English as his predecessors.[5]

Like the Dutch, Chennupalli Mirza was in difficulties for money with which to pay his forces. On 2 March he wrote to Langhorn asking for an advance payment to him of the 1,200 pagodas fixed as the annual rent of the town, which was not payable to the Golconda authorities until the end of May, explaining that he had to pay his soldiers every month and the revenue of that part of the country was not coming in, and promising its repayment either in the form of paddy or in ready money.[6] Langhorn tactfully paid the amount to him through Kasi Viranna, and dispensed with any repayment or interest, thus getting the Mirza's goodwill for the time being.[7]

[1] Let. 26 March, ibid. 34, 35. The subsequent course of events shows this estimate to have been excessive.
[2] Ibid. 35.
[3] Ibid. 35–6; let. to the Nawab, 26 March, ibid. 39.
[4] Muzaffar was the former diwan at Golconda who had been dismissed, see p. 95 *ante*.
[5] Ibid. 36–7.
[6] 26 F.S.G. 19.
[7] Let. to Venkatapati, 26 March, 17 F.S.G. 37.

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The exchange of tashrifs between Golconda and Madras made some progress. Venkatapati in a letter of 6 April said that Akanna and Chinna, the brothers of Madana, were almost as influential as he was, and asked Langhorn to send presents for them as well as for Musikmea and Darga Khan. Venkatapati had given mirrors valued at 16 pagodas each to Madana and Akanna, and thus procured a farman for the dispatch of the tashrifs. He suggested that, when they arrived, the Agent should 'please to goe and meet them with all your people, drums and trumpets, and with as much show as can possibly [be made]'.[1] The tashrifs consisted of 'One shash striped with gold. One coate of cloth of silver. One Persia girdle. One white lansoll[2] with border wrote [wrought] with gold thread etc. collours'.[3] A horse feather and a sword were to follow after the receipt of Langhorn's present in return.[1]

At the end of April confirmation from various sources of the allegations that provisions were proceeding from the Fort to San Thomé was giving trouble at Golconda. Venkatapati suggested that a present of about 500 pagodas should be made to Madana.[4] The Dutch, he wrote, had given liberal presents to the King and the chief courtiers, 'and got them all to be their freinds and therefore are heard very much at present'.[5] Langhorn had already written on 26 March, promising a handsome present for the King on the arrival of the tashrifs, as also presents for friends at court; but on 28 May he told Venkatapati that he did not intend to pay the great persons, merely to get them to believe the truth.[6]

Supplies and provisions for Madras were again impeded. In the beginning of March the Dutch seized buffaloes and goats belonging to Kasi Viranna and the townspeople of Madras, when grazing in their usual place outside the town; and on 9, 10, and 15 April Langhorn further complained of the stoppage of all provisions and goods by the Mirza at the instigation of the Dutch. Langhorn made vigorous protests both through Venkatapati and direct to the Nawab and the King.[7] He complained especially of the attempts of the Dutch to embroil them with the King, alleging that 'seeing their owne house on fyre [they] would gladly see all the world in the same flame', and asserted that 'they never yet kept their promise with any nation any longer

[1] 26 F.S.G. 27.

[2] I have not traced any such word in Yule or elsewhere. Possibly it was Venkatapati's version of the five piece-goods called 'jellolsyes' (*S.M.* i. 430).

[3] 26 F.S.G. 28.

[4] Ibid. 29.

[5] Ibid. 29, 30.

[6] 17 F.S.G. 37, 53.

[7] Ibid. 39, 43–4, 45, 48–9.

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than it turned to [their] account', and that having no money to trade with, themselves, they tried to hinder the English commerce.[1] The Dutch, according to him, were in a very low condition, having no money to pay their soldiers, and so sent them out to pillage the country: their Admiral was 'noe one knowes where', and their clamour against the English was merely an excuse for their 'inabillityes'. He suggested that he might in self-defence be forced to join the French, in which case the guilt would be on the King, to whom complaint had been made without redress.[2] Chennupalli Mirza on 6 April followed up the stopping of supplies with a demand that sixty of his peons should be admitted 'to ly at the sea side under our very fort walls', as Langhorn put it; these the Governor agreed to accept as long as they behaved themselves, but no longer. The Mirza also demanded the expulsion of the French Padres—'the seere old French Pemdries [*sic*], who have lived here soe harmlessly sence our first setling here'[3]—and all other Frenchmen, threatening that, if they were not expelled, the Dutch and he would assault the place and take it. To this demand Langhorn also agreed, though the French padres, he said, were men of seventy years of age, and the others but four men, of whom one (Deltor) was the 'second' of the French factory at Masulipatam and the others soldiers and servants of the French Company. He asked only for passports to enable them to go freely away.[4] The Mirza, satisfied by these concessions, removed the embargo.[1] Langhorn attributed the demand for the expulsion of the French to the malice of the Dutch, and their desire to embroil the English and the French; he declared his assent to their expulsion was forced on him, for he was not prepared to engage in war with the King of Golconda on that account, and had endured the stoppage of provisions for some days, so that it might appear that he acted not from unkindness towards the French, but from mere necessity.[5]

On 10 April a letter from a Brahman named Ramana, kept by the English at the Mirza's camp, brought news that the latter had received a farman from the King, rebuking him for not hindering the passage

[1] Ibid. 44. [2] Ibid. 45–6.

[3] Father Ephraim de Nevers had been at Madras since 1642, and Father Zenon de Bogé since 1652 (*E.F.*, 1655–60, 402–6, & 1661–4, 33, 38–40, &c.; Love, i. 47–9, 104). Sawcer's letter to the Company (O.C. 3764, f. 10) attacks Langhorn for his friendliness with them, alleging that 'the two French Popish Priests doe you a great deale of dammage in this place, and Sir William is so great with them that makes mee think sometimes he is of that perswasion'. To this the marginal reply was that the Company knew these padres and the cause why the Agent had sent them away for a time. [4] Let. to Venkatapati, 9 April, 17 F.S.G. 43.

[5] Ibid. 46.

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of supplies to the French, as also for disregarding the advice of the Dutch, and ordering him to join them in council in all things. According to Ramana the Dutch advised that Madras should be besieged, and the Mirza at first gave orders accordingly, but withdrew them on his persuasion.[1] Langhorn immediately wrote to Venkatapati at Golconda, protesting against the farman.[2]

During the early part of the year, when things were disturbed at Madras, an invitation was sent by the Bijapur government[3] to the Agent and Council to settle factories in its territories, which Langhorn thought fit to investigate and keep open, in case a retreat from Madras became necessary.[4] It was received some time in March through Hakim Ismail, an envoy sent by Nasir Muhammad Khan, governor of Chengy (Gingee)[5] and brother of the Regent of Visiapore (Bijapur), whom Langhorn described as having the charge of 'the sea coast from the borders of this countrey unto Trangambar [Tranquebar]'. The envoy brought a present and an invitation to the Company to settle one or two factories or forts in the Bijapur dominions, which included the important port of Porto Novo.[6] Langhorn entertained him at the Company's expense, and in response sent back with him Elihu Yale, 'a person of good accompt amongst us and rank in the Hon. Company's service', and two gunners to assist him in making surveys and observations of the places offered, 'with the nature and cittuation thereof as to the healthfullness and the depths of the barr and other accomodations requisite for such settlements'.[7] They were well received and, after accomplishing their task, returned with the Bijapur envoy and one of their chief Brahmans. These were again sent back with a friendly letter to their master;[8] and the latter, at Langhorn's desire, appointed Hakim Ismail to the government of the towns adjacent to the proposed settlements, with power to agree on the proffered sea-port and its customs, &c.[9] Langhorn had made his negotiations conditional on the

[1] 26 F.S.G. 31.

[2] Let. 11 April, 17 F.S.G. 47.

[3] The Bijapur state was still independent of the Mughal empire. The 'regent' referred to in the next sentence was Khawas Khan, who had seized the supreme power on the death of Ali Adil Shah II in Nov. 1672 (Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, 249).

[4] Let. to Venkatapati, 26 March, 17 F.S.G. 38.

[5] Gingee is a famous hill-fort in S. Arcot, but Nasir Khan's rule extended over the surrounding country, as mentioned by Langhorn.

[6] Let. to Co. 20 Aug., O.C. 3992, ff. 6, 7.

[7] Let. to Nasir Khan, 2 April, 17 F.S.G. 41. See also Fort con. 20 March, *M.R.* 21–2.

[8] O.C. 3992, f. 7.

[9] Let. from Nasir Khan, 10 May, 26 F.S.G. 33.

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approval of the Company;[1] he accordingly referred the matter to them on 20 August, but did not recommend new undertakings, 'so long as you can enjoy peace and quietness heere with those great privileges lately obtained, and truly, all things considered, not ill observed'. He asked only for a provisional order and expressed the hope that more would not be needed. The expenses in the negotiations, he explained, had not been great, as the presents received had been in saleable goods, whose proceeds had been credited to the Company; these almost covered the presents given in return, while the only other costs had been those for the travelling of Yale and his companions, and that of 'the Chengy ambassadours table' at Madras.[2] Langhorn took the opportunity during the negotiations to make a representation on behalf of Kasi Viranna, for the restoration of 700 pagodas which had been stolen from his servant, when travelling in the Bijapur dominions. Langhorn, in making it, described him as 'a person who drives a very considerable trade in those parts, paying the customs due to the King'.[3]

On 20 April a great storm broke on the coast and continued over the two following days. In this the last remaining French ship, the *Breton*, sank at anchor in the Madras roadstead with a loss, according to Langhorn, of about 70 men. The largest of the Dutch ships and a Dutch sloop also foundered.[4] With them perished many of their crews, 140 men on their own admission, though Langhorn estimated the number at 200. Twelve Englishmen, who were kept prisoners on board (as Langhorn said) against the laws and practice of war, lost their lives at the same time.[5] These were doubtless some of the prisoners that had been taken after the encounter off Petapoli in the previous year. Thirty others who had escaped from one of the Dutch ships had come to the camp of Chennupalli Mirza, and Langhorn asked him to release them.[6] He also had news about the end of May that Captains Hide, Goldsborough, and Limbry had been released.[7] In July there were

[1] Let. to Nasir Khan, 2 April & 19 June, 17 F.S.G. 41, 60.

[2] O.C. 3992, f. 7. See also Fort con. 29 Nov., *M.R.* 34, as to Yale's expenses.

[3] 17 F.S.G. 41.

[4] According to Martin (i. 620) the loss of life aboard the *Breton* was 56 out of 120 men. He also says (i. 616, 622) that both of the Dutch ships mentioned at p. 98 were lost in the cyclone, though the crew of one was saved.

[5] Undated let. in May to Venkatapati and Mingham, & let. to Van Goens, 12 July, 17 F.S.G. 50, 53, 63; cf. Love, i. 330–1.

[6] Undated let. in May, 17 F.S.G. 55.

[7] Let. to Venkatapati, 28 May, ibid. 54. The first two were the commanders of the *President* and the *Antelope*. Capt. Limbry was the commander of the *Experiment*, which was captured by the Dutch in the strait of Banca (cf. *Mariner's Mirror*, Oct. 1930, 348–50).

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still some 140 English prisoners in the hands of the Dutch, whose release Langhorn demanded from Van Goens.[1] He would seem to have complied with this request before news of peace came, for on 20 November Langhorn, in reporting to the Company that he was sending home the prisoners released by the Dutch, wrote that many of them came very seasonably for strengthening the garrison and especially for completing the gunner's crew.[2]

Langhorn gave a full account of the expulsion of the French padres and others in his letter to the Company of 20 August, explaining that he gave it in case a complaint about it was made by the French King. He said that Mons. Deltor, the 'second' in the French factory at Masulipatam, had stayed eight months at Madras on pretence of a change of air, but more probably to play the part of a spy. He and the two padres, Ephraim and Zenon,[3] who had assisted him, and three French soldiers, were finally given orders to depart under the pressure of stoppage of provisions to the Fort. He had made every effort to get them passports to San Thomé and, when these failed, obtained passports both from the Mirza and the King to enable them to proceed to the Bijapur country. He then sent them 'with pallanquins and coolies and 50 of your peons safe to Chengy [Gingee]'. At that place they joined Mons. Martin, the French Chief at Masulipatam, who with some 250 peons and 30 Frenchmen was staying there for the Viceroy's service.[4] Langhorn received a letter of thanks from the refugees, but complained of the ingratitude of De la Haye, who sent 'order upon order' to Deltor not to stir from Madras unless he came to San Thomé; the latter therefore asked Langhorn and the Council for an official command from them to depart and made a formal protest to them before leaving.[5] From Mons. Baron also there were recriminations on the subject, and Langhorn complained that his exertions on behalf of the French deserved better epithets than 'either dishonour[able] or unjust'.[6]

By the latter part of April the farman and tashrif from the King of Golconda had at length arrived at Madras, and Langhorn professed himself to be awaiting only the arrival of the ships from England before

[1] Let. 18 July, 17 F.S.G. 63. [2] O.C. 4044, f. 10.

[3] An unsuccessful attempt to get these two Capuchin priests expelled had been made in 1660, see Love, i. 181–4.

[4] Martin, who had been sent in Jan. to Pondicherry on a special mission to get aid for San Thomé (i. 552–3), gives (ibid. 630–1) the date of their arrival as 29 June (N.S.).

[5] O.C. 3992, ff. 3, 4. See also let. from Venkatapati, 10 April & 21 June, 17 F.S.G. 32, 38, & Fort con. 31 May, *M.R.* 22–4.

[6] Undated let. in May, 17 F.S.G. 54. Martin (i. 631) expresses the same view of Langhorn's injustice and dishonour.

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making a suitable present in return.[1] He described to Venkatapati the receipt of the tashrif with fitting honours, saying 'I went out to meete [it] a greate way off, with all the honour that could be done to it, with all the Councell and a great part of our souldiery, with peons [and] with many vallues [volleys] of small and greate shott round aboute the Fort'.[2]

The town-rent of 1,200 pagodas had been paid at Madras to Chennupalli Mirza at his urgent request (p. 105), but this did not content the Golconda officials, who importuned Venkatapati for its payment direct to them. Langhorn had given him instructions on 26 March that he could pay it out of money belonging to Kasi Viranna which was in his hands, but that this should be done only in May and if the Mirza were willing to repay the amount given to him. Later letters instructed Venkatapati to make the payment at once;[3] but these apparently did not reach him by 1 June, when a peremptory farman was sent by the King to Langhorn ordering him to send the 1,200 pagodas at sight of the farman without fail or further delay.[4] Even, however, as late as 21 June Venkatapati still wrote that he had no orders and that the rent was not yet paid, nor a present sent to the King, so that the people at Golconda were very angry with him and called him a liar in public. He added that, though he had no orders, he had resolved to pay the money.[5] Communications were uncertain and letters were probably being delayed or made away with. Thus Venkatapati on 6 May reported that all letters to and from him were 'very much searched', and advised that, when presents were sent, the names of their recipients should not be mentioned.[6] On 24 July Langhorn wrote to Venkatapati to express his astonishment that his orders of 26 March and other letters confirming them had not been received. He thought that 'surely all these letters cannott have miscarryed', and he enclosed a list of nine sent between that date and 24 July, with instructions that, if any were missing, inquiries should be made from 'the people of the Chiefe Tappal [post-office]'.[7] On 19 August he said he hoped that Venkatapati had explained that the delay in the payment of the rent arose from the stoppage of these letters.[8]

[1] Undated let. to the King of Golconda, 17 F.S.G. 49.
[2] Ibid. 50.
[3] Langhorn's let. 26 March and two undated let., ibid. 37, 39, 49, 59.
[4] 26 F.S.G. 36. [5] Ibid. 40.
[6] Ibid. 32.
[7] 17 F.S.G. 70, 71. See also undated let., ibid. 63.
[8] Ibid. 72.

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In Golconda during May there was open dissatisfaction with the Dutch; the Nawab sent for them and reproached them, alleging that their people 'did doe nothing but stood and looked on St. Thomay'.[1] Venkatapati informed the Golconda officials of the French capture of boats of paddy belonging to the Dutch without any resistance, and of their proceeding to Vellacherry and taking away horses (p. 99). This resulted in the Dutch dubash being sent for and questioned 'very sharply whether all [these] things were true'.[2] The Nawab also wrote to Pavillon and to the Mirza on 8 June, ordering them to restore or make satisfaction for goods and cattle taken from the English and not to interfere with their trade, as it was the time for the arrival of the ships from Europe and the English would buy cloth and merchandise.[3] Venkatapati in return promised the Nawab whatever he should think fit, when the captured goods were recovered.[4] Meanwhile Langhorn repeated his denial of all reports that he had given undue help to the French.[5] His statement that Chennupalli Mirza disowned these false charges was corroborated by the Mirza himself, who on 15 June wrote to the King, absolving the English and stating that 'from the tyme of my arrivall with the army . . . untill this day I have not in the least found them guilty thereof, nor have I nor any one else seen or caught them in any such action, but rather have on all occasions observed them to be most faithfull and obedient towards the Divan'. He cited as examples of the friendly attitude of the English in Madras their allowing the Dutch to place men of theirs near the Fort and on the sea side, and the expulsion from Madras of the 'two old French Padries who had been there about 35 yeares', as well as the French 'second' from Masulipatam, and three Frenchmen who had lately arrived there.[6] A copy of this letter was sent to Venkatapati with instructions to keep it safe and to make good use of it.[7]

The siege of San Thomé still continued, but though its end was near the records and letters even in July give little indication that this was realized by the English in Madras. On 20 July Langhorn told Venkatapati that Admiral Van Goens had approached by sea with '300 white men and 300 blacks', but had left without landing them, taking with him 60 more of the white troops in the Dutch camp. He suggested that the King should send sufficient forces of his own, as without them there

[1] Let. from Venkatapati, 6 May, 26 F.S.G. 31–2.
[2] Let. 15 May, ibid. 35–6.
[3] Ibid. 36–7.
[4] Let. 21 June, ibid. 39.
[5] 17 F.S.G. 56 & 57–9.
[6] 26 F.S.G. 38.
[7] Undated let. & let. 19 Aug., 17 F.S.G. 63, 72.

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was little trust to be put in the Dutch.[1] Even late in August, within a week of the surrender, he had little suspicion that this was imminent. Thus on 19 August he wrote that three-quarters of the place was not besieged,[2] and on 20 August that 'the siege continues with little action of importance for want of men to prosecute it. How it faires with them within its hard to know the truth, and now truly it is a great while since they had any considerable reliefe'.[3] About this time he was in correspondence with Baron and De la Haye, the letters on his side mostly sending news or explaining that he had none. In one he excused himself for his scanty correspondence in previous months on the grounds that he had been ill for four months and had no one who could write French, and in another he expressed sorrow that any of the French should have suffered at the hands of his people.[4]

On 26 August the French capitulated to the Dutch, who took possession of the town and hoisted their flag to the seaward and that of the King of Golconda on the land side.[5] The French had not yielded to force of arms, but to hunger. As Langhorn wrote to the Company on 13 September, they 'were meerly famished out of the place, having not above five daies provisions left when they capittullated'.[6] The terms were honourable to them. De la Haye was to proceed to Europe with the remainder of his forces upon two ships to be furnished by the Dutch, and the French 'had leave to carry off everything that was their own except the artillery, whereof 2 brass peices were allowed them'. Other Dutch ships were to accompany De la Haye to Ceylon, to deliver over about 100 French prisoners that were detained there. Baron with 60 men was to be allowed to proceed to Surat.[7]

The French forces had been much reduced in the siege. Langhorn's estimates of their numbers and losses, and of the other forces of Dutch and Mohammedans engaged, were given in a letter to the Company dated 20 November, which says:

[1] 17 F.S.G. 71. According to Martin, i. 644–5, on 11 July a Dutch fleet of twelve ships joined the four already in San Thomé roads.

[2] Let. to Venkatapati, 17 F.S.G. 72.

[3] Let. to Mingham, ibid. 65.

[4] Let. 13, 21, & 23 Aug. and one undated let., ibid. 61, 62, 66. As to Langhorn's illness from the 'country disease' of dysentery ('flux') see p. 123.

[5] O.C. 3992, f. 10.

[6] Ibid.; undated let. to Madana, 17 F.S.G. 73. Kaeppelin (123) records numerous desertions during the month of Aug., and says that on 20 Aug. (O.S.) De la Haye announced to his officers that he had only eight days' provisions left and must treat for peace. He then wrote to Pavillon, who on the next day sent an officer to negotiate the surrender. See also Love, i. 331–2.

[7] Let. to the Co. 13 Sept., O.C. 3992, f. 10; Kaeppelin, 125; Love, i. 332–3, where most of the terms of capitulation are reproduced. Martin (i. 668–9) gives them in full.

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The French marched out at the last 590 Europeans, whereof at first besides 8 good shipps of their navy Royall, they had 1,300 landsmen and 800 blacks (whom good pay and exercise rendred more usefull than their own men) and sometimes masters both of field and sea. The Dutch, after the loss of 400 or 500 men in fight with us [off Petapoli], shewed at last 4,000 good land men, Christians and Bundarees,[1] and 10 sayle great shipps in the Road; the Moores twelve thousand horse and foot.[2]

At Golconda they had been better informed of the impending fall of San Thomé than was Langhorn, for on 23 August the King had written to De la Haye, whose long and sturdy defence had obviously impressed him, praising his valour and courage and offering him honourable employment in his service—'the due captainshipp of a quantity of horse and the place where you shall like best, and you shall not want for anything that your heart shall desier'.[3] At the same time the King wrote to Chennupalli Mirza ordering him, if necessary, to give De la Haye 3,000 or 4,000 pagodas for the expenses of his journey to Golconda.[4] These orders were confirmed in another letter to the Mirza on 1 September, which also gave him instructions that San Thomé was to be razed to the ground as soon as possession of it was secured, 'so that none shall know hereafter that any such city or fort has ever been built'.[4]

[1] Love, i. 377 *n.*, as amended in his additional notes after p. xvi, says that these 'Bundarees' were probably men of the Bhandari caste of toddy-drawers from the west coast of India. In support of this he refers to their having been employed as an auxiliary troop at Bombay in 1673 (cf. *E.F.* i. 61 *n.*), and Sir Patrick Cadell, author of *The History of the Bombay Army*, with whom I have discussed the question, tells me that the Bhandaris had a high reputation as infantry soldiers in Sivaji's army. He favours the view taken by Love and quotes the authority of a present-day Bhandari, who is compiling a history of his race, for the statement that men of this tribe were about this time largely employed in the service of the Dutch as mercenaries, even accompanying them to Java.

On the other hand, the correspondence mentioned at pp. 221, 233 shows that in 1672–3 'Bundarees' were also employed by the English factors at Masulipatam as peons or soldiers, and a request by Salisbury for some 'Bundarees' was treated as equivalent to one for Rajputs, a class of Hindus that covers Bundelis or Bondilis, but does not cover Bhandaris. Moreover, while Bondilis are now settled in the neighbourhood of Masulipatam and elsewhere in the Carnatic, Bhandaris in the Madras Presidency seem to be practically confined to the two west-coast districts of South Canara and Malabar (*Census of India*, 1921, xiii, pt. II, 110). Also the 'u' in 'Bundarees' fits in better with 'Bundelis' than with the first 'a' in Bhandaris. I therefore think it is more probable that these 'Bundarees' were the same people as the 'Pundelis' employed in this same year by the Dutch, as mentioned at p. 100. The substitution of 'r' for 'l' can be reasonably explained by the confusion between 'r' and 'l' which is very common in the Dravidian family of languages (Max Muller's *Lectures on the Science of Language*, 2nd series (1864), 170).

[2] Let. to Co. 20 Nov., O.C. 4044, f. 11.

[3] O.C. 3994. Cf. Manucci, iii. 284, as to the French gaining the respect of everyone by their bold and valiant bearing, and his story (iv. 270) showing the high esteem in which the Mughals held the name of De la Haye.

[4] O.C. 3994.

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The fall of San Thomé was followed by various letters from Langhorn to the French. On 28 August he informed Mons. Baron that he had learnt from despatches brought by two of the Company's ships which had just arrived that peace had been concluded in Europe between the English and the Dutch, but that the French had not yet joined in it. About the same time he told him that the two French padres might return when the Moors were a little reassured.[1] On 8 September he offered a welcome in Madras to Baron, whenever he chose to come there, and gave him permission to bring twenty sailors with him.[2] De la Haye sailed on some date between 13 and 16 September,[3] but without the accompanying ships of which the Dutch had held out hopes. Langhorn excused himself from coming to take leave of him on the plea of indisposition and sent polite messages and two members of his Council, Herries and Jacob Smith, and Captain Philip O'Neale, the commander of the garrison, 'with a present of Europe refreshments of beer, wine, olives and a parmesan cheese'.[4] In spite of the Governor's failure to render De la Haye the help he wanted during the siege, these attentions were courteously received, as the latter sent Langhorn 'a very kind letter of farewell', so that the Governor and his Council congratulated themselves on thus parting with him and on having given 'full content' to the French, Dutch, and the Moors, and (as they hoped) also to the Company.[5]

He took the opportunity of the French Viceroy's departure to intervene again on behalf of Jearsey, but received the same reply as before, viz. that the matter must be settled in Europe and that Jearsey should seek satisfaction there.[6]

Baron and about fifty Frenchmen transferred themselves from San Thomé to Madras, as permitted by Langhorn. Baron was ostensibly waiting for a passage to Surat, but Langhorn suspected him of designs for the recovery of San Thomé.[7] Their presence apparently proved embarrassing to relations with Golconda, for on 13 October Langhorn wrote to Venkatapati that if the King wanted them removed, he should send a farman for their safe passage to Surat and threaten the

[1] Let. 28 Aug. and undated, 17 F.S.G. 67, 68. [2] Ibid. 68.

[3] Fort let. to Co. 13 & 16 Sept., O.C. 3922, ff. 10, 11. Kaeppelin (125–6) states that he embarked with 530 men on 25 Sept., arrived at Bourbon on 19 Nov., and at Port Louis in France on 6 March 1675. These dates are all 'new style', i.e. ten days ahead of the English dates.

[4] O.C. 3922, f. 11; Langhorn's let. 13 Sept., 17 F.S.G. 69.

[5] O.C. 3992, f. 11.

[6] 17 F.S.G. 69; O.C. 3992, f. 11. According to Martin, i. 390, the *Ruby* was declared by a naval court to be lawful prize, subject to Jearsey's right of appeal in Europe.

[7] Fort let. to Co. 1 Oct., O.C. 3992, f. 14.

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stoppage of provisions to the Fort in the case of non-compliance with his demand for their removal. He added that the English would be glad to get rid of these Frenchmen, who had neither money nor goods.[1] On 20 November Langhorn wrote that he suspected Baron and the other Frenchmen at Madras of some mercenary design, 'either expecting new forces or some treaty in hand'. It was estimated that it would cost the Golconda State 7,000 pagodas to raze San Thomé, and Langhorn thought that this would move those 'sordid people to other thoughts'—presumably its sale to the French.[2] They were still at Madras at the end of the year, and on its last day Langhorn wrote to Venkatapati about them. He had heard that Chennupalli Mirza had sent to ask Baron how much the French would pay for San Thomé, but had received the answer that they would have it by their swords. Langhorn sent a warning to the King that if they were granted San Thomé, 'they will be a thorne in his sides, and a continuall trouble, for it is not in the nature of that nation to be quiet anywhere, but they will first creep and insinuate and then ride and domineer; hitherto they have not prospered anywhere either in Europe, East or West Indies, being naturally violent but not constant; however it is ill trusting them'. Langhorn asked that if his word was not accepted, the King should observe how the French had behaved at Madagascar and Surat.[3]

The destruction of San Thomé was ardently desired and advocated by Langhorn, and he now devoted himself to seeing this course adopted, writing to Madana, whom he addresses as 'Chiefe Brameny' at Golconda, to Mingham, and to Venkatapati on the subject. To the first of these he urged the demolition not merely of the fortifications but of the whole town, writing that its conquest would 'not till then be compleate when you shall have caused the said place, both walls and buildings and all, to be laid levell with the ground, and the very stones carryed away'. His programme of destruction included the 'houses and churches . . . stronger than the walls, which soe long as they are left standing the French or other Europians will still be designeing thereupon'. The advice purported to arise from his 'true and great affection' for the King's service.[4] On 13 October he wrote to Venkatapati that,

[1] 17 F.S.G. 74–5.

[2] Fort let. to Co. 20 Nov., O.C. 4044, f. 10. Baron was in fact negotiating with Chennupalli Mirza for the sale of San Thomé to the French (Kaeppelin, 150–2).

[3] Let. to Venkatapati, 31 Dec., 17 F.S.G. 83. Cf. Love, i. 335.

[4] 17 F.S.G. 73. The letter is undated, but from its place in the records and from the fact that it conveys congratulations on the surrender of San Thomé would seem to have been written shortly after that event.

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if the King did not demolish the place, the French would come and take it again, and that, if it was made over to the Dutch, they would be compelled to restore it to the French under the terms of the peace made in Europe.[1] In November, through Venkatapati, he advised the King to call in the people of the adjacent country, giving them batty [*batta*] and allowing them to take away the stones after everything had been blown up with gunpowder, 'which is the cheapest way I can advise', but said that the Company itself would not meddle in any such work.[2] The last remark was in reply to Venkatapati's suggestion that the English should 'breake it and carry away the stones'.[3]

Langhorn had received information of a farman held by the Dutch and shown by them to Chennupalli Mirza, by which they were to have all the great guns, ammunition, and anything else of value that was movable, and he said this was reasonable if the town itself was to be the King's and to be razed.[4] By 22 September the Dutch had only 200 men left in San Thomé; they had also admitted the Golconda forces to joint possession of the place and were only awaiting the King's compliance with some articles in favour of their privileges at Pulicat, Masulipatam, and Palakollu before quitting it.[5] This they did on 27 and 28 September, when Pavillon proceeded to Pulicat and the Dutch ships left for the south.[6] Efforts were made to raise guns that were sunk in the San Thomé road, and in these Langhorn assisted by sending catamarans. Some apparently were recovered.[7]

During the siege Langhorn and his Council had not trusted only to diplomatic measures for the safety of the Fort, but had been active in strengthening its fortifications and defences.[8] Their policy had thus a twofold aspect. In various letters to the Company they put forward a justification of it, mainly in case the King of France should make complaint about it.[9] Thus in a letter of 20 August they gave a lengthy exposition and defence both of their attitude towards the French and the other parties in the struggle for San Thomé, and of their defensive

[1] Ibid. 74.

[2] Let. 21 Nov., ibid. 79. See also undated let. to Mingham, ibid. 66.

[3] Let. 1 Nov., 26 F.S.G. 42.

[4] Let. to Mingham, 17 F.S.G. 66.

[5] Fort let. to Co. 22 Sept., O.C. 3992, ff. 12, 13. Palakollu was five miles north of Narsapur; the Dutch had had a factory there since 1652 (cf. Bowrey, 105).

[6] Fort let. to Co. 1 Oct., O.C. 3992, f. 13.

[7] Venkatapati's let. 1 Nov., 26 F.S.G. 42; Langhorn's let. 21 Nov., 17 F.S.G. 79.

[8] Cf. Fort con. 2 Feb., *M.R.* 19, where it was held to be absolutely necessary 'to go on fortifying this place in the best manner we can, our enemies being at sea and land within less than musket shot'.

[9] Cf. O.C. 3992, f. 4.

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measures. This dwelt on the fact that, in spite of many dangers and difficulties, they were still at peace with all, and especially with Golconda. They attacked those who 'have been misinforming' the Company, stating that 'we cannot call to mind any of those, either sea or land men, that came that yeare from hence, or who remaine heere, that have either the education or experience to render them so much as competent judges'.

They explained their policy towards the French, who for two long intervals had, with forces of 1,300 of their own nation[1] and 800 natives, been absolute masters of the field and brought in supplies from considerable distances, nay had even interrupted the bringing of cloth to Madras, so that Kasi Viranna had to pacify the French Viceroy 'with many a piscash'. During the sieges they had refused the benefit of their markets to the French on two scores alone, 'force of the Moores or our own necessity and want'. From the beginning they had refused to supply ammunition and, later on, when the Moors 'by limiting and dyetting of us' had made it plain that any help to the French would result in the starvation of Madras, they had restrained supplies wholly.[2] Their policy toward their neighbours may be said, therefore, to have followed the Company's instructions of the previous year, which enjoined them to give no European nation any cause for offence, but especially not to provoke the natives, as 'while you keepe faire correspondence with them, noe Europe Nation can assault you without making a breach of the peace with them'.[3] It also conformed to further injunctions, which arrived by the ships on 28 August, enjoining them to 'comport yourselves to all that you may give noe just occasion of offence to any'.[4]

In the same letter they explained that, in spite of the fortifying of Madras, they had kept on good terms with the King of Golconda, as

[1] Cf. the similar estimate at p. 114 *ante*. This exceeds Langhorn's first one of 1,100 men available at the occupation of San Thomé (p. 45) and that of '800 white men' in June 1673 (p. 66). Clearly the strength of the French garrison was reduced by July 1673, when (according to Martin, i. 498) it numbered (excluding officers) 204 regulars and 357 marines, in addition to some cadets and volunteers. This does not differ much from Langhorn's assertion (p. 114) that at the end of the siege they had some 590 Europeans, and Kaeppelin's statement (p. 115 *n.*) that De la Haye embarked for France with 530 men.

[2] O.C. 3992, f. 3.

[3] Desp. 29 Sept. 1673, 5 L.B. 69.

[4] Desp. 13 March, 5 L.B. 92. Sawcer in his letter to the Company (see p. 122) accused Langhorn of encouraging the French to seize San Thomé, of constant communication with them, of entertaining them, supplying them with provisions, allowing them to buy provisions at Madras, and of thus embroiling the English with the King of Golconda. This overlooks the need for keeping on good terms with the French, in which Langhorn succeeded, while at the same time he avoided rousing hostilities from Golconda. See also p. 58 *n.*

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shown by his sending a tashrif to the Agent, and his orders to the Dutch to restore, or give satisfaction for, the goods taken from the five Masulipatam boats. This was the more gratifying as the Dutch were then threatening to attack Madras; but the 'inoffensiveness and evenness' of their behaviour towards all parties would not have secured the safety of Madras, had it not been 'armed and fortifyed as much as the time and materialls would give leave', and had they not as well 'temporized and negotiated both at camp and court'.[1]

The necessity for strengthening the defences was further shown by the confession of the Golconda commanders that it 'was only fear which overruled them', while the French, 'who have often been masters at sea during both sieges, would have offered violence where entreaties suffised not'.[1] Because of the latter danger it had been necessary to reinforce the guards to seaward; and 150 white troops, about half the total available, and 200 natives had been kept there. The other Indian troops, about 400, were placed on the landward side of the city to watch and prevent surprises.[2]

Difficulty in procuring bricks and lime had made it impossible to carry out the whole of the proposed programme of improvements of the fortifications drawn up with the officers of the garrison.[3] The chief work had been done to seaward,[4] to serve for protection from the Dutch and the French without giving offence to the Moors. They had also improved 'the Round Point, the two spaces towards the river [had been] walled up, and [they had effected] the clearing of the north and south sides of the place from the houses adjacent'.[5] This policy of fortifying to seaward rather than on the landward side had been justified, for when the Dutch made 'draughts of the place' and showed them to the King, he took little notice of them, the guns being chiefly to seaward, although (it was added) 'they have no small command to the land also'.[6]

It was fortunate that the news of peace came just after the capitulation of San Thomé, for it relieved the Fort from the danger of an attack which (according to Langhorn and his Council) the Dutch were contemplating with the forces freed by the fall of that place. At the same time they thought the Dutch had not realized the strength of the place and said the latter admitted, when peace allowed them to do so, 'how

[1] O.C. 3992, f. 5.
[2] Ibid., f. 6. See also Fort con. 2 & 12 Feb., *M.R.* 19, 20.
[3] Let. to Co. 20 Nov., O.C. 4044, f. 11.
[4] Cf. the statements of Carré at p. 89.
[5] Let. to Co. 20 Aug., O.C. 3992, f. 6 (Love, i. 366–7).
[6] O.C. 3992, f. 6.

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much they had mistaken their measures, and that if they had come on it would have been to their graves'.[1] The defence of Fort St. George was increased by the reinforcements of soldiers and arms which the ships had brought out. Consequently the garrison was reduced by disbanding natives and mestizas (half-castes),[2] and in November its strength was about 250, with a gunner's crew of 15 and 180 pattamars and peons.[3]

Experience of a state of war in Indian waters led the Agent and Council to suggest that, in treaties with European nations trading to India, the arbitrary exercise of a power of war and peace in that part should be restrained, just as a clause in the King's charter to the Company limited this power. Special complaint was made against the Portuguese, whose Viceroy claimed to treat all ships as belonging to Indians, if they sailed with less than twenty-five Europeans, and to take out all Portuguese from any ships whatever.[1]

Madras does not seem to have suffered any diminution of population during the siege of San Thomé. According to Langhorn, in September it had, with its 'outparts', little less than 50,000 inhabitants, who, in spite of disturbances and scarcity of provisions, had been attracted by the justice and impartiality of its government.[4]

As already mentioned (p. 115), two days after the surrender of San Thomé, two of the Company's ships arrived at Madras, bringing news of the conclusion of peace between the English and Dutch. This was effected by the Treaty of Westminster on 17 February 1674. The Company then found that they could not arrange without undue delay for separate ships to go to the Coromandel coast, so they diverted ships intended for Surat and St. Helena, and in March the *Loyal Merchant*, *Phoenix*, *Lancaster*, and *Expectation* had sailed for the Fort. The first three carried cargoes of the value of £31,533, £27,556, and £27,978,[5] respectively. The *Expectation* was to proceed from Madras

[1] O.C. 4044, f. 11.

[2] Ibid. In his letter to the Company (see p. 122) Sawcer criticized Langhorn for taking many Portuguese into the Company's service after the arrival of the French, 'among which is a great many boyes that I am sure some cannot fire a musket'. Their efficiency, however, was fortunately not put to the test of actual fighting.

[3] O.C. 4044, f. 9; desp. 13 March, 5 L.B. 92.

[4] O.C. 3992, f. 5. With Langhorn's estimate of the population of Madras may be compared those of Dr. Fryer, who visited Madras in 1673, and of Capt. Thomas Bowrey, who was on the Coromandel coast at intervals during 1669–88. The former (i. 107, 111) gives it as 30,000 Indians, 3,000 Portuguese, and 300 English residents; while Bowrey (p. 6) says he 'heard it reported' as being no less than 40,000.

[5] Desp. 13 March, 5 L.B. 92, 93, 94.

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to Bantam, with a cargo of £10,000 to be provided at Madras.[1] The ladings were of the usual kinds, the chief items being gold and silver, rials of eight, broadcloth, lead, copper, brimstone, and quicksilver; amongst minor items were 'chirurgery', pistols, and strong beer.[2] The ships on arrival were to unload the bullion for the Coast and proceed to the Bay, and on their return to Madras were to be dispatched home with expedition. Detailed lists of the goods required were given.[3]

The *Phoenix* and the *Lancaster* arrived together on 28 August, the *Expectation* on 19 September, and the *Loyal Merchant*, which had parted company with the others between San Thiago and the equator, not till 27 September. The first two left Madras on 4 September; their orders were to go direct to the Bay and not to touch at Masulipatam, owing to the late arrival of the ships and to unfavourable reports of the state of affairs there. They carried cargoes valued at 70,053 pagodas. The *Loyal Merchant* was prepared for a similar voyage and was ready to sail on 5 October, but at the last moment this intention was cancelled. At a consultation of her commander (Captain Martin) and his officers, held in the presence of the Agent and Council, it was decided to detain her and lay her up in the road, as her officers and crew lacked experience of 'the coast of Aracan, Sundiva and the mouth of Ganges', and she had been damaged on her voyage out, so that any stress of sail might disable her for the homeward voyage.[4] The *Expectation* sailed for Bantam on 3 October with a cargo valued at 35,041 pagodas. Amongst other goods she carried all the saltpetre remaining from that bought for shipment the previous year and for the defence of the Fort. In reporting this to the Company the Agent and Council explained that there had been difficulty in collecting it, as the Dutch and Golconda forces had put an embargo on it, so that only the finer sort had been smuggled in 'by stealth under the notion of rice with great difficulties and charge'.[5]

In the despatch received by the ships the chief order as to the Company's servants was the appointment of John Crandon, Lawrence Sawcer, and Jacob Smith as Members of Council.[6] This promotion,

[1] Ibid. 92.

[2] Ibid. 93, 94.

[3] Ibid. 94, 95.

[4] Fort let. to Co. 13, 22 Sept. & 1 Oct., O.C. 3992, ff. 10, 12 & 13 & 20 Nov., O.C. 4944, ff. 1, 2. See also Fort con. 6 & 8 Oct., *M.R.* 29–31.

[5] Fort let. to Co. 1 Oct., O.C. 3992, f. 13. Langhorn added that 'match' (wicks for firing guns, &c.) had also been imported surreptitiously in packets of cloth.

[6] 5 L.B. 98. Crandon had been appointed a factor in 1663 (*Ct. Min.*, 1660–3, 360; *E.F.*, 1661–4, 386).

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however, took effect only in the case of Smith. Sawcer, a linen-draper who had been sent out in 1672 for the special work of assisting in the sorting of calicoes, had died before the receipt of the orders (p. 57). He had not been long in the country when he wrote a lengthy letter to the Company,[1] attacking the Agent and Bridger in connexion with this work and making charges of numerous irregularities against the Agent, both as regards his conduct of the settlement and his policy and behaviour towards the French and the Golconda State. The Company treated this attack by a junior and inexperienced servant on his superior officer and their chief representative in Eastern India with more respect than it would seem to have deserved, by giving its writer this special promotion, and basing on it various orders and instructions that are mentioned later (pp. 123–4). In their turn the Agent and Council had nothing good to report about Sawcer, saying that with the exception of Crandon there was no one in Madras so disorderly, that he was himself 'a promoter of his old trade, gameing and the punch bowle', and that, had he lived, they would have had to restrain him.[2] Crandon for 'his disorderly and scandalous conversation and debauching of both your writers and souldiers' had been dismissed on 14 August and ordered to leave the place;[3] later he was instructed to prepare to leave for England by the next homeward ships, whereupon he threatened (as the Agent and Council wrote) 'how strangly he will sett us forth at home'.[4] Meanwhile he was allowed to go to Masulipatam on parole to return to Madras, but gave the Fort authorities 'the slip' by breaking his promise.[5]

The personnel of the Council otherwise remained unchanged. The rank of Herries as 'third', viz. above Bridger and below Hinmers, had been confirmed by the Company,[6] and he and Bridger were accordingly given the posts of warehouse-keeper and purser respectively.[7] The Council therefore consisted of Langhorn, Hinmers, Herries, Bridger, and Wilks in this order, with the addition (after 28 August)

[1] O.C. 3655. The letter is not dated but would seem to have been sent to England by the ships in Jan. 1673, as it refers to events of Nov. 1672, and orders sent out by the Company in March 1674 were obviously based on it (see desp. 13 March 1674, 5 L.B. 97–8). Love, i. 390–3, gives copious extracts from it, and parts of its contents are mentioned here in various notes. A copy of the letter also reached the Agent and Council and bears marginal notes dealing seriatim with each accusation, and mostly stating that they were false (O.C. 3764).

[2] O.C. 3992, f. 9. See also *M.R.*, 25–6.

[3] Ibid. See also Fort con. 14 Aug., *M.R.* 25–6.

[4] Let. to Co. 20 Nov., O.C. 4044, f. 7.

[5] O.C. 4044, f. 16.

[6] Desp. 14 July 1673, 4 L.B. 53.

[7] O.C. 3992, f. 1.

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of Smith. Wilks seems to have taken Bridger's place as a Justice of the choultry during this year.[1]

Dysentery, commonly called 'the flux' or 'the country disease', was responsible for the death on 1 June of Rev. Samuel Tutchin, the chaplain at Fort St. George.[2] In his place the Agent and Council provisionally appointed Patrick Warner, late minister of the *President*, who undertook to serve for two years.[2] Thomas Tilley, a writer who had come out two years before, also died from the same disease. Langhorn's illness from it (p. 113) had brought him very low, but in August he had fairly well recovered, to the disappointment, he said, of the Dutch.[3]

Some light is thrown on the administration and social life of the Fort by Langhorn's answers to a series of orders and directions which the Company had been moved to issue by complaints which were reaching them.[4] These provided that the warehouse-keeper and Sawcer should sort all calicoes and see that they were up to sample and uniformly packed; that books and keys should remain with the warehouse-keeper and his assistant, and not with 'blacks' or anyone else; and that all goods should be bought and sold 'by consultation', and the advice

[1] Cf. p. 125 as to Wilks and Smith being in charge of customs work, which was usually performed by the choultry justices. Also a list of the Company's servants at Madras in Jan. 1677 (O.C. 4262, reproduced in Love, i. 393–4) shows Wilks and Smith as the two justices and 'customers'.

[2] O.C. 3992, f. 8.

[3] Ibid. See also Langhorn's let. to Baron, 13 Aug., 17 F.S.G. 61.

[4] Of these the chief was probably the letter from Sawcer already mentioned. He begins with a reference to his having been sent out 'in order to the true sorting' of the Company's cloth which, if he had been allowed to do according to his judgement, would have given the Company 'a better cargoe of cloath then now you have', but even without that 'is better than it would a been, had I not been here, by eight, if not ten, per cent'. Langhorn would not let him sort a piece of cloth in his absence and overruled him when he objected to Langhorn's receiving cloth that was inferior to sample, disregarding his protests: 'he will not answer mee, nor take any notice no more than if I said nothing, but falleth into other discorse, putting it off with a laugh, and so falleth to sorting againe'. Bridger joined Langhorn in arguing against him as regards the quality of cloth, but knew no more about it than a boy of seven years; he supported Langhorn, and in every dispute with Sawcer 'layes downe his pipe, putts on his spectacles and whatsoever Sir Wm. says he is ready to sweare'. Sawcer next set forth at great length his criticisms of the honesty and efficiency of the sorting of cloth by these two and its results on the goods sent to the Company and their trade. In their marginal replies the Agent and Council state that Bridger, on the Agent's advice, yielded Sawcer the 'sorting place', and that after his arrival 'never was one piece sorted without him while he lived'. (He was dead when these replies were written.) For the rest they contented themselves in the main with declarations flatly denying the allegations, such as 'false', 'is false as the last', or 'is false as the rest', and complaints of Sawcer's own work, as well as a suggestion that the Company would consider whether the strictness of superiors, and the greediness and impatience of inferiors, were not apt to produce clamours from India (O.C. 3655 & 3764).

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of the warehouse-keepers should be taken before fixing prices. Merchants other than Kasi Viranna[1] were to be encouraged and the Agent and Council were not to confine all buyings and sellings 'to one hand'. For the due payment of customs, inhabitants of Madras were to make entries of goods brought by sea before landing them, and of those coming by land before bringing them into the town, the goods being examined at convenient places to see that they were duly entered. The same care was to be taken in the shipment of goods. An account of the customs paid upon goods exported or imported was to be sent home, and the whole of this work was to be managed by persons employed by the English servants of the Company and not by 'blacks or others'.[2] Justice was to be equally administered to all inhabitants of the town.[3] A return was to be made to the custom of keeping a 'public table' (i.e. a general or common mess) for all factors and writers, which the Company hoped would tend to keep its servants in good order and prevent their frequenting 'punch-houses' (taverns) and similar places.[4] Factors and writers were to be assigned to various offices, so that each should know his employment and what was expected of him, and the Agent and Council were to inspect their work and see it was duly performed.[5]

Langhorn and his Council replied to these instructions, and the criticisms they implied, at length. They stated that all cloth was sorted by the warehouse-keeper, and the sorting books and keys were kept by him; all goods were, and would be, bought and sold 'by consultation'. Contracts were made not only with Kasi Viranna, but with '25 Chief Merchants besides (and all they have their partners, little less than

[1] In his letter (O.C. 3764, f. 4) Sawcer wrote that Kasi Viranna was unduly influential and that the natives said that 'Sir William governes within the Fort and Verrona without'.

[2] Sawcer in his letter (ibid.) alleged slackness in the customs-office writing, 'I feare you are not well dealt with in your customes, for I see they lett people bring theire goods ashoare and never take an accompt of them', and estimating that the receipts from them ought to be 2,000 pagodas a year more than they were. This was termed by the Agent and Council 'false as the rest'. They explained that there were several officers at the waterside, both English and native; and that account was taken of all things that came and went, Wilks and Smith being in charge of this work.

[3] Sawcer (ibid.) said 'by the crafty art of your Agent and the ignorance of your Justices, the natives cry out exceeding for justice and find none, for if anything of concernment comes before the Justices it's taken of[f] by the Agent and Verrona'.

[4] In Sawcer's letter (ibid. f. 5) Langhorn was charged with breaking up the public table and allowing too little board wages to the young men, among whom Sawcer included himself, and thus forcing them to go to punch-houses for their food, where 'they have many ill examples, and youth [is] to[o] ready to take anything that is bad'. Sawcer professed that he gave them good advice, but feared that 'the great liberty they have . . . will bee theire ruine and render them unfitt for your service'.

[5] Desp. 13 March, 5 L.B. 97–8.

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100) . . . more would but make confusion and disorder up in the countrey, raise the prices and hazard many bad debts'. The customs, being farmed from the Golconda government, had to be charged at the old rates, and to introduce new ones would mean fresh claims and new demands from the Moors; goods were brought to the choultry and there entered and dispatched; the principal work was done by Englishmen, but it was not possible to do without natives as under-officers; the English officers on this work were Wilks and Smith, with Thomas Drinkwater at the waterside, besides Thomas Clarke, 'interpreter and secretary of the languages', and Joa de Sessia, a Portuguese notary, Portuguese 'being the most usefull and communicable language in these parts'. As to complaints regarding the administration of justice, the Agent and Council professed their ignorance of any relating to 'inequallity of proceedings heere and injustice', or of any failure to grant redress. Consultations were frequent and they conferred about all affairs of any importance, though in the last troubles it had been impossible to reduce all to formal consultations, and for secrecy no papers of importance had been sent out to be registered till their importance was over, which perplexed informers and their friends the Dutch.[1]

The matter of the general table had been dealt with in an earlier letter of 20 August,[2] when the Agent and Council wrote that

all your servants in Councell being married and children coming on apace, . . . it is next to impossibillity for them, as much more [for] their wives (who for want of roome have all been faine to procure houses out of the Fort) to be absent from their famileyes at those times so necessary to the well ordering thereof, and for their own comfort; and as for the young men without [outside] the Councill, your honours need not be informed how discreditable, as well as unpleasing, a thing it would be for your Agent to be tyed to sitt like a pedant amongst his boyes, especially heere being such a concourse of Dutch and French, either on business or civillity, whom we cannot avoid entertaining at your table.[3]

He added that the young men were not exposed to evil courses, as they were all dieted in private houses free from disorder, and allowances were given them, at as economical rates as possible. On receipt, however, of the orders brought by the ships in August, the general table was reintroduced for the factors and writers, but not for the Council;

[1] Let. to Co. 20 Nov., O.C. 4044, ff. 4–5.

[2] Apparently this was in reply to remarks of the Company in a letter of 29 Sept. 1673, 5 L.B. 70.

[3] O.C. 3992, f. 9.

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and Langhorn said that he attended it himself as often as he could, until 'you shall thinck good to dispense him from it'.[1]

With reference to the complaints that had reached England, the Agent and Council reported favourably on the young men as 'all behaving themselves very well', and recommended that new men should not be sent out over their heads. In accordance with the orders of the Company (p. 32) one of them, John Thomas, had been paid 50 pagodas as a language reward, 'finding him very well introduced in the Gentue language'.[2] The place of Secretary had been provisionally conferred on John Nicks, whom they considered best fitted for it by six years' service and prior similar employment and his 'good carryage and fair hand'.[3] Thomas Lucas was, in accordance with the Company's orders, relieved of secretarial duties, though the Agent and Council did this with obvious reluctance and recommended his reappointment, saying that he and Nicks had been chosen to handle all papers of importance, that he had acquitted himself with fidelity and diligence, and had received no more pay than a common soldier, in which capacity he had come out.[4]

In reply to the Company's instructions that private trade in gold and silver was not to be hindered, the Agent and Council wrote that any information it might have received as to restraint on the buying or selling of gold and silver was false, everyone being as free as themselves; they attributed the accusation to the 'excessive lying practises in these slavish countreys', to which they wished their own people were less addicted.[5] Criticisms of the quality and price of the calicoes sent home by them[6] were imputed to Jearsey, whom 'all men heere, even his greatest intimates, endeavour to keepe cleare of'; and ideas of providing them more advantageously than they and their predecessors had done were characterized as 'impracticable chimeras'.[7] They suggested that some of the criticisms of their cloth arose from a comparison with dearer Dutch cloth, and to the introduction of new and better sorts of which a small quantity had been sent home mixed with other pieces, and asked for copies of Dutch invoices taken from captured ships.[8]

As for trade generally, by 20 November when they wrote, the Agent and Council reported that, while they had not been able to secure any

[1] O.C. 4044, f. 5.
[2] Ibid. f. 8.
[3] Ibid., f. 9. See also Fort con. 22 Sept., *M.R.* 27.
[4] O.C. 4044, ff. 8, 9.
[5] Ibid. f. 6.
[6] Desp. 1 Nov. 1673, 5 L.B. 78.
[7] O.C. 4044, ff. 3–4.
[8] Ibid., f 3.

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reduction in the prices of goods purchased, they had disposed of all their goods from Europe at increased rates, except in the case of woollen goods. For the latter they had had great difficulty in securing even the former rates, owing to there being large stocks in the hands of merchants and to Dutch underselling of the goods taken in the three English ships.[1]

In its despatch of 13 March, the Company, in view of 'the weakness and indisposition' of Mohun, cancelled its order that he should succeed Langhorn, in case of the latter's death or removal, and directed that, in such an event, Langhorn's Council should act as joint commissioners.[2] In regard to this the Agent professed to believe that his illness had seasoned him against further attacks of dysentery and thanked the Company for not having hastened his return to England. He said the difficult times had given him 'small encouragement to think of home yet', his private affairs and fortune presumably not having prospered as he had hoped.[3] Times had been unpropitious for the use of the new indulgences for private trade, the Agency having been mostly besieged by sea and land, and 'the early troubles nipping our first undertakings in the bud', so that the Portuguese of Goa and Danes, who had the liberty of the sea, and Dutch freemen and natives, had run away with all the trade.[4]

Lady Winter and her children were still in India, and the Company offered them passages to England in the homeward ships. This she refused, but said she would reconsider the offer if her husband was not allowed to come to India.[5] Langhorn and his Council requested the Company not to 'suffer these parts any more to be incumbred with him'.[6]

We now return to events connected with the Golconda State subsequent to the fall of San Thomé. Chennupalli Mirza was then still without funds for the payment of his forces, but on 14 September Musikmea came to his help with a letter telling him that he had written to the English Governor of Madras to pay him (Chennupalli) the rent of the town for the past and the then current year.[7] He wrote to Langhorn on the same date, stating he had previously requested him to make this payment, but had received answer that the rent for the last year had

[1] Ibid., f. 3.
[2] 5 L.B. 98.
[3] O.C. 4044, f. 7.
[4] Ibid., f. 9.
[5] O.C. 4044, f. 8. Winter's request to return to India was under the consideration of the Company (*Ct. Min.*, 1674–6, 93–4, 95).
[6] O.C. 3992, f. 1. The Company's dispute with Winter was under arbitration (desp. 7 July 1673, 5 L.B. 51).
[7] 27 F.S.G. 7.

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already been paid to the diwan, while that for the current year was not yet due. He reproached him for obstructing the diwan's business, saying that 'to do in this manner is not handsome', and called on him to pay the money without delay.[1] Venkatapati backed this up in a letter of 28 September, reporting that 'these people here are very angry', and requesting him at least to pay the Mirza the last year's rent.[2] Langhorn at length yielded and on 20 October, in spite of the trouble which had already arisen from this procedure (p. 111), paid to the Mirza the rent that fell due on the succeeding 1 June. Two receipts from the Mirza were now sent to Venkatapati, who wanted them in order to get corresponding vouchers at Golconda.[3] Langhorn at the same time administered a stiff rebuke to him for his failure to get one for the previous year's rent, telling him that he was not minding his business as he should, or was engaging himself too deep in that of other people to the neglect of his duty to the Company.[4] On 20 October Venkatapati had written to the Fort explaining the trouble due to the lack of these receipts,[5] but after their arrival and on the strength of them he at last, on 18 December, was able to report that he had obtained one for the three years' rent.[6] He indignantly denied the complaints against himself of engaging in business for others than the Company, and attributed them to one Batchu, who desired the office of 'egyb' held by Venkatapati and raised these false reports with a view to ousting him. Batchu, according to Venkatapati, was working with William Mingham and had promised to get the latter the assignment of the Madras rent he desired.[7]

In the last three months of the year there was much activity at Golconda on the part of Venkatapati and Mingham, in rival efforts to secure a farman for the English trade at Masulipatam. Venkatapati, with the help of Madana and by the promise of 100 pagodas to the 'great persons', first obtained one confirming their former privileges and their freedom to trade without the payment of customs or duty. This was sent to Mohun at Masulipatam, but was not approved by Langhorn.[8]

[1] 27 F.S.G. 7–8.
[2] Ibid. 8.
[3] Ibid. 1.
[4] Fort let. 13 Oct. & 21 Nov., 17 F.S.G. 74, 78–9.
[5] 27 F.S.G. 12.
[6] Ibid. 20.
[7] Ibid. 19, 22–4.
[8] Let. from Venkatapati, 19 & 26 Nov., 27 F.S.G. 14–15, & 26 F.S.G. 43–4; Langhorn's let. 22 Dec., 17 F.S.G. 80. A copy of this farman, dated 19 Nov. 1674 and addressed by the King to the 'greate Avaldore of Metchlepatam, called Mahomend Hebrain [Md. Ibrahim]', is in 26 F.S.G. 46.

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Mingham, who worked through 'the King's saint Shaw Ragio',[1] also obtained a farman. The first draft of this was favoured by Langhorn and described by him as 'very full and well-penned'; but an addition was desired relating to shipbuilding, as the Company 'may have occasion to build ships or vessels in Naraspore river or Gingerlee [Gingalee]'.[2] Mingham was asked to have the necessary words inserted and the farman sent to Masulipatam. Venkatapati was also instructed to assist Mingham in having the farman completed and issued, unless he could himself do the business better or more cheaply.[3] Mingham on 15 December expressed his pleasure at the approval of the Agent and Council of his farman and undertook to have the necessary additions made; but Venkatapati forestalled him, reporting on 18 December that, as Mingham had failed to take the requisite steps, he had got it done himself, and sending the completed farman.[4] This was dated 19 December, and after referring to previous farmans which provided that the English at Madras, Masulipatam, Narsapur, &c., 'should not pay anything for chabadam or ox-hire and other junkans [transit-duties] neither for the ground their cattle feed in, nor one-sixteenth of a fanam for each ox-head, nor for anything else whatsoever it be', commanded that this be observed. As regards shipbuilding it added that 'as well for new ships building or [that] shall be built we would have you observe what has been sallabad to them in former times'. A footnote states that it was granted by means of the Brahman, Madana.[5]

While this was on its way, Langhorn on 22 December wrote again to Venkatapati, telling him that the farman which he had sent to Masulipatam was wrong in certain particulars and that, if he had altered Mingham's draft, it should have been for the better and not for the worse. He was to give due consideration to Madana as well as to Shaw Ragio, though the main point was not who was the greater of the two, but who was the more likely to continue in power. Unless, however, Venkatapati was convinced of the necessity and advantage of working through Madana, he was to have the farman completed through

[1] Venkatapati was doubtful of the policy of working through Shaw Ragio, saying that, though the saint was a great person, the business should be effected through the chief of all the 'great persons', Madana, if he were not to be offended (let. 26 Nov., 26 F.S.G. 43, 45).

[2] As to Gingalee, see p. 362.

[3] Fort let. undated and 21 Nov., 17 F.S.G. 77, 79. See also Fort con. 21 Nov., *M.R.* 34–5.

[4] 27 F.S.G. 17, 18, 21.

[5] Ibid. 2. Evidently it is this farman for Madras, Masulipatam, and Madapollam which is referred to in the passage about the grant of a farman by the King of Golconda in 1674, cited in Love, i. 355. The records clearly show that no such farman was issued for Madras alone, as there suggested.

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Mingham.[1] On 31 December, before the receipt of Venkatapati's letter of 18 December, both Venkatapati and Mingham were ordered to have the proposed farman completed, and here the matter rested at the end of the year.[2] The correspondence throws some light on Mingham's position at Golconda and the character of the King. The latter's reformation reported in 1673 (pp. 75, 95) was apparently a short-lived one, for he is shown as devoted to pleasure and influenced by trivialities that hardly befitted the occupant of a throne. Langhorn in a letter to Mingham expressed his regret that things were not better looked after at court, and his hope that the King 'will one day bethink himselfe that there is other bussiness besides pleasure belonging to a crowne'.[3] He also described His Highness to the Company as 'loose and profuse'.[4]

Mingham received a salary of 1,000 pagodas from the Golconda State payable from the revenues of certain towns or areas assigned to him; but he found great difficulty in recovering his dues and strove hard to have the town-rent of Madras made over to him, asking for an extra 100 pagodas for himself and 100 for his dubash Batchu, which would bring the total to the amount of the rent paid by the English. He made presents and promises to Shaw Ragio and the King to secure his ends as regards both the farman and the assignment of the Madras rent; and these were followed by an inducement to the King which proved effectual. It was the offer of a firework entertainment at which 'he would make divers sorts of pleasant fireworkes, and . . . would make two wooden forts, one opposite the other, with wooden men and stories to issue out and to give battires [batteries, i.e. blows] to each other and returne in again, and all to be done by fire work'. Thereupon the King agreed to both of Mingham's wishes. Madana, however, had something to say in the matter, for though he put the official 'chopp' on the farman, he held up the issue of the orders about the assignment till he had talked it over with the King and succeeded in preventing this 'baratam', as it was termed.[5] Mingham tried to secure Venkatapati's aid for this scheme, as also that of Langhorn, but without success. He already had an order for two years' salary upon Yellore and neighbouring places, but could not get it honoured by the local Avaldar; and he now asked Venkatapati to secure him one, if not on Madras, on some place from which he could obtain his money without difficulty.[6]

[1] 17 F.S.G. 80–1.
[2] Ibid. 82, 83.
[3] Fort let. undated, ibid. 66.
[4] Fort let. 20 Nov., O.C. 4044, f. 10.
[5] Venkatapati's let. 26 Nov., 26 F.S.G. 43–6. 'Baratam' is probably derived from Pers. *barat*, an order for payment of money, cf. *E.F.* i. 149 *n.*
[6] 26 F.S.G. 43, 45.

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Langhorn instructed Venkatapati not to consent to one on the rent of Madras or of any place in the hands of the chief merchant, Kasi Viranna, but agreed that he might help Mingham to obtain any other assignment of revenues in the district of Poonamallee.[1]

A question that was much to the fore in the last few months of the year was that of presents to Madana and others at court, including Pollepalli Yengana, described as 'a great person here and the chiefe booke-keeper of all the Carnutt country', and the delay in sending them kept Venkatapati in trouble. He was reproached by the would-be recipients, and found that in their absence 'noe business goes well forward'.[2] Langhorn promised their dispatch as soon as the floods had subsided and the ships from England had been got off.[3] Another request from Venkatapati was for a 'maldar', or person to clear the way for his palanquin in the streets of Bhagnagar (the city now known as Hyderabad),[4] where he lived and where the King had taken up his residence. Venkatapati vividly described how in it there were 'continually many elliphants, horses and people both day and night goeing to and fro [and] the streets are not passable for pallankeens unless one should have 4 or 5 malders to make the way'.[5]

The *Phoenix* and *Lancaster* had not returned from the Bay and Masulipatam by the end of the year. They had both gone to Masulipatam (p. 369) and the *Lancaster* had been detained there to bring Mainwaring, Mohun, and other witnesses in the dispute between them, to Madras.[6] Meanwhile arrangements had been made with Kasi Viranna and twenty-five other 'Company Merchants' for the supply of cloth required for the lading of the three homeward ships and the sale of all the goods that had been brought out from Europe.[7]

MADRAS, 1675

THE first business of the year was to lade and dispatch the three ships to England. The *Phoenix* arrived from Bengal on 2 January, and sailed on the 13th with goods to the value of 73,650 pagodas.[8] The

[1] Fort let. 20, 22, & 31 Dec., 17 F.S.G. 65, 81, 82.
[2] Let. 28 Sept., 20 Oct., 1 Nov. & 18 Dec., 26 F.S.G. 41, 42, & 27 F.S.G. 10, 21.
[3] Fort let. 22 Dec., 17 F.S.G. 81.
[4] Bhagnagar was founded in 1589 by Muhammad Kuli, the fifth Kutb Shahi King, who ruled at Golconda, situated five miles west of Hyderabad and now deserted (*Imp. Gaz. of India*, xiii. 308).
[5] Let. 20 Oct., 26 F.S.G. 41–2 & 27 F.S.G. 12.
[6] O.C. 4044, f. 15.
[7] Fort con. 29 Sept. & 20 Oct., *M.R.* 27–9, 31–2; O.C. 4044, f. 3.
[8] Ibid. ff. 13, 15, 17.

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Loyal Merchant, which had stayed at Madras (p. 121), was dispatched the next day.[1] The *Lancaster*, which had not reached Madras till 11 January, was expected to be able to leave about the 16th.[1] The *Lancaster* brought Mainwaring and others from Masulipatam for an inquiry by the Agent and Council into the charges against Mohun, and the proceedings taken in it are noticed in the Masulipatam section (pp. 254–5).

The records contain little other news of the early months of this year. When it opened, the danger from the Dutch had been removed by the peace in Europe, and that from the hostilities around San Thomé by its surrender. That town and its fortifications were still intact in spite of Langhorn's persistent efforts to secure their demolition. In a letter to Venkatapati on 11 February Langhorn renewed his arguments for the town's destruction, which (it appeared) the King was loath to order 'because it is soe fine and well built a citty'. Langhorn argued that 'as to the fineness of the place I have observed that thornes are by nature very handsomely placed, fine and well poynted, but I never yet found any man who loved or liked them in his sides'. If the French gave trouble it would be the fault of those who permitted them to remain: it was not in their nature to be long quiet, and they were fain to be almost always at war with some or other of their neighbours.[2]

De la Haye and his men, with the exception of a few refugees in Madras (p. 115), had departed after the end of their courageous, but ill-conducted and ill-fated, enterprise. The refugees left on 11 February; but Langhorn said that their ostensible destination was Pondicherry, that they were disinclined to leave the Coast yet, and that the sooner San Thomé was razed the better it would be for the King's interest.[3] Venkatapati wrote on 14 January that Chennupalli Mirza had reported to Golconda an offer from the French of 100,000 pagodas for the city; but that on his putting before the 'great men' what Langhorn had written on the subject, they had refused their consent to its acceptance.[4]

In spite of this Langhorn maintained, at any rate on paper, correct and almost friendly relations with the French. After some correspondence with a 'Monsieur' at Pondicherry (perhaps François Martin)[5] some 382 pagodas were received through the two French padres,

[1] O.C. 4044, f. 17.
[2] 17 F.S.G. 4.
[3] Let. to Venkatapati, ibid. 5.
[4] 27 F.S.G. 28.
[5] Martin had become the first Chief of Pondicherry in Sept. 1674 (*C.H.I.* v. 71).

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Ephraim and Zenon, now back in Madras, in repayment of a debt of Rs. 1,200 and interest due from the French Company to Robert Elwes.[1] The Frenchman in this correspondence also wrote regarding some French deserters and was assured on 25 February that, if any such came to Madras, they would be arrested and not given service there. Later three deserters were reported to have been kept in the fortress and one in the hospital; and in a further reply to the same 'Monsieur' Langhorn curtly informed him that it was not usual at Madras to seduce people from the service of their King, and that the arrests had been made at the instance of 'Mons. le Derecteur Generall Baron'.[2]

The correspondence with Venkatapati at Golconda about this time contained many references to the farman for Masulipatam obtained through him, as well as to that secured by Mingham which it had superseded. A letter of 18 March from Venkatapati gave a lengthy account of the course of events which preceded their issue. This relates that, after Mingham had got his first farman, he and Venkatapati had been told from Madras that, if the latter could procure a better one with necessary additions, he should do so; that Mingham then offered to procure this himself, so Venkatapati forbore taking any action for eight days, but then went ahead and got a revised and complete farman. Mingham nevertheless insisted on sending his to Masulipatam, saying that Venkatapati could also send the one he had procured and get his expenses from there.[3] Previously, on 14 January, Venkatapati had reported that he had sent his farman to Masulipatam, and that Mingham, who had sent his some eight days earlier, claimed 450 pagodas, which he had been compelled to borrow for the expense of procuring it. Venkatapati recommended the payment of this amount.[4] Mingham had already written to Langhorn in January, stating that he had drawn a bill on Masulipatam for it, which he asked should be honoured.[5] No alacrity was shown in complying with the request, and on 11 February Langhorn expressed his wonder that Venkatapati had not hindered Mingham from throwing away money, and desired him to state plainly if a letter from Madras of 3 January had not reached Mingham in time to stop him from spending 1,510 pagodas in a peshkash to the King, and 10 pagodas to 'Shaw Ragio, his saint'.[6] Mingham was still unpaid as late as 6 May, when he complained to Langhorn that

[1] Elwes was Chief at Dacca (p. 388).
[2] Fort let. 25, 26 Feb. and without date, 17 F.S.G. 1, 2.
[3] 27 F.S.G. 31–3. For a translation of the farman given by the King in July 1675, see p. 285.
[4] 27 F.S.G. 27–8.
[5] Ibid. 29–30: cf. his undated let., ibid. 31–2.
[6] 17 F.S.G. 3.

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the bill had not been honoured by Mohun, who said that he had no Company's money available; and Mingham asked that the amount should be paid with interest to Bridger on his account.[1]

In February the peshkashes for the King and his high officers were at length sent up to Golconda. A resolution, dated 10 February, explained the necessity for these long-deferred gifts and gave lists of the articles sent, and their recipients and value. Thus the King got articles worth 495 pagodas, Madana 184, Musikmea and Muhammad Ibrahim 98 each, Pollepalli Yengana 52, and Vittulo and other great men 98 between them.[2] With the presents went letters to the King, Madana, Pollepalli Yengana, Muskmea, and Venkatapati.[3] The last-named was told that the presents were of considerable value and that this should be pointed out, as well as how true and punctual Langhorn was and ever would be in all his words and promises.[4] This sounds rather ironical, for (as the Agent and Council later wrote to the Company) the presents had been deferred ever since the accession of the King to the throne and of Madana to power under him, and both were out of patience and ready to break the Madras farman and stop trade, if not to proceed to open hostilities.[5] He was further instructed to ask for some amends for the losses sustained in the late troubles and especially for the restitution of the goods taken on the five boats, and to oppose any assignment of the rent for Madras, or of the towns held by Kasi Viranna, as payments made to others than the Golconda Government were undesirable.[6] By 7 April all the presents had been handed over except those for the King, which had been delayed through Madana's disablement with a sore on one of his feet. They were then shown to him and he had been 'well-contented', while on 19 April Venkatapati reported that they had been delivered to the King. The presents, though not up to expectations, were well received and proved useful in placating the King.[7] The Agent and Council contrasted them with what the Dutch had paid to the King and his courtiers at the time of his coronation, saying this had amounted to 6,000 pagodas against the 1,000 pagodas they had spent, and yet 'your business as well or better done than theirs'.[8]

Though during the year the Coast was free from any danger of complications with other European powers or their Companies, internal

[1] 27 F.S.G. 37–9.
[2] Fort con. 10 Feb., 1 F.S.G. 2–3 (*M.R.* 38).
[3] Fort let. undated & 5 Feb., 17 F.S.G. 6–8.
[4] Fort let. 11 Feb., ibid. 4, 5.
[5] Fort let. 16 July, O.C. 4100, f. 2.
[6] 17 F.S.G. 5.
[7] 27 F.S.G. 33, 34; O.C. 4100, f. 2.
[8] O.C. 4100, f. 2.

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disorders and misgovernment in the Golconda dominions gave rise to anxiety and seriously hampered trade. This state of affairs was chiefly due to the weakness and greed of the King, who (as the Agent and Council told the Company) was 'minding nothing but his pleasures and getting in monys by right or wrong, and redress [was] soe hard to come by' that answers had not been obtained from his government in the previous five months notwithstanding the constant efforts of Venkatapati.[1] The King was now neglecting the state business and leaving it to the Brahman Madana, who had become all-powerful, and had given his sister and daughter to the King.[1] In return he received many favours. Writing on 15 May, Venkatapati described how

not long since his Highness honoured Brameny Madana in giving him the late Kings of Golconda [*sic*] golden palenkeen and his elliphants and the silver, making him the cheife person of all his whole kingdome next to himselfe, with all imaginall [*sic*] honour, in so much that the Sherkell and the Nabob comes to wait at Maddana['s] house; he [has] employed Pollepalli Yengana to manage all the Cornut [Carnatic] countries business, soe that now the King doth not concern himselfe with any thing, but Maddana is the person that manages as secon[d] King.[2]

The Carnatic was farmed out to Madana on condition that he should pay the wages of all horsemen that served in the time of Neknam Khan and of all other soldiers and servants that waited on His Highness, as also of the soldiers that belonged to the forts in it. He was not to interfere with the countries granted to the 'great persons' for services they had rendered, and was to pay a yearly rent of 300,000 pagodas.[3] This 'misgovernment at the helm', as Langhorn called it, the farming of the Carnatic and the transfer of authority to Madana's Brahman officers, were the cause of much interference with the trade of Madras and the peace of the country which lay behind it.[4] The chief offender was one Lingappa Podela, a Brahman appointed as tarafdar (governor of the district) of Poonamallee, who had great authority over all the country near Madras.[5] Langhorn described him as 'a pestiferous fellow . . . who has all the arts and tricks of Court to peal and flece and make mischief, is allyed to Maddana and beares no respect to any man',

[1] Fort let. to Co. 16 July, ibid. f. 1.

[2] 27 F.S.G. 39. Pollepalli Yengana was 'sarlaskar' (commander-in-chief) under Madana (ibid. 40).

[3] Venkatapati's let. 3 Aug., ibid. 40.

[4] O.C. 4100, ff. 1, 2.

[5] He had succeeded Md. Salih in 1673 (O.C. 4215, f. 1, reproduced in Love, i. 356).

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and as one who, knowing the King's greedy temper, strove to amass wealth to take to Golconda, thereby to confirm and enlarge his power and discredit complaints.[1] He brought with him a tashrif and farman from the King and expected to be received and given presents in return—pretensions which Langhorn refused to countenance, as contrary to custom and the cowl relating to Madras, which gave them the right of doing business with the diwan or the King and exempted them from such encroachments by these 'lower tarafdars', though the Dutch had made him a gift of 800 pagodas.[2] The Agent and Council resolved to send Kasi Viranna to him at Trivatore, to inform him that they could not accept the tashrif and farman for the above reasons, and to write to Venkatapati to get strict orders to Lingappa to observe the terms of the cowl and farman relating to Madras and established custom.[3]

Lingappa, much resenting the stand made by the English and the little notice taken of him, uttered threats against them.[4] His words were accompanied by deeds, for he speedily created trouble by stopping the Company's cloth, paddy, and provisions, raising the inland customs, and sending to Golconda exaggerated reports of the trade and customs of Madras, while minimizing those of Pulicat.[5] Langhorn on 15 April protested vigorously to the King, Madana, and Pollepalli Yengana, complaining of the 'abusetyes', 'falcityes', and discouragements from the new tarafdar, and that, unless a remedy were afforded, trade would be driven away and merchants would not send treasure up-country for investment in calicoes. He asked for a redress of these grievances and the observation of agreements, 'for without the publique faith of nations plighted to each other there can be neither peace nor humane society preserved, and [they] would be reduced to the savage condition of wolves and tygers to destroy and prey one upon another'. He explained that Kasi Viranna had been sent to meet Lingappa Podela and to assure him that, though the tashrif could not be received, the King's farman would be accepted with all honour, as would a visit from him if he had a mind to see Madras. He also asked the King and his officers not to suffer Kasi Viranna to be abused by the new tarafdar, as he was one who by his great dealings brought much profit to the Golconda Government. A speedy answer was requested, and it was

[1] O.C. 4100, f. 2.
[2] Ibid., ff. 1, 2; Fort let. 15 April, 17 F.S.G. 11.
[3] Fort con. 16 & 17 March, 1 F.S.G. 6–7 (*M.R.* 42).
[4] Let. of 9 April, 27 F.S.G. 35–6.
[5] O.C. 4100, f. 1; Langhorn's let. 15 April, 17 F.S.G. 9.

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hinted that it might be necessary to send the expected ships and treasure to Bengal or some other place where there was more security.[1]

He also wrote at length to Venkatapati on the subject of the misdeeds of Lingappa and informed him of the grounds for refusing to receive the tashrif. The new tarafdar's report to Golconda that Pulicat had lost its trade to Madras was denied. Madras had had little trade for the last year and a half owing to the siege, and its whole income, instead of rendering any profit to the Company, was far from reimbursing the rent of 1,200 pagodas and did not suffice even to maintain the small number of peons and officers that were required to look after it. Thousands of pagodas were also spent yearly on the defence of the Fort and its garrison, and this only for the maintenance of trade, which was no less to the advantage of His Highness and the whole country as of the English. Venkatapati was told to be speedy in acquainting the King and Madana with these facts, and that 'you must lay open and unmaske him [Lingappa]' and explain that 'not only his Highness'[s] honour but his revenues are concerned'.[2] On 7 July Langhorn made further representations to His Highness the Olampana, mainly against one Miriampalli, who by false accusations at Golconda against two of the Company's up-country merchants had been given 50 horsemen and 100 or 200 peons, with whose aid he had seized and robbed their houses and laid hold of their brother, 'tormenting them very much'. It was asserted that others, seeing this, had fled and that, if merchants entrusted with the Company's money were thus treated, investments in the King's country with security would be impossible. Complaint was also made that Lingappa Podela was still hindering business, and that in consequence the Fort would not be able to provide the goods and merchandize required for the ships that year. He asked the King to issue a farman for the release of the two merchants and their money and goods, and to ensure trade against such interference in his country.[3] Venkatapati was also instructed to make representations to the King and Madana about it, so that business might for the future go on without disturbance according to 'the sallabad granted to our nation both in his royal phyrmaunds and cowle'. In this letter he was severely and, to all appearance, undeservedly censured for his 'delayes in all business'.[3]

On 14 August the King was again asked to render speedy justice, with the threat that otherwise the ships would be discouraged from

[1] Fort let. 15 & 16 April, ibid. 8–12.
[2] Fort let. 18 April, ibid. 13–15
[3] Ibid. 20–1.

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returning to Madras in other years. Complaint was also made of the depredations and tortures committed by his horsemen on pretence of searching for treasure, which had alarmed all the Company's merchants (p. 147). On the same day Shah Ragia was appealed to for help in view of 'the emmency of [his] vertues and holy life', and his son-in-law Fatehmia was asked to recommend this request to his father-in-law.[1] Meanwhile the King's farman, though not the tashrif, had been received with due honour at the Company's garden outside the town;[2] and on 21 August Venkatapati sent a Golconda letter for Lingappa, enjoining him not to hinder the Company's business and to observe 'salabad'. In forwarding it Venkatapati wrote that this officer was 'much credited' at Golconda, and suggested that it would be worth while to receive the tashrif he had brought and give him something—advice which was belated and seems to have been ignored.[3] Lingappa, however, was reported to be 'contented' with the reasons for which Langhorn refused to accept the tashrif. The farman proved to be merely a letter obliging the Company to take paddy from him at his own rates. To this the Agent and Council decided not to agree, as being contrary to their rights under their cowl and farman.[4] On 3 August Venkatapati was able to report that he had secured an order for the release of two of the merchants and their money and goods, and on 21 August that they and the third merchant had been released.[5]

Lingappa Podela's reports of the flourishing state of Madras, which (he wrote) produced for the English a revenue of 10,000 pagodas a year, and corroboration received from the Dutch, moved the King to attempt to go back on his cowl; and in August he ordered that the town should 'remaine upon the Divans accompt', i.e. be resumed for the benefit of the Golconda Government. Venkatapati, on Madana's informing him of this, put forward the English case at length, alleging that the Dutch reports were false and that the inquiries made in the time of Neknam Khan showed that it did not produce more than 1,000 pagodas, derived from customs on wood, cow-dung, grain, &c., imported into the town. He asked that former officials should be consulted; and on their advice, and after Pollepalli Yengana had had an interview with the King, the latter was satisfied and the proposal dropped.[6]

[1] 17 F.S.G. 22, 23, 24. These letters were sent through Venkatapati, who was given discretion as regards the delivery of some of them, in case matters had been remedied (Fort let. 15 Aug., ibid. 25–6). Those to Shah Ragia and Fatehmia were not delivered (ibid. 45).

[2] Fort let. 14 July, O.C. 4100, ff. 1–2.

[3] 27 F.S.G. 44.

[4] Fort let. 9 Aug., 17 F.S.G. 29.

[5] 27 F.S.G. 43–4, 45.

[6] Venkatapati's let. 3 Aug., ibid. 41–2. Another account of the matter, however, says

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The Dutch about the same time were striving hard to get a return for their services at San Thomé, their request being that they should have Pulicat and Palakollu free, and Masulipatam on the same terms as the English had their factory at the latter place.[1] They contrasted their treatment with that of the English who (they said) had helped the French and had Madras for 1,200 pagodas, and backed up their arguments with a present of 30,000 pagodas. Venkatapati on 3 August reported the grant to them of Pulicat free of rent up to the amount of 10,000 pagodas, this figure presumably being fixed to put them on the same level as the English who, according to the Dutch, got this sum from Madras.[2] The grant was not long-lived, for by 4 October it had been cancelled by the fickle King and the town resumed.[3]

Chennupalli Mirza, an old enemy of the Company, was also the cause of trouble and interference with trade. He was now in power up-country in charge of the poligars, described also as 'naiques of the woods', and his exactions led to their breaking out into rebellion.[4] In the disturbances the watchmen of these poligars attacked some merchants sent by Kasi Viranna with money to buy cloth and (as Langhorn wrote to the Mirza) 'surprized the said merchants, putting their launces to their breast, threatning them very much, and tyed them all by the armes, blind-fowling them, and took away from them the summe of 350 pagodas in ready money, besides other things as eare-rings and finger-rings, etc., clouts, and all whatsoever they found aboute them and went away'. He called on Chennupalli, as the chief official in those parts, to inquire and punish the poligars responsible, and cause restitution to be made, so as to avoid the alternative of representations to the King.[5]

In July Langhorn, through Venkatapati, again represented the necessity for the demolition of the fortifications of San Thomé, arguing that it would be easier for the French to seize and hold a fortified town than to build on and fortify an 'open, naked peece of ground'. He warned the King and Madana against the French, asking them to consider 'how unfitting a people these French are to be entrusted with any Fort, or indeed factoryes' in his dominions.[6] On 15 August he raised the matter again,[7] but before that date his persistent and determined

that the King merely postponed consideration of it till his return from the visit he was going to pay to Masulipatam (O.C. 4178, ff. 9–10; *M.R.* 90).

[1] O.C. 4100, f. 2.
[2] 27 F.S.G. 40–1.
[3] Ibid. 47.
[4] Fort let. 14 July, O.C. 4100, f. 2; Fort let. 9 Aug., 17 F.S.G. 30. As to the 'poligars', see p. 48 *n.*
[5] Fort let. 19 Sept., 17 F.S.G. 27.
[6] Fort let. 7 July, ibid. 19.
[7] [illegible].

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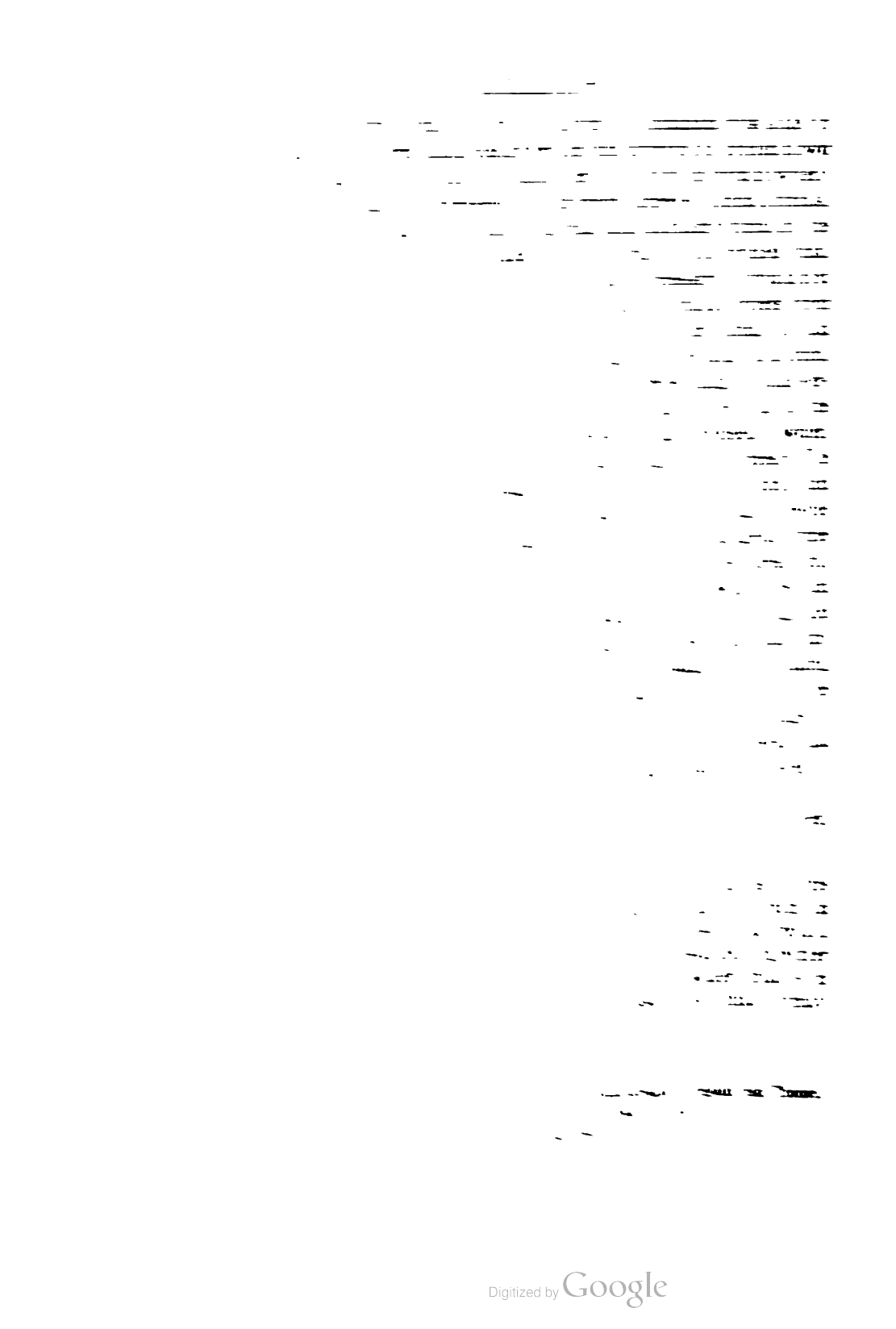

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Muhammad Jama was commended as an 'understanding person', and Langhorn was enjoined to confer with him and to use diligence and expedition.[1] Venkatapati, in sending on this farman, added his advice that Langhorn should assist by secretly sending an expert to mine the walls and blow them up with powder, which would please the King.[2] Langhorn replied promptly to the King's letter on 14 October, saying that, as other friendly nations laid claim to San Thomé, he could not take part in razing it without orders from his King, and that, though he desired the prosperity of His Highness's dominions, he must be just to all other 'freinds and allyes of the King my Lord, for who is not soe to all is not at all'.[3] This is the last reference to the matter in this year and leaves the work of demolition in progress, with Langhorn, who had incited the King to it, secretly helping but refusing to take any open part in it.

Six ships—the *Ann*, *Success*, *Loyal Subject*, *Bombay Merchant*, *Unity*, and *Samuel and Henry*—had been dispatched for the Coast and the Bay at the end of 1674.[4] They carried a cargo of bullion and goods valued at a little over £200,000, of which £100,000 was consigned to the Fort, £35,000 to Masulipatam, and £65,000 to the Bay.[5] The *Bombay Merchant* was, according to the Company's orders, to be provided with cargo to the value of £12,000 and an unspecified amount of saltpetre and dispatched with all speed to Bantam, there to be reladen and sent home. The other ships, after unloading the goods and bullion consigned to the Fort, were to sail for Masulipatam and the Bay.[6] The *Bombay Merchant* was the first to arrive, which it did on 23 June; the *Ann*, *Success*, and *Unity* followed on 24 June, and the *Samuel and Henry* on 28 June. The *Ann* sailed direct for the Bay on 3 July, the *Success* and *Unity* for Masulipatam and the Bay on 7 July, and the *Samuel and Henry* for the same places on 10 July. The *Loyal Subject* did not reach Madras till 9 July, having buried twenty-one of her men at sea, and the rest being sickly: she was supplied with such men as could be found and sent on to Masulipatam and the Bay on the 27th. The *Bombay Merchant* proceeded to Masulipatam on 10 August to deliver goods there, and returned in September to Madras, whence she sailed for Bantam about 5 October, taking with her a cargo valued at 31,530 pagodas.[7]

[1] 27 F.S.G. 46.
[2] Let. 4 Oct., ibid. 46–7.
[3] 17 F.S.G. 33.
[4] Desp. 23 Dec. 1674, 5 L.B. 144–5.
[5] Ibid. 149.
[6] Ibid. 145–6.
[7] Fort let. to Co. 16 July, 31 Aug., & 3 Oct., O.C. 4100, ff. 1, 2, 3, 5; Fort let. 26 July, 10 Mas. 6.

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The *Return* arrived from Bantam on 23 June, having been delayed by contrary winds and 'streams', as well as by sickness on board and 'other wants'. She sailed for Surat on 1 September and carried with her some time-expired men and 'blacks' who were willing to undertake the voyage to supplement her crew. She also took for service at St. Helena three slaves who, 'being condemned for thefts, and two of them sent by their creditors, cost [the Company] but pagodas 20'.[1]

There had been complaints from Bantam of the cargoes sent there from the Coast, and the Company said it had often heard that goods brought from it by other nations were 'more acceptable and vendible' than those procured by the Coast factories. The Agent and Council said this was partly due to the fact that advices from Bantam as to the exact goods required had often not come to hand, especially during the Dutch war. A second complaint that the Fort had failed to accept a bill of exchange drawn on them was excused by lack of cash and want of orders from the Company to accept such bills. A further complaint that part of the stock sent to Bantam was not in the form of rials of eight, 'Sevill and Mexico', met with the reply that there had been none to send and no possibility of securing any, as those received from the Company had all gone to the Bay.[2]

The despatch brought out by the ships this year contained the conclusions and orders of the Company on the conduct of those responsible for the unfortunate naval engagement with the Dutch off Petapoli in 1673 (pp. 241–6). The Company showed a rather surprising leniency in their attitude towards their defaulting commanders in spite of their heavy losses both in prestige and property. They wrote:[3]

Wee take notice what you write concerning our fleets ingaging the Dutch, and alsoe of severall advices we had from others concerning the behaviour of our comanders, which we have examined and duly considered, and have found it a matter of difficulty what to resolve therein concerning perticuler persons, for though for want of Councell in some, and irregular actings in others, we have suffered in our reputation and estate, yet in regard they had been in fight for us and done some particular services that might mittigate other neglects, we have upon their due sense of their actings and ingageing to behave themselves like commanders for the future, forborne to proceed soe strictly against them as otherwise we might have done, and we hope by their wisdom, faithfullness, and industry, they will deserve that favour we have shewn them.

[1] O.C. 4100, ff. 2, 3.
[2] Desp. 23 Dec. 1674, 5 L.B. 146; O.C. 4100, f. 3.
[3] 5 L.B. 143.

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It also contained a large number of directions for the management of the Company's business. All matters were to be decided in consultation by a majority of votes, and in case of dissent reasons were to be recorded and sent home. The Fort authorities were enjoined 'not wholly to rely (as now you doe) upon Verona only, or upon any one or two merchants or brokers, for the doing of all business', and to take it out of his hands and employ others in it by degrees. Good relations were to be established with the governors of places where cloth was made, so that Kasi Viranna or others could do business there only as servants of the English, and that others than he who were so employed would be able to do the Company's business equally well; but care was to be taken that they did not hinder and prejudice one another in one and the same place.[1] Commodities were to be sold at the port towns if possible, otherwise at places where the demand for them was good, but not at places where there were no factories. The buying of Bengal raw silk at the Fort was wholly prohibited. The usual customs were to be charged on all commodities except those of the Company, and all persons were to be dealt with equally, neither Viranna nor any others being favoured. Exact discipline was to be kept and constant guards; if the French were still at San Thomé, a fair correspondence was to be maintained with them, but the Fort authorities were to be vigilant lest a war should break out and the French surprise them.[2]

The despatch further laid down scales of pay for apprentices, writers, and factors. The first were to get £5 a year for five years, £10 for the next two years, and then £20 for three years more; writers were given £10 for five years, increased to £20 for three more years; and factors on a salary of £20 or £25 were to get £30 for three years after their covenanted term of five years was over, while those on £30 or £35 were similarly to get £40 for three more years. The increases were made dependent on 'ability and faithfullness' or 'if found deserving'. The apprentices in their early service were to receive their full pay quarterly in India, but later only half was to be paid yearly in India; and, except for writers in the first five years of service, the higher grades of the Company's servants similarly were to receive only half of their salaries quarterly in India.[3] The Company's desire to encourage the study and

[1] Ibid. 147.

[2] Ibid. 148. The Company also approved of the reason given by the Fort for not clothing the English garrison soldiers 'in coates', but asked whether all soldiers should not be put into them, i.e. given a uniform. For previous correspondence on the point, see Love, i. 375–6.

[3] 5 L.B. 151. Sixteen writers were sent out this year, five for the Fort, four for Masulipatam, and seven for the Bay (ibid. 149).

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knowledge of the vernacular amongst their servants was shown by an injunction that the Agent and Council should 'use all possible meanes that the young men that came out the last year, and those that come out this year, may be taught the language of the country with what expedition may be'.[1] Orders were given that the carriage and demeanour of chaplains at the Coast and Bay should be examined and that, if any were found 'scandalously vitious', they should be sent home.[1] Mr. Brinley, a minister on one of the ships who had been entertained as a school-master at the Fort, was to have a salary of £30 for that post, and a gratuity of £20 a year, if qualified and sober.[2]

Another requirement in the despatch was that lists of all English factors and soldiers, showing the time of their arrival in India, and of Englishmen not in the Company's service, with details of their places of birth and former habitations, should be sent home yearly. Among minor matters the Agent and Council were blamed for the delay in settling matters with Jearsey and ordered to bring his accounts to a 'fair and just conclusion' and send them home.[3] Hugh Squire, a surety for Jearsey, had proposed that the latter should be allowed to deposit with the Company £1,000 in money or goods to replace bonds given as security for Jearsey; the Company accordingly gave permission for him to send home in its ships non-prohibited goods to the value of 2,000 old pagodas, to remain in the hands of the Company until accounts were adjusted.[4] Jearsey was given leave to stay one more year in India, if his behaviour was not prejudicial; but if those at the Fort thought that it had been or was likely to be so, or if he was unwilling to send the goods to England, they were to send him home by one of the first ships proceeding there.[5]

To assist the Company's officers at Madras and for the Company's own satisfaction in dealing with 'miscarriages' at Masulipatam and disorders elsewhere, the Company sent out with the ships a Commissioner, Major William Puckle, of whose 'abillity and fidellity' they were assured, and 'authorised him to have inspection into all our affaires at the Fort, Metchlepatan [with its] adjacent factories, and all our factories in the Bay of Bengala'. He was to proceed on the ships to Masulipatam and return with them when they came back from the Bay, in order to examine affairs at the Fort, and to send an account of

[1] 5 L.B. 152.
[2] Ibid. 149. In *Ct. Min.*, 1674–6, 120, his name is given as 'Bringle'.
[3] 5 L.B. 148.
[4] Ibid. 151. Cf. *Ct. Min.*, 1674–6, 95–6, and p. 275 *post.*
[5] 5 L.B. 151

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his proceedings by the homeward-bound ships. He was then to go on to the Bay, inspect and settle affairs there, and return home by the next year's ships. He was to be 'third' at the Fort and 'second' at Masulipatam and the Bay, when there. All respect, encouragement, and assistance in the examination of abuses at the Fort were to be afforded him, and at Masulipatam and the Bay he was to have freedom to peruse books and examine persons, and to be given assistance 'for the finding out of abuses and miscarriages', so that the guilty might be discovered and those who had dealt faithfully approved.[1]

Puckle on arrival took his place in the Council at the Fort, and his name appears as taking part in a consultation of 30 June, and also as approving of a decision on 7 July regarding the dispatch of ships to Masulipatam and the Bay, he himself being a passenger in the *Success* to Masulipatam.[2] By this decision the *Success* and the *Ann* were to proceed immediately to Masulipatam and the Bay without waiting for all the treasure to be minted, while the *Samuel and Henry* was to be detained for some days to take on some of the gold in the mint and the *Bombay Merchant* was to follow later with a larger supply.[3]

The Company had not been satisfied with some of the cloth sent home,[4] though they accepted the war as a partial excuse; and the consultation of 30 June recorded that 'Cassa Verona, Vencaty Naraine and Allangalapilly [Allingall Pillai], and the rest of the Hon. Companys 26 chief merchants',[5] had been sent for and acquainted with the Company's criticisms of the badness and dearness of their cloth. As the merchants had in recent years suffered heavy losses in the wars and disorders, and had lost rather than gained from their transactions, they were 'very much discouraged from engageing any more in the employment'. Among their difficulties were the proportion of fine goods to coarse, the dimensions required, the scarcity of cotton and weavers, and 'the strange misgovernment of these countrys since the King has left the whole administration of his kingdomes unto Bramanys, a generation never to be satisfied or relyed upon, being continually raising of extortions upon them and the whole country'. It was only

[1] Ibid. 147. Major Puckle was also given a separate commission (ibid. 156–8). He was appointed on the recommendation of the Deputy-Governor of the Company, Major Robert Thompson, and appears to have been connected with a firm of London merchants, two of whom, William and Thomas Puckle, became sureties for Major Puckle's son, Samuel, on his appointment as a writer (*Ct. Min.*, 1674–6, 46, 111, 127).

[2] Fort con. 30 June & 7 July, 1 F.S.G. 49–51 (*M.R.* 70–2).

[3] 1 F.S.G. 50–1 (*M.R.* 71–2). [4] 5 L.B. 143–4.

[5] A list of names of the Hon. Company's merchants, thirty-nine in number, is given at 1 F.S.G. 58 (*M.R.* 76). In addition to those named it is there stated that there were 'many others'.

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with much difficulty that the Agent and Council were able to prevail on them to provide the goods required for the year's shipment at the previous year's rates; but they succeeded at length in doing so, and the merchants undertook to do all they could to have the cloth made according to requirements.

When this was finished the Agent and Council proceeded to the sale of the goods from Europe, and (though the merchants had almost all the previous year's lead and woollen goods on their hands) they agreed to take over the new quantities at agreed prices, in part-exchange for the calicoes bespoken from them. The goods consisted in the main of lead, copper, broadcloth, cloth rashes, scarlet, coral, vermilion, quicksilver, and brimstone.[1]

In these and other difficulties Kasi Viranna did useful service to the Company, and the Agent and Council reported to them on 16 July that but for his influence no merchant would venture to buy calicoes at all. He himself along with the two sons and two brothers of Beri Timmanna, former chief merchant, took on a quarter of the Company's business, and the other merchants the remainder; but even in the present difficult year he accepted responsibility for the latter, as he had done hitherto, though with some reluctance, as he desired to be responsible for his own share only. Besides this he agreed to bear half the losses caused by the 'woodmen' (see p. 139).[2] He had now in his hands all the coast from Madras to Armagaon,[3] except Pulicat; he had also been offered the district of Poonamallee, but had been persuaded by the Agent to decline it, as it would have taken him off the Company's business. It was no wonder that Langhorn and his Council held (as they wrote to the Company) that he was 'a most necessary person' who had been misrepresented to them.[4] The merchants expressed their great dissatisfaction at the holding up by the Company of the 9,000 pagodas claimed by him and the heirs of Timmanna,[5] and were only persuaded to make an agreement for the year's investment on Major Puckle's promise to inquire into the matter and write to the Company about it.[6]

Trade difficulties were by no means over when the merchants undertook to supply the goods required. A consultation of 28 September

[1] Fort con. 30 June, 1 F.S.G. 49–50 (*M.R.* 70–1).
[2] Fort let. 16 July, O.C. 4100, f. 2.
[3] About sixty miles north of Madras along the coast.
[4] Ibid. f. 1.
[5] The Company gave detailed reasons for refusing to pay this claim in its despatch of 8 Jan. 1675 (5 L.B. 166).
[6] Fort con. 30 June, 1 F.S.G. 50 (*M.R.* 70).

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records efforts on the part of Herries, who as warehouse-keeper was responsible for the sorting of cloth, to improve the quality of that brought in and meet the complaints of the Company. To this end he rejected much of it, but with the effect of discouraging the merchants, who said that 'the unusuall and unheard of irregularitys now permitted and acted in this country makes them to dread to remember the contract with your Honours'.[1]

On this the merchants were sent for and 'blamed severely' by the Agent and Council. They, apart from Kasi Viranna, answered at length, explaining their difficulties. They had sent their representatives, had agreed to act jointly, and had raised the wages of their weavers to get a better quality of cloth; but after this settlement horsemen sent by Madana and the King came to Karedu and other places, and on pretence of discovering diamonds and hidden treasure seized two chief merchants at Karedu, their families and property, extorting all they had from them by 'vyolence and torments, even to the breaking of some of their limnes [limbs]'. Similar happenings elsewhere caused the representatives of the merchants to run away amongst the woods, where it was only by large presents that they managed to save their lives and property, and though the representations made by the Agent and Kasi Viranna to Golconda had resulted in the horsemen being withdrawn and some restitution made, much had been lost.[2] The merchants further complained that extortions by Chennupalli Mirza under the King's orders had driven the 'woodmen and watchmen' into hostilities against all the neighbouring countries, 'killing and robbing all they could meet with'. On account of this the weavers had deserted their dwellings and had fled, mostly to the 'Chengy [Gingi] country', for shelter.[3] This caused further losses of money advanced by the merchants: those that remained, finding cotton scarce and dear, were making their thread thinner, and the cloth was therefore not so thick as was intended, but had to be accepted as no other was available. A final grievance was that Herries in his sorting was very severe and rejected most of the cloth they brought to him. The merchants, therefore, said that they could bring in no more, and that either he must be more lenient in his sorting or that prices must be raised. The Agent and Council gave them little sympathy. They professed themselves 'much scandalized' and rebuked them, but to no effect.

It appeared that Kasi Viranna's cloth was much better than that of the other merchants, and he explained that the others did not look

[1] 1 F.S.G. 52 (*M.R.* 72–3). [2] As to this, cf. pp. 137–8. [3] Cf. p. 139.

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after their weavers properly, whereas he sent five of his servants to each centre—eighteen in all—with a circuit assigned to each, to look after the business better and remedy whatever was amiss. As the other merchants were behaving 'so unhandsomly', he promised to do all he could to comply with what was demanded, but his loss would be great and he begged that the sorting might be less severe; otherwise he could not deal again with the Company in business of this nature. In spite of this, the Agent and Council were unyielding and refused to interfere with the strictness of Herries in his sorting. Though Kasi Viranna made a further appeal for consideration, they sent him and the other merchants away with strict charges for 'the goodness and seasonableness of the investment', but they held out hopes that the Company would consider the matter of the 9,000 pagodas.[1]

In the same consultation the Agent and Council recounted at length the necessity for making advances, and the danger of bad debts if the merchants were dealt with individually, and concluded that, if they were to deal with the merchants apart from Kasi Viranna, they must have authority to make the necessary advances to them. They resolved to write to the Company accordingly on the matter. They finally heard Herries in explanation of his difficulties, expressed themselves as sensible of his great care and pains, which they resolved to represent to the Company, and enjoined on him the use of his utmost skill and diligence.[2]

In November Langhorn sent two letters to Pavillon, the Dutch Governor at Pulicat. These gave news of the arrival at Bombay in August of two French ships with provisions, ammunition, and money intended for the relief of San Thomé. They had taken eighteen months on the journey from Europe, and their laggard progress had proved fatal to their mission and to the French forces.[3] With the letters were forwarded copies of two treaties between the Dutch and English, one the 'maine treaty', and the other one 'preliminary for our Honourable East India Company', as to relations between the Dutch and English Companies. They were in English and no translations were sent, as Hinmers, who was the only one at the Fort capable of translating them, was very busy.[4]

[1] Fort con. 28 Sept., 1 F.S.G. 53–5 (*M.R.* 73–4).

[2] 1 F.S.G. 56–7 (*M.R.* 75–6).

[3] The two ships were a man-of-war, the *Rubis*, which left France in Feb. 1674, and the *Heureuse*, a flute belonging to the French Company. Cf. Kaeppelin, 172, and *E.F.* i. 123, 250.

[4] Fort let. undated & 15 Nov., 17 F.S.G. 34, 36. They were acknowledged by Pavillon with thanks, though he had no one with him to translate them (27 F.S.G. 47, 48). The 'maine' treaty

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Of the town of Madras the records of the year give little information beyond a statement that it was increasing.[1] In May it was resolved to rebuild the paddy banksall (warehouse), then in ruins, which had been built sixteen years before by Beri Timmanna and Kasi Viranna, the chief merchants, and to transfer to the Company a small imposition on paddy and rice brought to the town, which they had been allowed to receive in return for the expense they had incurred.[2]

Matters connected with the fortifications received attention. In May a jetty which Jearsey had unauthorizedly built on the river, presumably for his private trade, and which masked the guns of two points on that side, was declared a source of danger that had to be removed; and Jearsey was also ordered to close up a door which he had opened onto the river contrary to orders.[3]

On 28 September the interpreter, Thomas Clarke, 'a person soe well deserving of the Honourable Company', was ordered to be compensated for a house outside the Fort which had been demolished as a military precaution during the troubles with the Dutch. The consultation about it states that, in pulling down his house, he had set other inhabitants who dwelt near the Caldera point a good example of obedience in a time of danger, when the Dutch were hourly expected to assault the place on that side. The justices of the choultry were directed to call on the inhabitants outside the Fort walls to contribute towards the damage up to the amount of 100 pagodas, the value of the materials. The ground belonged to the Company and had neither paid rent nor been leased, so no compensation was given for it. Kasi Viranna was similarly awarded 130 pagodas disbursed by him for the removal of sand from the sea wall of the town, to be paid by the same inhabitants.[4]

On 1 October it was resolved that no buildings or gardens should be allowed from the 'great ditch' which was between the 'Gentu town' and the 'potters town' along the river up to its winding to the north,

was that of Westminster, which was concluded on 17 Feb. 1674; but the peace did not become operative in India until 24 Oct. 1674. Meanwhile ships of the Dutch and English Companies were given *interim* protection by passes (*E.F.* i. 103; *Ct. Min.*, 1674–6, vi, 18, 29). The 'preliminary' treaty perhaps means the proposals of July 1674 for a subsidiary treaty to settle disputes regarding the possessions and trade of the two nations in the East Indies (*Ct. Min.*, 1674–6, xxix, 62–4), as the treaty was not concluded till 18 March 1675 (ibid. 168–70).

[1] Fort con. 1 Nov., 1 F.S.G. 59 (*M.R.* 77).

[2] Fort con. 7 May, 1 F.S.G. 7 (*M.R.* 42).

[3] 1 F.S.G. 8 (*M.R.* 43).

[4] 1 F.S.G. 51–2 (*M.R.* 72). The proposed tax was strongly opposed by the town people (including the Company's merchants), who shut up their shops and demonstrated against it, 'being ready to forsake the place if the Agent and Councell had not timely pacifyed them by desisting from the said leviation. They did not vallue the summe, but the precedent' (Fort con. 29 Feb. 1676, *M.R.* 88; cf. Love, i. 385–6).

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as far as was necessary for washing calicoes, since 'on occasion of troubles with the Mores or others' it was only there that it was possible to protect them with the 'Fort ordinance'. The justices were also instructed to clear neighbouring sand or ground of all houses or gardens, as that space would also be useful for the same washermen.[1]

With the increase of the town there was a corresponding growth in the business of the choultry, and on this account as well as because the notary John de Sessia was growing old, he was allowed an assistant at one pagoda a month with the prospect of a rise.[2]

About sixteen recruits for the English garrison were enlisted to fill vacancies by death, desertion, &c.; and the garrison was divided into two companies without any increase of officers. Ensign James Betts was, however, promoted to be lieutenant, 'being an old and deserving officer and sufferer in the late troubles of Sir Edward Winter', with a salary increased to 300 fanams (about 75*s.*) a month.[3] In this year the commandant, Captain Philip O'Neale, and other military officers of the garrison seem to have written home about their proper place at the Company's table.[4] Puckle's diary describes O'Neale as 'a very good soldyer and a sober man that deserves incouragement'.[5] The many punch-taverns and victualling-houses in the town were a cause of disorders amongst the soldiers, and the Council decided that no unmarried person should be permitted to keep one, and that others should do so only with the permission of the Governor, while no soldier or any other person was to stay in one 'after the ringing of the bell for 8 of the clock in the evenings'.[6]

In the latter part of the year Venkatapati fell sick. On 4 October he was apparently better, writing, 'I have much mended of my sickness'.[7] He died on 19 October, and Langhorn, who during the year had expressed displeasure with his work and administered severe rebukes, now acknowledged his merits as 'a very good servant to the Honourable Company'.[8] The news of his death was conveyed in a letter from his son Vira Ragava (also referred to as 'Virago') on 21 October, in which he reported that Madana, Akanna, and Pollepalli Yengana had condoled with him and encouraged him to carry on his father's

[1] 1 F.S.G. 58 (*M.R.* 76). As to the position of the 'great ditch', &c., see Love, i. 384 *n.*

[2] Fort con. 1 Nov., 1 F.S.G. 59 (*M.R.* 77); cf. Love, i. 377.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Desp. 15 Dec. 1676, 5 L.B. 371. The Company asked the Agent and Council to report the past practice, with a direction that the military should be always subordinate to the civil authority (ibid.).

[5] 12 Mas. 73.

[6] Fort con. 7 May, 1 F.S.G. 7 (*M.R.* 42).

[7] 27 F.S.G. 47.

[8] Fort let. 17 Nov., 17 F.S.G. 37.

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employment, promising him their assistance, and that, with Langhorn's favour, he hoped to do this 'much better than my father did'.[1] In reply Langhorn on 17 November, after expressing sorrow at the loss of his 'good father', appointed him in the latter's place and sent him three yards of scarlet as a tashrif to wear for the Company's sake when he visited Madana and the other great men. He also sent up his uncle, Wardappa, to stay with and help him for some time. He was given instructions to finish off the current business and get receipts for the three years' rent, meanwhile retaining those received from Chennupalli Mirza for the years 1674 and 1675. On 9 November Langhorn had written to Venkatapati, inquiring as to an order from the King to pay 500 pagodas to one Mahmud Eiammall Beague (apparently the same man as Muhammad Jama) which had reached him bearing the King's 'chop', but which he questioned, as the seal was not the usual one, nor had notice of the order been given him and the town-rent was not due till the following 1 June. This letter was written after Venkatapati's death and apparently some rumour of it had reached Madras, for Langhorn wrote: 'We heare a little bad news. If it be true, his sonne must open this and doe the business.'[2] In the letter of 17 November he instructed Venkatapati's son to find out the King's wishes as to this money, and informed him that Kasi Viranna had sent part of the sum, so that the King's business at San Thomé should not be hindered.[3]

MADRAS, 1676

THE first event of importance was the arrival of the five ships from the Bay and Masulipatam towards the end of January—the *Ann* on the 18th, the *Success* and the *Samuel and Henry* on the 22nd, and the *Loyal Subject* and the *Unity* on the 24th. They were quickly laden with additional cargo, so as to be all dispatched to England about ten days after their respective arrivals.[4] With the two ships that reached Madras on the 22nd came Puckle, as well as Mohun and some of the witnesses summoned on his behalf (p. 291). On 23 January the two sloops from the Bay, *Arrival* and *Ganges*, brought Clavell and some more cargo for England.[5] The Council, now enlarged to eight by the addition of Clavell

[1] 27 F.S.G. 48.
[2] 17 F.S.G. 35.
[3] Ibid. 37.
[4] Fort let. 7 Feb. & 8 March, 18 F.S.G. 1, 2, 3.
[5] P.D. 12 Mas. 67; Fort let. 9 March, 18 F.S.G. 5. The sloops *Arrival* and *Ganges* were decked vessels of 70 and 40 tons respectively, used mainly for the transport of factory goods between Hugli and Balasore (pp. 357, 390). That they had more than a sloop's customary one mast is shown by a reference (p. 411) to each of them having to cut her mainmast in a storm.

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and Puckle, met on 25 January and decided to buy 91 bales of calicoes and 68 candies of pepper; this was in order to lessen the great want of tonnage for the homeward ships which, owing to various difficulties, had arisen in spite of all their efforts to hasten and complete the investment.[1] Again on 31 January they bought about 20 tons of Bengal rice and 18 more bales of cloth for the same reason.[2]

After the dispatch of the ships, Langhorn and his Council took up the inquiry into the dispute between Mohun and Mainwaring. On 27 January Mohun sent the Council a protest against their having put him out of his chiefship at Masulipatam (p. 255) and charged them with trading privately in the Company's commodities.[3] It was not, however, till 16 February that they asked him to come to the Fort for a hearing of any testimony he had to offer in his defence. From Jearsey's house, where he was staying, he replied that his most material witnesses were still at Masulipatam, but that he was ready to attend the Council, as requested, if he was given a day's notice in writing.[4] Accordingly, on 18 February the Council held a special meeting, at which Mohun appeared and produced six witnesses for examination on oath. A wrangle ensued as to procedure. Langhorn said Mohun should first declare the substance of their proposed evidence. In answer, Mohun offered to put in interrogatories for their examination, provided this was conducted by Puckle and not by Langhorn, who was 'chargeable'.[5] The Council decided against this, as the Company's Charter of 1661 authorized only a president, chief, agent, or governor to examine any person on oath. Furthermore, they told Mohun that, as Mainwaring had objected to his witnesses being examined in his absence (p. 295), they could not at this hearing be examined for the Company, but only on Mohun's behalf, provided he submitted interrogatories for the purpose. Mohun 'absolutely refused' this proposal, and consequently the inquiry ended without any progress.[6] Mohun's request for a refund of the expenses involved in his obeying the summons to come to Madras was also refused.[7] In a lengthy letter to the Governor of the Company,

[1] Fort con. 25 Jan., 1 F.S.G. 59–60 (*M.R.* 77). The commander of the *Ann* 'protested' against the Council for short tonnage (12 Mas. 70).

[2] Fort con. 31 Jan., *M.R.* 78.

[3] Puckle's diary, 12 Mas. 70.

[4] Mohun's diary, 36 F.S.G. 5–7; Fort con. 16 Feb., *M.R.* 79.

[5] Cf. Mohun's petition against Langhorn in Jan. 1676 (*M.R.* 143).

[6] Fort con. 18 Feb., *M.R.* 85–6; Mohun's let. 28 March, 36 F.S.G. 8–10; Fort let. 6 March, 18 F.S.G. 7.

[7] Mohun's let. 28 Feb., 36 F.S.G. 10; Fort let. 6 March, 18 F.S.G. 7; Mas. let. to Mohun, 7 & 8 Jan., 6 Mas. 4–5.

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he complained bitterly of the discourteous treatment he had received from Langhorn and his Council, saying he had not been invited to 'a meal or a glass of wine' by any of them, and that they discouraged visits to him, so that 'those that would [entertain him] durst not'. According to him even Puckle, who (he believed) was favourable to his impeachment of the Agent and Council, was not 'altogether exempt from their slightings and affronts, though not in so publique a manner'.[1] He considered all the Council except Puckle to be his enemies and said they treated him with scorn.[2] On the other hand, Langhorn said Mohun was 'huffing, cavilling, protesting, spying and enforming according to his generous disposition and principles'.[3] On 1 March Mohun shook the dust of Madras off his shoes, and left for Masulipatam by an overland route.[2]

The two sloops, *Arrival* and *Ganges*, sailed for Masulipatam about 9 March, taking Clavell, Puckle, and four of Mohun's witnesses. With Clavell's acquiescence, the *Ganges* was appointed to return with Mainwaring and other witnesses for their examination at the Fort and to take them back as soon as it was over.[4] Three writers at Madras, viz. Elihu Yale, Vincent Sayon, and Richard Browne, were lent to Puckle for his assistance while on tour in Bengal.[5]

Before Puckle's departure Langhorn and his Council considered various inquiries and proposals he had submitted about affairs at Madras, Masulipatam, and the Bay. The replies relating to Madras give some interesting information. The Company desired to get revenue from their lands there, including ground rents for private houses built on them. Puckle asked for enlightenment on this point. The answer shows that the 'paddy grounds' had been let to Kasi Viranna at a rental of 40 pagodas a year, the rate they had previously yielded. There were also some lands that had been reclaimed from the sandy shore, for which only six leases had been taken from occupants, as the others were unwilling to enter into such contracts.[6] No ground rents were taken for houses, as it was not usual to do so, 'inhabitants being courted, all the countrey over', and 'Governors and Avaldars gladly giving ground for houses and gardens to those that will build or plant upon it'. Puckle had drawn attention to the case of the Portuguese and mestizas (half-castes), who were allowed to dwell in the English town

[1] 36 F.S.G. 1–3. [2] 36 F.S.G. 10.
[3] Fort let. 8 Feb., 18 F.S.G. 2.
[4] Fort let. 18 Feb. & 6 March, ibid. 3, 7.
[5] Fort con. 3 March, *M.R.* 91; Fort let. 8 & 9 March, 18 F.S.G. 4, 5.
[6] Fort con. 16 & 29 Jan., O.C. 4178, ff. 1, 7 (*M.R.* 80, 88).

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without paying rent, whereas many of the English had to take houses in Black Town and pay for them. The Council said the reason for this was that the former had been invited to settle there by various Agents, and several had been advanced money to enable them to build on open land under the protection of the Fort guns. In return they did duty as 'trained bands' in watching on the outworks in times of trouble; but they had never paid any rent, nor taken out leases, because it was not the practice to do so where people had been invited to settle.[1] Puckle had asked whether it was safe to allow these Portuguese and other foreigners to remain in the New (Christian) Town: the Council replied that the mixture of nations prevented danger, while the Portuguese were not only peaceably inclined and disarmed, but also had a 'greater dependence' on the English than on any other power. They also considered that the French 'padres', who lived in the town, were preferable to Portuguese priests.[2] Another reply shows that a register of ships arriving at the road of Madras had been kept by the Agent, but not by the justices at the choultry, who were told to do this in future.[3] The weight of a maund at Madras is given as 25 lb., and that of a candy as 500 lb.[4] The measure of a coved (ell) is stated to be about 3 inches over half a yard, i.e. 21 inches.[5] Most of Puckle's proposals were rejected by Langhorn and his Council; but at his suggestion the two lieutenants, in the two garrison companies, were promoted to the rank of captain, though on their old pay till this might (as they hoped) be raised by the Company. The number of each company below the rank of sergeant was, for economy, also limited to 80 men plus drummers, except when emergencies required an increase.[6]

Writing to the Company after Puckle's death (p. 405), Langhorn made remarks about him which show that he was not favourably impressed by his character and behaviour. Thus he says:

It seems it grieved him to see his infallible rules proposed to the Agent and Councell to prove so light in the discussion, . . . as if that after so many years continuance on the place they were bound to

[1] Fort con. 16 & 29 Feb., O.C. 4178, ff. 1, 6–7 (*M.R.* 80, 87). Cf. Love, i. 385–6, 388.

[2] O.C. 4178, f. 7 (*M.R.* 88). Cf. Love, i. 378. [3] O.C. 4178, f. 6 (*M.R.* 87).

[4] O.C. 4178, f. 5 (*M.R.* 84). The Madras maund thus agreed with the corresponding weight at Masulipatam as given by Marshall in 1671 (*S.M.* ii. 178 *n.*). The Madras candy contained 20 maunds, as was usual (cf. Fryer, ii. 130, 131).

[5] O.C. 4178, f. 5 (*M.R.* 84). The Madras coved was therefore smaller than the 'lesser' Surat coved of 27 inches (Fryer, ii. 127). In Madapollam the coved was 20 inches (*S.M.* ii. 167). As to variations in these weights at different places and measurements, see W. H. Moreland, *From Akbar to Aurangzeb*, 336–8.

[6] Fort con. 3 March, *M.R.* 91. For Puckle's proposal see *M.R.* 92; cf. Love, i. 379.

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resign their judgments and experience to the novel illuminations of fresh and prejudicated [prejudiced] comers out, who can but take up the empty notions of raw and idle people amongst the fumes of punch bowls and warm tankards, the best vehicles of his intelligences. . . . Much more we could say, but he is dead.[1]

Puckle apparently complained that some of the consultations of the Council at the Fort did not get full assent. As to this, Langhorn wrote:

[*Précis.* This taxes him also, as he signed all consultations held in his presence;] his own irregular whisperings in time of consultations both here and at Metchlopatam, and pulling those of Councell aside, and into other rooms [were] never practised that we know of by any but himself.[2]

Again Langhorn says:

[*Précis.* We can't help noticing how he favours Mohun and all your factors at Metchlepatam . . . opposed to his silence in commendation of the Agent and Councell. He is] forward to show a causeless spleen against them in every trifling circumstance, so that one would think it were Metchlepatam which had served you [the Company] so punctually, so carefully, and so profitably all these six yeares, and not the Fort: [*précis.* it has only been well done there once in those years, and that only in the seven months when your Agent and Hinmers were there [1670–1] and did it: it was the only time you had full returns from there. . . . He reflects on the Agents intimacy with Clavell,[3] compared with the coldness to himself. This is but one instance of his peevishness or credulity.] It is not the Agents wont to make visits here to any single people, and alwayes to be civill to them who come to him, so that if he expected the Agent should have haunted his chamber as frequently as that sort of people which used to be about him, it could only be for want of consideration of his [the Agent's] place or leisure: but this we assure you there was never a consultation, . . . progress, nor recreation ever without him . . ., nor any accommodation he could desire refused him, though whether [through] age and infirmitys, or others discomposing him, his way was to receive most of our civillitys with the left hand.[4]

[1] O.C. 4215, appendix about some papers of Puckle, f. 4.

[2] Ibid., f. 1. According to Streynsham Master, Langhorn's conduct of Council meetings was weak: he says (Master Papers, No. 10), 'when the Council did meet there was nothing done regularly, but one walked one way and another walked another way in the roome, when the busyness was moved, which was spoken to but indifferently (*S.M.* i. 64–5).

[3] As to Puckle's relations with Clavell, Langhorn writes: [*Précis.* When he (Puckle), Clavell, and Smith were here, they were at variance, Clavell being then out of favour . . .] but soon after the wind changed and sett so hard in the contrary way as carryed all before it (O.C. 4215, same appendix, f. 2).

[4] O.C. 4215, appendix about Puckle's papers, ff. 3–4.

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On the other hand, Langhorn may have been biased against Puckle on account of his alleged disparagement of the Agent and Council, and the comments he made on the extent of Langhorn's private shipping and trade.[1] Moreover, the disappearance of Puckle's diary for 1676 and other important papers makes it difficult to judge between them.[2]

After the arrival of Mainwaring, Hatton, and Chamberlain from Masulipatam (p. 295), the Council in May continued its inquiry into the charges against Mohun. The sworn depositions of Hatton and Chamberlain were taken about them;[3] but the absence of Mohun necessarily affected their weight and prevented any completion of the proceedings. Nor was any report about them made to the Company. Langhorn also merely passed on to the Commissioners at Masulipatam the orders of the Company for a 'strict and thorough inquiry' into alleged illicit private trading by Mohun, Mainwaring, and Chamberlain.[4]

In June a quarrel between Herries and Keeble, an assayer at the mint (p. 22), over the price of some jeweller's work done by Keeble, resulted in his arrest. There was a fight between the two in the presence of the Governor and others, who parted them; and Keeble, whose nose bled as the result, threatened to have his revenge, 'though he were hanged for it'. At this Herries took alarm and requested the Council to confine Keeble till he gave security for keeping the peace. Langhorn and two of his Council, who were then present, passed an order accordingly. Keeble, however, managed to escape from his place of confinement, though there was a sentinel at the door; but in leaping over a wall of the Fort he sprained his ankle, which disabled him from getting away. It was not the first time, said Langhorn, that he had shown activity in climbing walls, as on a former occasion when he had got over those of Captain-Lieutenant Betts, 'then newly married and himself abroad', and he thought his having pardoned him for this might have increased Keeble's audacity. Consequently the Council ordered his committal as a prisoner to the cockhouse,[5] until he could be sent to

[1] O.C. 4215, appendix about Puckle's papers, f. 2.

[2] Cf. the list of Puckle's papers that were sent to England on the *Johanna* (*S.M.* i. 405–9). There were two copies of his diary for 1676, one for England and one for the Fort (ibid. 408); but neither appears to be extant now.

[3] Proceedings of 15 & 23 May, *M.R.* 146–59. Henry Colborne, the steward at Masulipatam, was also examined (ibid.).

[4] Desp. 24 Dec. 1675, 5 L.B. 209–10; Fort let. to Co. 23 July, O.C. 4215, f. 3; Fort let. to Mas. 31 July, 18 F.S.G. 25.

[5] Love (i. 395) says this was the lock-up in which Foxcroft was first confined. The latter was a 'by-hole', low and dark (*E.F.*, 1665–7, 123).

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England on the homeward ships. The next day, however, on his humble petition for forgiveness, he was again pardoned by Langhorn and his colleagues, and given his liberty.[1] One reason for this leniency may have been his recent marriage to the sister of John Nicks, the secretary of the Council; and in July Langhorn commended him to the Company for his diligence at the mint, which continued to be under the charge of Hinmers.[2]

Four of the five ships sent out this year to the Coromandel Coast reached Madras on 7 July, viz. *Eagle*, *Johanna*, *Falcon*, and *Surat Merchant*.[3] The *Eagle* brought out Streynsham Master, who had been in the Company's service at Surat from 1660 to 1671 and had been selected to succeed Langhorn on his leaving India in January 1678. Meanwhile he was to act as second of Council at Fort St. George, with supervisory powers over the factories under that Agency. His instructions were to proceed with the ships to Masulipatam and the Bay, inspect factories and pass orders for their better regulation. Another important part of his duties was to investigate and settle the various disputes between Company's servants that had arisen in those places. Having completed this task, he was to return with the ships to Madras at the end of the year.[4]

After the goods and bullion for the Fort[5] had been unladen, the ships left for Masulipatam and the Bay, the *Johanna* on 19 July, the *Eagle* and the *Falcon* on 31 July, and the *Surat Merchant* on 10 August.[6] They did not return to Madras during the year. The *Mary*, whose departure from England had been delayed, did not arrive till 7 August.[7] Her orders were to proceed to Bantam with a cargo worth about £10,000, which was to be provided at the Fort. Its purchase evidently took some time, as she did not sail for Bantam till 6 October.[8]

Langhorn told the Company that this order was very inconvenient, as

[1] Fort con. 5, 6, & 7 June, *M.R.* 93–4.

[2] Fort let. 23 July, O.C. 4215, ff. 5, 15. The Company had suggested that Keeble should be sent home, unless his work at the mint had improved (desp. 24 Dec. 1675, 5 L.B. 213: cf. *S.M.* i. 251 *n.*).

[3] Fort let. to Surat, PS. 12 July, 18 F.S.G. 20; O.C. 4215, f. 1.

[4] *S.M.* i. 1–2, 198–216, 228, 241, 251–61; 5 L.B. 223–4, 283–96. His appointment virtually superseded that of Major Puckle whom the Company now appointed to be chief at Masulipatam (*S.M.* i. 203, 253).

[5] For the value of their bullion and other cargo, see *S.M.* i. 132–3.

[6] Fort let. 18 & 31 July & 9 Aug., 18 F.S.G. 21, 25, 30; O.C. 4215, f. 1; *S.M.* i. 242–3.

[7] Fort let. 9 Aug., 18 F.S.G. 30; O.C. 4215, f. 16; Master's let. to Co. 30 Jan. 1677, 3A Misc. 16; *S.M.* i. 228.

[8] Desp. 24 Dec. 1675, 5 L.B. 221–2 (*S.M.* i. 259); Fort let. 4 Oct., 18 F.S.G. 35, 36; Fort con. 16 Sept., *M.R.* 101–2; *S.M.* i. 217–18.

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her chief cargo consisted of longcloth and sallampores that were badly wanted for the homeward ships; nor had they the supply of saltpetre for her that the Company desired.[1] A serious shortage in the year's investment was in fact soon anticipated. It was started early in February with money that remained over from the previous year's investment; but Kasi Viranna and the other merchants were backward in coming to a contract, and would not agree to any abatement off the usual prices above 10 per cent.[2] On the arrival of the ships, further contracts were made for the supply of calicoes, as well as the sale of broadcloth and other goods that had come from England; but the merchants were still disinclined to trade, being discouraged (the Council said) by the severity and restrictions of the Company in regard to sorting cloth, &c.[3] Another deterrent was a war that had broken out between the two Bijapur governors in the Carnatic, Sher Khan Lodi and Nasir Muhammad Khan of Gingee (the best place for the supply of coarse calicoes), in which each of them had wasted the other's country.[4] In October Langhorn became anxious about the backward state of the investment, as the goods received were worth only 5,000 pagodas, compared with 144,000 pagodas in the previous year, and the merchants said they could not make a faster delivery. He therefore suggested to the Bay Council their sending one of the ships to Bantam for a cargo of pepper that would help to meet the expected deficiency in tonnage; but Master and Clavell declined to take the responsibility of digressing from the Company's arrangements for the four ships without positive orders from the Fort 'for soe doing'.[5] In view of these difficulties the Council provisionally accepted sallampores of inferior quality, pending a reconsideration after Master had returned to Madras.[6] There was also great difficulty in selling the broadcloth received by the ships, and only about 10,000 pagodas' worth had been disposed of towards the end of July.[7]

[1] O.C. 4215, f. 11; Fort let. 9 Oct., 18 F.S.G. 37.

[2] Fort con. 9 Feb., *M.R.* 79; O.C. 4215, f. 10. Puckle contended that early in the season the abatement ought to be at least 20 per cent., but Langhorn contested this (O.C. 4215, appendix *re* Puckle's proposals, f. 3). The Company in Dec. 1677 (5 L.B. 495) objected to the 10 per cent. abatement as insufficient; and in 1678 Master got the merchants to make one of 20 per cent. (*S.M.* i. 74).

[3] Fort con. 21 July & 14 Sept., *M.R.* 95–7, 98–9; O.C. 4215, ff. 7, 9, 10.

[4] Langhorn's let. 7 Oct., 18 F.S.G. 37. Sher Khan Lodi was an Afghan protégé of Bahlol Khan, the agent of Bijapur, and had his capital at Valikandapuram in the north of the Trichinopoly district (Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, 231). As to the details of this warfare, see Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 284.

[5] Langhorn's let. to Master, 7 Oct., & Fort let. to Bay, 9 Oct., 18 F.S.G. 37; Bal. con. 14 Dec., *S.M.* ii. 69.

[6] Fort con. 14 Sept. & 1 Dec., *M.R.* 98–9, 103.

[7] Fort con. 21 July, *M.R.* 95–7; O.C. 4215, ff. 3, 9.

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The Company's despatch was accompanied by a statement of objections by its Auditor. In these he appears to have credited the accusation against Langhorn of taking a yearly bribe of 20,000 pagodas from Kasi Viranna, which the Agent said he had rebutted in 1674. Langhorn and Kasi Viranna again solemnly denied this slander at a Council meeting in September.[1] Langhorn sent a lengthy answer, which naturally showed considerable resentment at such attacks on him by the Auditor—his 'cavills and black bookes so peculiarly pecking at him'—and recommending the Company to give its servants 'encouragements [rather] then terrours' by 'Mr. Auditour... continually thundering out the Hon. Company's severity and taking [undue] advantages'.[2] The following sample of his remarks[3] will give an idea of Langhorn's involved and prolix style, as well as of the 'uncivil' tone he adopted in writing to the Company, which led to a sharp rebuke that he should 'manage [his] pen with more respect'.[4] He is referring to an assumption in the objections that the Company's servants do all they can to get money for themselves to the prejudice of their employers:

As if Mr. Auditour should argue it thus, here has been care enough taken [by the Company] to give you so little wages, that farr from any possibility of thriving by it [it] will not so much as bear the charges of those most eminent in the Service and therefore most exposed to Mr. Auditour, who will do his best to single out the likelyest deed, and then as if they had no walkes to feed in but his standing corne, its crime enough to have cast their heads in season, and if he cannot find where they have trespas't, rather then loose [lose] his prey, he will charge them for [accuse them of] not feeding of it while it was ranck in the blade, to keepe it from running up into stalk: like his pretence upon [objections taken to] mony advanced to the merchants, his [objections about] fanams, copper, rials and pieces of eight, sales for time, sorting, prices, bribes and other absurdities, which but for prolixity would no less quadrate and which might commodiously have been avoided by trading it for ones own accompt, as elsewhere practised. In short you

[1] Desp. 24 Dec. 1675, 5 L.B. 223; Fort con. 14 Sept., *M.R.* 99–101; O.C. 4215, appendix *re* Auditor's objections, ff. 9, 11. Langhorn refers to some papers of 18 Jan. 1674, which do not appear to be extant.

[2] O.C. 4215, ff. 12, 19; appendix *re* Auditor's objections, 21 pp.; appendix headed 'To the observations.'

[3] O.C. 4215, appendix *re* Auditor's objections, para. 20, ff. 15–16.

[4] Desp. 15 Dec., 5 L.B. 359. This censure related to previous letters from Langhorn. After receiving the letter, with which these and similar remarks were sent, the Company again censured him for 'indecent language', and said his answer to the Auditor was 'very free, though not plaine', and contained 'tart reflections and insignificant replies' (desp. 15 Dec. 1677, 5 L.B. 492, 495).

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[the Company's servants] were sent out as Gibeonites to wood and water, and wages and rules accordingly; now [he says] though you have done the business as well [as] and better then ever before, you and God has blest us in your service, all [of] which happened so because it be no otherwise, no thanks to God nor you, yet seing you have not buryed your own tallents whiles you improved ours, it has allwayes been fault enough in some governments to be worth the fleecing, we'll search you like the last dayes judgment, sow such tares and scandalls, carp at all things great and small, take every pott by the wrong handle, things well done for not consulted [for not being considered in Council], things consulted for not well done, and things for the best because no better, as if my place were not to make true audits but invectives, and have so many fetches at you that, right or wrong, if you be not more then men, we'll set you ashoare againe as poore as you went out like the fox in the granary. Though truly we hope it will be more humanely considered, and that seeing Mr. Auditour has no heaven in his guift to gratify our superrogations, and that the lower mansions goe along with the same keyes (for rewards and punishments should keepe hand in hand) he would leave off his instigating our Honoured Employers to these uncharitable censures, and thus seeking to confine us in these out parts of the Earth to a dry and thirsty land, without its springs, waylay our steps, corrupt our purest fountaines, nor debarr us from searching coasts and clearing wilds to make our own and our countrys way.

On the other hand, his answer is not all fulmination of that kind. It contains, for instance, some useful information on the condition of traders and weavers at this time and the difficulties in getting cloth from up-country for the investment. In the following passage[1] Langhorn is meeting the Auditor's objection to the practice of advancing money to merchants, brokers, or weavers, when making contracts with them.[2] He points out

the different stile of these arbitrary and slavish dominions from our Europe countrys, where justice is so legally circumscribed. In Europe industry is in favour, and propriety [property] secured, and particularly weavers of all sorts, like our Cloathyers and [? makers of] Italian fabricques, raise themselves vast estates. . . . But here the quite contrary, where they dare not hoord nor increase their estates to any bulk. It's meat for harpys; the merchants who are in some way of getting [money], spend it in a manner all in good workes and plentifull living, where they dare; [owing to the risk of extortion] reserving little else but creditt and a bare stock to carry on business. But the poore

[1] O.C. 4215, same appendix, f. 11.
[2] Cf. *S.M.* i. 135, O.C. 4215, ff. 24–5.

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weavers betweene their inbred way of feeding Brahmenys and the extortions of their Avaldars, live meerely from hand to mouth, with hardly a ragg to hide their shame; and seldome able to put a peece upon the loome without the money aforehand; insomuch that rather then starve, some pedling fellow traveling with his ox . . . may take advantage of their necessity and pick up here and there a little at his own prices. But for great quantitys one must either contract with them who deale up in the country, or send up factors and mony distributed up and down to deliver out among the weavers, who will not undertake but at market rates, on which report and competition (when more buyers than sellers) have their usuall effects; and the great danger of these poore fellowes dying or running away and other accidents, and charges, make price accordingly.

In the next citation[1] Langhorn deals with the objection that the prices of cloth charged to the Company sometimes exceeded those at which private traders obtained it. He says that some persons may pretend to bring in cloth cheaper than those at which the Company got it, so long as it may be sheltered under Veronas name, all the way as it passes along the country, but how to compleat such considerable investments and deale with the woodmen[2] the Juncanneers [customs-officers], the Avaldars, the Seerlascars, up and down the country, and bad debts inevitable, without some person of experience and repute to undertake it, is the great question.

Whereas Puckle had been merely asked to inquire whether it was to the Company's 'interest to deal with one, or two, or many merchants', Master's instructions included one expressing a definite opinion that Kasi Viranna's monopoly at Madras was undesirable, and enjoining him to deal with several merchants, so that there might be some competition.[3] He could not, however, do anything towards this, while Langhorn, who favoured this monopoly,[4] was in power.

The Agent and Council also strongly objected to the Company's restrictions in regard to the extent of private trade by its servants, and especially to the 'impracticable and destructive condition' by which

[1] O.C. 4215, appendix *re* Crandon's slanders, para. 21.

[2] As to the 'woodmen', see p. 139. In March the Council mentioned 'the late insults of the woodmen above Cangiawarram [Conjevaram] and Suddrasspatnam [Sadraspatam]' (Fort con. 3 March, *M.R.* 91); and in December a force of 4,000 horse and foot had been sent by the King of Golconda to subdue them (O.C. 4215, f. 26).

[3] Puckle's instrns., 5 L.B. 157; Master's instrns., para. 36, 5 L.B. 292 (*S.M.* i. 210–11). See also to the same effect desp. 13 March 1674 (p. 124 *ante*) & 15 Dec. 1676, 5 L.B. 147, 372.

[4] O.C. 4215, ff. 5–6, 18–9. Master also told the Company that 'no certain rule can be laid down in this case', and the arrangements for buying or selling goods should be discretionary (3A Misc. 15).

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such trade had to be registered, saying that the servants of other nations, such as the Dutch, Danes, and Portuguese, were not hampered in this way. He had not sent home this register hitherto,[1] nor does he appear to have done so this year.

Lingappa Podela, the Tarafdar of Poonamallee, again gave considerable trouble to the Agent and Council, especially in the latter part of the year. Thus in April they wished to get a letter from Golconda, confirming the rent of Triplicane at its accustomary rate of 50 pagodas a year; but Vira Raghavaya, who had succeeded his father Venkatapati (p. 151), reported that, though the sarkhail, Muhammad Salih,[2] agreed that this was the usual rate, the issue of such a letter had been delayed by some 'lies' sent by Lingappa.[3] A more serious intervention was his frequent stoppage of provisions coming to Madras, particularly from 6 September. In December he extended this blockade to calicoes and other goods for the Company by preventing their access to the Fort; and to meet the scarcity of provisions Langhorn asked the Masulipatam factory to send boats with rice and other grain, as well as wood for fuel, up to a cost of 1,000 pagodas.[4] These hostilities appear to have been mainly due to a dispute over the rates at which paddy was sold in the Madras market. Langhorn said Lingappa wanted to impose his own rates 'like [the royal monopoly for the sale of] salt in France'. On the other hand, Lingappa objected that the prices of local foodstuffs were being raised by the imposition of customs-duty on them, as well as by the rapacity of watchmen and others (including nautch-girls) who levied an additional toll on all grain delivered at Madras. He claimed to have an order from the King of Golconda authorizing him to sell local grain there at such rates as he might fix, and to prevent its importation from elsewhere.[5] Vira said Lingappa was also angry with Kasi Viranna for refusing to lend him money and with the Council for 'despising' and affronting him.[6] Langhorn petitioned the King to have the blockade

[1] Desp. 15 Dec., 5 L.B. 375. Cf. *E.F.* i. 273 as to this register. The Company overruled these objections in Dec. 1677 (5 L.B. 494).

[2] Md. Salih succeeded Md. Ibrahim as sarkhail in February, when the latter was promoted to be the Nawab and commander-in-chief: 27 F.S.G. 3, 4; O.C. 4215, f. 1 (Love, i. 356).

[3] Vira's let. 25 April & 7 May, 27 F.S.G. 6, 8.

[4] O.C. 4215 (let. 22 Dec.), f. 22; Fort let. 21 Dec., 18 F.S.G. 39 (*S.M.* i. 96).

[5] O.C. 4215, f. 23; Lingappa's let., &c., 27 F.S.G. 28–33; O.C. 4178, f. 7 (*M.R.* 88). The 'rapacity' to which Lingappa refers is probably accounted for by the customary dues that Langhorn recognized as justifiable in 1672 (*M.R.* 131–2). These included small allowances of grain for the 'Gentu pagoda', for 'Peddinag [Peddanaik] the watchman', and for one right-hand side girle' (i.e. a girl of the so-called 'right-hand' castes).

[6] Vira's let. 21 & 27 Sept., 27 F.S.G. 18, 24; O.C. 4178, ff. 9–10 (*M.R.* 90).

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raised, and sent him and the 'great men' many 'warme' letters about it; but though the requisite orders were promised in September, they were not issued till about the end of the year.[1]

Langhorn therefore resorted to retaliatory measures. In December he increased the garrison by enlisting 100 soldiers and 150 peons to reinforce the 'in' and 'out' guards. As many men as possible were kept 'in the field', fetching in provisions and turning out Lingappa's people for seven or eight miles around Madras. On 28 December he was able to tell the Company that this had at last induced Lingappa to 'rayse his bloccus for this time'.[2] There still, however, remained a fear that the latter's influence might cause trouble over the amount of the annual rent (1,200 pagodas) paid to Golconda for the town. To please the King, Lingappa wanted to increase the revenues of his district from 300,000 to 350,000 pagodas, and to raise the rent for Madras to 10,000 or 20,000 pagodas: consequently he was trying to upset the cowl granted by the Nawab Neknam Khan (p. 36), which Langhorn was anxious to get confirmed.[3] As a counter-measure, the latter was extra-conciliatory in dealing with the Golconda authorities. In April they asked him to pay the rent for Madras before it was due at the end of June, and he did so.[4] Again in October the Nawab wished to have the rent paid in advance, as he was in need of money for army expenses; and Langhorn promptly sent the 1,200 pagodas to Vira.[5] He stipulated, however, that the sum should not be paid, unless the Nawab passed a receipt for three years' rent paid in his predecessor's time, in place of the missing one given by Chennupalli Mirza,[6] who in July was reported to be 'dead of poyson'.[7] Golconda ministers said a present to the King was overdue, and in August the latter demanded a gift of broadcloth to the value of about 5,000 pagodas, of which to make a tent. In return he promised to give a new grant for Madras, confirming its existing rent and privileges.[8] The

[1] O.C. 4215, ff. 23, 25, 26; Vira's let. 27 Sept. & 4 & 20 Nov., 27 F.S.G. 25, 27, 28; orders to Lingappa, 27 F.S.G. 3.

[2] Fort con. 20 Dec., *M.R.* 104; O.C. 4215, ff. 25–6.

[3] Ibid., ff. 1, 13, 23, 26; let. 21 Sept. & 20 Dec., 27 F.S.G. 19, 32 & (next sec.) 1; O.C. 4178, f. 9 (*M.R.* 90).

[4] Vira's let. 25 April & 1 June, 27 F.S.G. 7, 11. Cf. O.C. 4215, f. 1 (Love, i. 356).

[5] Vira's let. 21 Oct., 4 Nov., & 20 Dec., 27 F.S.G. 25–6, 27 & (new sec.) 2. The army expenses were presumably due to Golconda forces having gone to help the Bijapuris under Bahlol Khan against the Mughals under Bahadur Khan (Vira's let. 25 April & 30 June, 27 F.S.G. 8, 14; cf. Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, 251).

[6] Vira's let. 25 April, 8 July, & 1 Oct., 27 F.S.G. 7, 15, 26; Vira's let. 5 Jan. 1677, 27 F.S.G. 5. Objection had been taken to giving the receipt, but it was passed on 9 Jan. 1677 (p. 171).

[7] O.C. 4215, f. 1 (Love, i. 356).

[8] Md. Salih's let. 5 Aug., & Vira's let. 21 & 27 Sept., 27 F.S.G. 17, 19–23, 24.

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Council accordingly decided to give him 600 yards of broadcloth (as against the 1,000 yards asked for), as well as gratuities to his servants, in order to obtain this favour.[1]

Langhorn reported that the power of the two Brahmans, Madana and his brother Akanna, was paramount, they being 'absolutely possesst of the poor King and all affairs', and that the new government was very corrupt.[2] Thus a big sum had been paid by Muhammud Ibrahim for his appointment early in the year as Nawab in place of Musikmea, who had been dismissed and imprisoned. Later a quarrel broke out between the Nawab and Madana, which was, however, quieted when Golconda became involved in fighting that had arisen between the Mughals and Bijapur.[3] Besides such items of news, the letters from Vira to Langhorn contain repeated requests for payment of a debt of 145 pagodas incurred by his father in procuring a farman for the factory at Masulipatam (pp. 128–9, 133).[4] As Langhorn's replies are not extant, the result is not clear.

The principal events of the year having now been related, only minor details remain to be given. Jearsey was still living at Madras. Langhorn reported to the Company that he refused to go home, saying a greater stock of his was in its hands than could be demanded from him.[5] His nephew, John Jearsey, was also in Madras and was (said Langhorn) to be pitied, as he was tied to an uncle and aunt who did little for him. As he wanted to be taken back into the Company's service, its instructions were asked for.[6] Thomas Lucas was stated to be intending to go home on the ships, as ordered by the Company in its despatch of 24 December 1675, which also confirmed the appointment of John Nicks, who had taken his place as secretary.[7] In reply to remarks by the Company about the mint, Langhorn vindicated its management as 'upright', and said its pagodas were gaining repute up-country, though,

[1] Fort con. 1 Dec., *M.R.* 102–3; O.C. 4215, f. 24.

[2] Ibid., ff. 24, 25, & appendix *re* Auditor's objections, f. 14.

[3] O.C. 4215., f. 5 (Love, i. 356); Vira's let. 9 March, 25 April, 7 May, & 30 June, 27 F.S.G. 3, 8, 9, 14; Ibrahim's let. 15 March, 27 F.S.G. 4.

[4] Vira's let. 25 April, 7 May, 30 June, 21 Oct., & 11 Nov., ibid., 8, 9–10, 15, 26, 28.

[5] The Company in Dec. 1677 ceased to insist on Jearsey's return to England, saying that he might remain in India, 'if he demean himself peaceably and no way obstruct our affaires' (5 L.B. 493); and he continued to reside at Madras till his death in Dec. 1690. His account with the Company (see p. 275) and his counter-claim against it were settled in 1686 by a payment to him of 3,000 pagodas (*Ind. Antiquary*, xxxiv. 175–6).

[6] O.C. 4215, ff. 3, 8.

[7] Ibid., f. 4; desp. 24 Dec. 1675, 5 L.B. 211. Lucas did not, however, go home. On 2 May 1677 he wrote to Ayloffe that he was 'designed for Siam' in a few days (O.C. 4280); but he remained in Madras as a freeman till Feb. 1682, when he sailed for England (*S.M.* ii. 129 *n.*).

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on the other hand, people were beginning to forsake the mint for others in Mughal territory.[1] As to the hope expressed by the Company that liberty might be obtained from the King of Golconda to coin rupees and pice at the Fort, he replied that their efforts had been frustrated by a 'superstition invincible of [using] their holy [Moslem] characters in the case'.[2] The Company's order that in future the pagoda should be valued at 9*s*. (instead of 8*s*.), and the rupee at 2*s*. 3*d*. (instead of 2*s*. 6*d*.), was put into execution; but the Agent pointed out that this only affected the accounts and did not bind those with whom they dealt.[3] Its order that the accounts should be kept 'in the method' used at Surat and balanced in April was also given effect to.[4] The choultry does not receive much notice, but Langhorn commended Jacob Smith for 'his painful attendance' in it. He asked the Company to send him 'a sufficient power' for the trial of an Englishman and a Portuguese, who were accused of murder, and remarked that 'justice administered here' would give 'a sounder foundation for this settlement than its sandy bottom'.[5] He explained the reason for the omission to show customs and other town revenue in the choultry books, saying trouble had in the past been caused by a Brahman called Coanapa finding out the choultry income and divulging it to 'the Moors'.[6] It was, he added, 'common discourse' among the latter that the old Nawab Neknam Khan, was 'a doating foole', who for some petty kindness from Kasi Viranna and the English had granted an unreasonable cowl for Madras, which the present King was reluctant to continue. It was therefore considered unsafe to give publicity to this income, which (according to Master) amounted to about 3,500 pagodas a year.[7]

The Company's ships brought another surgeon for the Fort, Bezaliel Sherman,[8] and a new chaplain, Richard Portman, to replace Patrick Warner, who was returning to England.[9] Its despatch of 24 December

[1] O.C. 4215, ff. 14, 15; 5 L.B. 227–8, 229–30.

[2] 5 L.B. 213–14; O.C. 4215, f. 5.

[3] Ibid., f. 8; 5 L.B. 217 (*S.M.* i. 254).

[4] O.C. 4215, f. 12; 5 L.B. 223–4 (*S.M.* i. 261).

[5] O.C. 4215, f. 21; ibid., appendix *re* Crandon's slanders, para. 24. Apparently it was considered that the Company's charter of 1661 gave no power to try such cases of murder: cf. Fryer, i. 107, as to Langhorn having 'justiciaries to give sentence, but not on life or death'. The two accused were eventually tried by jury in 1678 (Love, i. 406–8).

[6] This probably refers to the Brahman, Kanappa, whom Agent Greenhill in 1654 accused of plotting with the Nawab's officers (*E.F.*, 1651–4, 235; Love, i. 130).

[7] O.C. 4215, ff. 13, 21; ibid., appendix 'To the observations' and that answering Crandon's slanders, para. 24; Master's let. to Co., 3A. Misc. 16.

[8] The other surgeon was Dr. John Waldo, who had arrived in 1670 (O.C. 4262, reproduced by Love, i. 393–4).

[9] O.C. 4215, ff. 1, 8; 5 L.B. 208–9, 217 (*S.M.* i. 246, 254).

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1675 prohibited a practice obtaining at the Fort and its subordinate factories, by which the Company's servants and other Englishmen called in Roman Catholic priests for marriages, baptisms, and burials; but the Council pointed out that it needed more chaplains if the practice was to be stopped, and that none had been sent out since Rev. Edward Newcombe had died in 1671. According to Langhorn, James Hounsill, who followed Newcombe (p. 22), had held no communions during his time, though requested to have them; but at the Agent's instance Tutchin introduced them—'the event applauded'.[1]

The letter to the Company from the Fort, which covers the period from 23 July 1676 to 15 January 1677, contains many remarks showing Langhorn's great dissatisfaction with the way in which he had been treated by the Company. This had been aggravated by his partial supersession through its appointments of Puckle and Streynsham Master. Not only did a rumour that the Company intended to send out more people over the heads of its servants on the Coast cause uneasiness by lessening prospects of promotion;[2] but its assumption that Langhorn wanted to leave Madras in January 1677, when he was told to hand over the Agency to Master, was (he said) erroneous. He speaks bitterly of a false report as to a pretended resolution or desire of his to come home, which did him much injury, resulting in this immature shortening of his stay.[3] This was the worse for happening when 'feuds here are not so implacable as in other times or parts, and particularly between subordinates and the Agent'.[4] On the contrary, he had asked to stay on because of the small improvement that had accrued to his estate from private trade, while his salary and gratuity, 'were it duly paid', would not adequately cover all his expenses.[5] Several passages reflect on the Company's ill requiting his good services to it. Thus he declares that just when 'the slow progress of honest improvements had flaterd [him] with [the expectation of] some compensation in the prolonging of his time', especially after 'his good service in the three yeares warrs', he had met with 'a heap of fals[e] supositions', and that his work exceeded 'all manner of compensation' received from the Company.[6] Again he 'thinks it somewhat hard measure to have neither [proper] pay nor acceptance' after all his 'unwearyed care and paines,

[1] 5 L.B. 222 (*S.M.* i. 260); O.C. 4215, f. 12, & appendix answering the Auditor's objections, para. 21. On the other hand, Master criticized Langhorn's disregard of religion (*S.M.* i. 65).

[2] O.C. 4215, f. 27.

[3] Ibid., appendix answering the Auditor's objections, f. 16, para. 21.

[4] Ibid., para. 22.

[5] Ibid., f. 18.

[6] Ibid., appendix *re* Auditor's objections, ff. 14–15.

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in such wise that all India and Europe takes notice of the good service'.[1] He particularly resented that 'the whole acknowledgment' of his services should be 'left to Mr. Auditour', who 'laid up the poore Agent everywhere', so that 'it seemes to him that, having by indefatigable industry in a manner runn himself off his leggs to serve his employers, Mr. Auditour has a mind to cutt off his armes, because he cannot fly'.[2] The Council came to his aid and declared him blameless, saying 'the longer they see him they find him praiseworthy, and people of all nations confirm the same'.[3]

Another passage, to which the Council subscribed, praises Langhorn in terms suggesting it ought to appear to the Company that

it has pleased God by a carryage inoffensive, a delight in forgetting past injurys, evill times not unsuccessfully scuffled through, and the justice of an administration looking upwards, to have rendered their Agent a meanes of much good unto this their place, interest, servants, and people of all sorts, whose encrease approves it; and by a not unhappy disposition of his no less a peacemaker on all occasions farr and near, as well observing whose propriety it is to sow the tares, and whose the olive, and what the blasts or blessings promised.[4]

Clearly he had no mean estimation of his own merits, and he certainly had brought the settlement safely through troublous times with the help of a Council that respected him. For four years this body had remained the same, and no troublesome quarrels appear to have marred the relations of its members with one another or between them and Langhorn. He protested against the insinuation that he often acted without the consent of a majority of the Council, saying that without this 'he dares not move one step', and that he hid nothing from it, so that there was 'a mutual confidence'.[5] At the close of the year it was thought the Council was about to lose its oldest member, as Joseph Hinmers was intending to go home with the ships on account of ill health and 'decay of sight'.[6] He must have changed his mind, however, as he continued to be a Member of Council throughout the next year.[7]

[1] Ibid., f. 19.

[2] Ibid. & appendix *re* Auditor's objections, f. 6.

[3] Same appendix, f. 10.

[4] Same appendix, f. 17, para. 22.

[5] Same appendix, ff. 18–19, para. 23. On the other hand, Streynsham Master said that Langhorn habitually monopolized the command of the military (*S.M.* i. 65).

[6] O.C. 4215, f. 27.

[7] F.S.G. 1–24 (*M.R.* 107–28). In fact Hinmers retained his post till his death at Fort St. George on 28 May 1680 (*S.M.* ii. 188 *n.*), though the Company granted 'his desire' to come to England (desp. 15 Dec. 1677, 5 L.B. 497).

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The Agent and Council also complained of the Company's 'shyness in not placing confidence' in its servants of 'approved discretion and integrity'.[1] They further objected to the Company making 'a pretended distinction' between holding consultations about its business and not considering its interest, a distinction (they said) of great indignity to men who faithfully performed their duty. They contended that, if they acted by common consent 'to the best of their skill and ability' and obeyed the rules laid down by the Company, then 'it being unwarrantable not to act by the common consent of Councell, to act thereby must be warrantable'[2]—a proposition which was not likely to find favour with their employers.

The letter also deals with some military matters. Early in the year the Council had noted the need for 'the greatest care to keepe all things in a posture both for defence, and [to have] recruits if need be, owing to the uncertainty of the affayres of Europe, [and] the inconsiderate, insatiate avarice of the Bramany Government at Golconda, allwayes craving'.[3] Lingappa's active hostility in the latter part of the year emphasized this requirement, and Langhorn asked the Company for more men and equipment. He also urged the need for strengthening the fortifications. He said that, since a great storm three years before, the sea had encroached on them, and that, if the present ones collapsed, the native government would be disinclined to allow them to be rebuilt. The Council had in the last two years put up some defences against erosion at one point, but they recommended that 'some knowing and experienced person' should be sent out to devise proper measures to keep the sea back, while there was yet time to do this.[4]

MADRAS, 1677

CONDITIONS were easier when the year opened. Lingappa's blockade having come to an end, the Agent and Council wrote on 1 January to Masulipatam, cancelling the order for paddy and rice, but indenting for as much wheat, grain, and fuel as the factory could send, without

[1] O.C. 4215, f. 20.

[2] Ibid., appendix *re* Auditor's objections, ff. 19–21, paras. 25–8.

[3] Fort con. 3 March, *M.R.* 91.

[4] O.C. 4215, ff. 5, 21, 22, 24 (Love, i. 368–9). The Company refused to send an engineer, 'these sort of men being alwaies found very expensive' (desp. 12 Dec. 1677, 5 L.B. 492, cited by Love, i. 370). Langhorn recommended the Company to consult Capt. Stead, 'a very good artist [i.e. scientist]', who had made observations of the erosion and was shortly returning to England (O.C. 4215, f. 22; cf. Love, i. 369).

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hindrance to the dispatch of the ships.[1] The order of the King of Golconda authorizing Lingappa to interfere with the sale and importation of local grain at Madras (p. 162), which (according to Vira) was obtained by 'some false information',[2] had been revoked by a 'directly contrary' order of the King. Finding also that the Fort authorities were 'resolute', the tarafdar capitulated. He sent word to the Agent and Council that he 'wanted to be friends' and proposed to pay the Governor a visit. The Council decided to make him welcome. He came accordingly on 13 January with the Avaldars and chief Brahman officials of the neighbourhood, and was received with all civility and the ceremony due to his rank. An interchange of presents also took place: Lingappa brought the agent a tashrif worth 80 pagodas, and he and his companions were feasted and given 'fine scarlett' and other things to the value of twice that amount.[3] In consequence of this, the Council stopped further enlistments, having increased the garrison by twenty soldiers and seventy-nine peons.[4]

On 17 January the *Eagle* and the *Johanna* arrived from Masulipatam, bringing Streynsham Master and Mohun.[5] Master says he was 'received with much kindness';[6] but the close association of Langhorn and his successor at Madras for over a year must have been irksome to both, in view of the wide difference between their methods of administration.[7] Nevertheless the records reveal no strained relations or unfriendliness between them.

The lading of the four ships required urgent action. On 20 January the Council agreed to pass the sallampores, the acceptance of which had been suspended till Master's arrival (p. 158). This was held to be justified by the failure of the Council's efforts to get the merchants to improve their quality, and by the Company's omission to give directions as to what they were to do, if better ones were not available.[8] Two days later the Council called on the merchants to bring in all the ordinary longcloth and sallampores, as well as fine betteelas (veilings), they had in stock, though this raised the supply of them above what the Company had ordered. They also decided to buy eighty-two candies of pepper in order to increase the tonnage shipped, which they feared would fall disappointingly short.[9]

[1] 18 F.S.G. 39.
[2] Vira's let. 20 Jan., 27 F.S.G. 7.
[3] O.C. 4215 (15 Jan.), f. 26; Fort con. 13 Jan., *M.R.* 105.
[4] O.C. 4215, f. 27.
[5] *S.M.* ii. 116–17; 36 F.S.G. 80.
[6] *S.M.* ii. 116.
[7] Cf. Ibid. i. 64–6, where the point is amplified.
[8] Fort con. 20 Jan., *M.R.* 106.
[9] Fort con. 22 Jan., ibid. The Company, while approving of the first part of this resolution,

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On the 27th the two remaining ships, *Falcon* and *Surat Merchant*, reached Madras. They were detained only four days for their lading, and the four vessels 'cleared off the shore' on the 31st; but contrary winds delayed their actual departure to England till 2 February.[1] Mainwaring and Ayloffe arrived from Masulipatam on the *Falcon* and stayed in Madras for about two weeks (pp. 310–1). Samuel Puckle went home on the *Johanna*, taking with him his father's papers.[2]

Early in February, after the ships had left, Langhorn and his Council discussed affairs of urgency in Masulipatam and Bengal, and passed orders concerning them (pp. 310, 416). On 15 February an agreement was made with Kasi Viranna and his partners for starting the new investment: longcloth and sallampores worth 74,000 pagodas were to be delivered at 5 per cent. less than the usual prices, and the merchants were to give fine goods to the value of 5,000 pagodas in exchange for European goods, to be taken at the previous year's rates.[3]

In March Captain Philip O'Neale was sent to Masulipatam with a corporal and ten soldiers of the English garrison to take possession of the ship *Recovery* at Masulipatam (p. 314).[4] The prolonged absence of the soldiers (p. 319) was unfortunate in view of Sivaji's incursion into the Carnatic, which was the chief event of this year. He brought an army of about 50,000 men, and reached Golconda in February. There he made an alliance with the King. The latter agreed to pay him a subsidy of 3,000 hun (gold pagodas) a day and to send a force of 1,000 horse and 4,000 foot with some artillery under one of his generals, Mirza Muhammad Amin,[5] to co-operate in the conquest of the Carnatic. In return Sivaji promised him such parts of his conquests there as had not belonged to his father Shahji.[6] He left Golconda early in March, and after a visit to a famous temple of Shiva, called 'Shri Shaila', started his campaign in April. In May he was in the close neighbourhood of Madras. Fortunately he adopted a friendly attitude towards the

said the shipment of pepper resulted in great loss, and no more should be sent (desp. 12 Dec. 1677, 5 L.B. 497).

[1] Fort let. to Co. 17 Feb., O.C. 4266, f. 1. A journal of the *Surat Merchant*'s voyage to England, kept by Capt. John Stead, is in *Marine Records*, vol. lxxiii.

[2] Fort let. 5 Feb., 18 F.S.G. 2. Duplicates of them were handed over by Master to the secretary, John Nicks (Fort con. 20 Jan., *M.R.* 106).

[3] 1 F.S.G. 3–4 (*M.R.* 109–10, where the date is given as 16 Feb.); Fort let. to Co. 17 Feb., O.C. 4266, f. 1.

[4] Fort con. 9 March, 1 F.S.G. 5–6 (*M.R.* 111–12).

[5] Formerly he was sarlashkar (commander-in-chief), but in 1676 Baba Sahib had succeeded him in this appointment (O.C. 4215, f. 1, reproduced in Love, i. 356).

[6] Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 290–4 (4th edn., 278–9).

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settlement, and accepted some small presents from the Agent and Council; but his proximity naturally caused apprehension and, as a precaution, the garrison was strengthened by a renewed enlistment of auxiliaries.[1] He captured the fort of Gingee from Nasir Muhammad Khan in May, but kept it for himself instead of handing it over to Golconda in accordance with his agreement. Consequently the King stopped the payment of the subsidy he had promised; and Sivaji, becoming in want of money, tried to get forced loans from the chief places in the Coast districts, including Madras and Pulicat, where the English and Dutch were asked to contribute 50,000 pagodas each. The Agent and Council naturally refused to comply, and they feared this might 'serve him for a pretence to play his old pranks'.[2] Sivaji, however, left Madras alone, though shortly before 3 October, when he was within two days' march of the Fort, his request that twenty or twenty-five engineers should be lent him was also negatived.[3] Merchants and other rich men in the Carnatic, on the other hand, suffered severely from organized extortion before he left on his return home early in November.[4] Four months previously he had overcome Sher Khan's opposition, and had levied blackmail from the Naik of Madura. Before his departure he had plundered the Carnatic and made himself master of most of it; but his brother Vyankoji, who had refused to give up as much as Sivaji demanded, on 16 November defeated the army he had left behind. The country was pillaged by both sides during the rest of the year.[5]

This brief synopsis of Sivaji's invasion shows its main outlines and its effect on Madras. The subject is one of interest, especially to Indian readers; and references to it in the records have great weight, as being contemporaneous.[6] They have therefore been collected and are given with considerable fullness later on (pp. 184–93).

Apart from this disturbing event, the Agent and Council had a fairly quiet time. Relations with Golconda were more satisfactory than usual. On 9 January the Nawab, Muhammad Ibrahim, passed a receipt acknowledging the first three payments of the town-rent, stating that

[1] Ibid. 296–8, 312; Fort con. 9 & 14 May, 1 F.S.G. 6–7 (*M.R.* 112–13).

[2] Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 300 (4th edn., 283); O.C. 4266, f. 6.

[3] Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 307, 312 (4th edn., 289–90); Fort con. 3 Oct., 1 F.S.G. 17 (*M.R.* 123).

[4] Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 300, 308 (4th edn., 283, 290).

[5] Ibid. 301–4, 307, 308, 310–11 (4th edn., 284–93). It was not till about May 1678 that peace was made between the two brothers, and Sivaji recalled his army of occupation (ibid. 311, 4th edn., 293).

[6] Together with the *Mémoires* of François Martin, they furnish the most reliable account of the expedition (Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 412, 418; cf. 4th edn., iii. 376–7).

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a receipt for the fourth had already been given, and promising a separate one for the rent that had been paid for the current year. This last receipt was held up by a Brahman secretary named Sandapa, who was looked on as 'the cheif person under the Nabob'. He demanded 150 pagodas, as commission at 3 per cent. on the payments.[1] Langhorn replied that such fees were not customary in England, but that he would send him a peshkas has an acknowledgement of his kindness.[2] Sandapa, however, remained firm and ultimately received the amount he demanded, whereupon the requisite receipt was given in August.[3] A more important matter was the new grant for Madras, which had been promised by the King (p. 163). This was at last obtained on 23 February, after the broadcloth for the King's tent had been received at Golconda.[4] The farman was in similar terms to those of the cowl obtained in 1672 (pp. 36–8), but was more specific in its directions against interference with provisions for Madras, and extended it by including Triplicane in the area for which the rent of 1,200 pagodas was paid—a recognition of the Company's claim to it (pp. 40, 62) 'which', said Langhorn, 'had been long endeavoured without effect'.[5] The Nawab on 9 June gave a 'rocca' (Arab. *ruka*, a letter) confirming the King's farman in every respect and repeating its main provisions in a shortened form.[6] Owing to difficulties and delays, however, caused by his chief secretary, Etmott Row, and the visits of 'severall great persons coming from divers countrys [such] as Seavagee Raja' and others, the farman and ruka were not dispatched till July, when they were accompanied by a short letter from His Highness the Olampana to Langhorn, and the presents of a horse and tashrif.[7] These were received at Madras with full honours and were acknowledged on 22 September by Langhorn in letters to the King and to Madana, through whose help the farman had been obtained.[8] Besides the present of broadcloth, 225 pagodas had to be paid at Golconda for procuring the farman.[9] Its contents are recorded as follows:

[1] Vira's let. 5, 20, & 25 Jan., 27 F.S.G. 5, 7, 10; receipt and Sandapa's let. 15 Jan., ibid. 5, 6.

[2] Let. 22 Feb., ibid. 27; 3A. Misc. 20(2), para. 115.

[3] Vira's let. 3 Feb., 16 June, 3 July, & 26 Aug., & Langhorn's let. 27 Sept., 27 F.S.G. 10, 15, 16–17, 20, 29; Fort con. 3 Oct., 1 F.S.G. 17 (*M.R.* 123).

[4] Vira's let. 27 Jan. & 3 Feb. & translation of the farman, 27 F.S.G. 10–12.

[5] 'Triblicain' is mentioned after 'Madraspatnam' and 'Narmeda' in the first paragraph of the farman (ibid. 10); cf. 3A. Misc. 20(2), para. 114, & Love, i. 348, 352, where the year of the farman is wrongly given as 1676, unless under the old style of chronology.

[6] 27 F.S.G. 13, 14.

[7] Vira's let. 16 June & the King's let. 11 July, ibid. 15, 17.

[8] Ibid. 28; endorsement on the farman, ibid. 12, 17.

[9] Ibid. 17.

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Translation of Phirman and Cowll granted by his Highness the Ollampana to the Honble. Sir Will. Langhorn, Governour and Agent, etc., Councell & their Successors for the affayres of the Honble. East India Company in Fort St. George at Chinapatnam—dated 23 Feb. 167 .[1]

We doe hereby grant that the English shall enjoy from this day forward the same Antient priviledges as well of the ground belonging to the Town called Madraspatam as Narmedo and the Town of Triblicain, and all other priviledges which they have hitherto enjoyed from the time they first began to inhabit the Towne of Chinapatnam.

Moreover we do grant that whatsoever cloth goods & merchandises & other things that are brought in and carryed out by sea in shipps vessels or boates for or from the Town of Chinapatnam and for the English Nation, and all what is necessary for their use and all what doth belong to them, both in bringing and carrying, they shall no wayes be obliged to pay any manner of customes whatsoever for the same.

And whereas the deceased Necknam Cawn hath agreed with the above said English about the halfe customes of the Town of Chinapatnam that did belong to the Devan, [in respect of] which the English remained debtor for some 10 or 11 yeares, to the latter end of the month of July of the yeare 1672 to pay the summ of Pagodas 11,000 new of Chinapatnam, and which summ they have allready paid to the Devan, and that from the first day of the month of June, 1672, deducting half of the customes of Chintapatnam which belongeth to the English, and for the half that did belong to the Devan, the said Necknam Cawn, haveing let to farm to the English paying to the Devan it [*sic* ? him]self and to none other, the summ of pagodas 1200 new of Chinapatnam per annum at the latter end of the yeare, that the said Town shall remaine wholly rented for ever under the English without keeping there any of the Devan's people, and that the English shall in no wise be obliged to pay the said summ of pagodas 1200 of the rent to any Avaldors or Tarrofdars or to any others that are round about the Town of Chinapatnam, and therefore we do hereby confirm and grant the same for ever, that the English shall enjoy it in the like manner as they have done hitherto, paying the said rent as is agreed.

We do moreover grant that all manner of provisions that are brought in and carryed out through all our own Kingdome, that are for the English own use, they shall pay no custome or junkan for the same.

We have likewise granted them hereby, as it has been sallabod to have brought paddy and other graines, provisions, goods, or any other sorts of merchandises, for the Fort and Towne of Chinapatnam, that

[1] The last figure is not filled in. It should be '6' under the 'Old Style' then used.

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none of our Avaldors or other officers shall have any power to hinder them in the least.

And whereas we have wholly lett to farm the Town of Chinapatnam to the English, and [have agreed] that no person whatsoever shall have to [do] with it in the least, but it shall wholly remaine for ever under them, they shall accordingly enjoy it henceforward as it has been hitherto to sallabod, so long as the sunn and moon shall endure.

Moreover we have granted the English that, if it at any time should so happen that any of their shipps, vessels, or boates, be cast ashoare, they may freely carry their good[s] and things, even the very wreck, planks, and timbers, either by sea or land without being hindred in the least, or paying any junkan or any manner of duties for the same.

We do moreover promise the English that, if we should hereafter grant any more privelidges to any other Nation, all the same privelidges shall be allso granted to the English nation. Moreover we do promise the English hereby that, if any person whatsoever shall abuse or wrong them in any of their dealings and merchandizes, we shall take ceare to do them justice & right.

Whereas the English have from a long time shewed themselves very faithfull and obedient to us, therefore we have granted them this Phirmaund and Cowll, which they should trust to and remaine in peace, observing exactly the contents of this our Phirmaund.

This Phirmaund was granted by the means of the Muzund:

Shahy [i.e. signed] Madanna.

The correspondence between the Fort and Golconda included demands from two Muhammadans at Masulipatam for repayment of money they had lent Fleetwood. One of them claimed 1,500 pagodas, saying he had paid for the building of a ship that went to Persia, while the other's claim was for 2,000 pagodas, which Fleetwood had 'off my master and me and my brothers'.[1] The Nawab himself also demanded 1,000 pagodas, which he had lent to Fleetwood when he was on a visit to Golconda, and threatened 'all possible hindrance upon [the Company's] business everywhere', if the sum was not quickly paid.[2] A more pleasant topic was an invitation from the Naik of Madura to the English to settle on favourable terms in any parts of his territory, or in seaports of Tanjore, of which he hoped to be master soon.[3]

The Company had sent out three ships this year to the Coromandel

[1] Let. 26 & 27 Jan., 27 F.S.G. 8, 9.

[2] Vira's let. 25 March, ibid. 12, 13.

[3] Let. undated & 1 Dec., ibid. 25–6. The Naik had sent a similar invitation in 1676 (let. 15 Jan. 1676, ibid. 1). Langhorn replied on 8 Jan. 1678, thanking him, and saying he would report the offer to the Company for orders (ibid. 30).

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Coast; of these the *Bengal Merchant* arrived on 21 June, the *Caesar* followed her the next day, and the *New London* came on 5 July.[1] They brought £11,813 in goods and £92,534 in bullion for the Fort and Masulipatam; and £17,334 in goods and £55,000 bullion for the Bay.[2] The Company also sent eighteen soldiers on them as recruits for the Fort garrison, which it agreed should be entirely English; but six of them were dead by 1 September.[3] The Company's despatch of 15 December 1676, which they brought, further authorized the Agent and Council to engage English children of soldiers as they grew up, provided they were brought up as Protestants; also Englishmen who might be available locally, as occasion required.[4]

The *Bengal Merchant* left on 12 July with stock for Bengal and orders not to stay more than four days at Masulipatam.[5] The *Caesar* and *New London* were dispatched to Masulipatam and Bengal, with further stock, on 20 July and 15 August respectively.[6] Before the *New London* left, her commander, Captain George Erwin, and the commander of the *Adventure* which had arrived from Persia, Captain William Alley, submitted a report to the Agent and Council on the necessity of a new point at the north-west part of the Christian town towards the river—'the weakest and most dangerous part of the place, and most needing a good substantiall point to defend the same'—as well as upon measures necessary to protect the town from erosion by the sea. This report was accepted and endorsed by the Council, with a provision that (if necessary) 'hasty workes must be cast up'.[7] Previously, on 19 May, it had decided, as the sea was encroaching nearer and nearer, to carry on the fences towards it and to lay the foundation of the new Caldera point.[8] The Company's despatch sanctioned such further fortifications as were necessary for the safety of the place; and the danger from Sivaji's incursion made the Council hasten the collection of materials for building the new point.[9]

On 21 August the Council was able to record the completion of long negotiations with Kasi Viranna and the other merchants, which settled the terms on which goods were to be provided for the year's investment. They refused, however, to carry out some of the Company's requirements, especially the one as to their taking European goods, as these

[1] Fort let. 12 July, 18 F.S.G. 26; 3A. Misc. 18(2); 5 L.B. 376.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid. 364, 383; 3A. Misc. 19(1).
[4] 5 L.B. 364.
[5] 18 F.S.G. 26, 29.
[6] Ibid. 31, 36, 41.
[7] Fort con. 13 Aug., 1 F.S.G. 14 (*M.R.* 119–20).
[8] 1 F.S.G. 6 (*M.R.* 114). Cf. Love, i. 370, & p. 191 *post*.
[9] 5 L.B. 364; Fort let. to Co. 19 June, O.C. 4266, f. 6.

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were 'still in great quantiteys upon their hands, and [they] appearing to be much out of heart upon the troubles and dangerous times, and the severity and stricktness of our dealing with them, as well in sorting as in sorts'. They also objected to any reduction of the quantity of ordinary sallampores that had already been bespoken, or to any further abatements in the prices.[1] Sivaji's incursion naturally increased the 'troubles and dangers' of getting cloth from outside Madras.[2] Lingappa Podela also gave trouble over a boat-load of calicoes. The vessel went ashore and Lingappa seized its contents. Under an order from the King he delivered them up, but later on redemanded them, stopping money of the Company and insisting on a payment of 400 pagodas for them. He disregarded the cowl so recently given by the King, saying the English might produce twenty farmans of His Highness, but only a letter from Pollepalli Yengana[3] would suffice to clear the goods. Langhorn consequently had to appeal again to the King for redress.[4] This illustrates Master's remark to the Company that, though the farmans for the Fort and Masulipatam were 'large', yet local governors did not observe them on account of the King being remiss in punishing neglect to observe them.[5]

The Company's despatch definitely ordered that the monopoly of Kasi Viranna and his partners in supplying calicoes should be cancelled and encouragement given to other importers.[6] The Council replied that the investments could not be made without use of them, but they submitted alternative proposals for altering the existing arrangements.[7] They further said that the calicoes supplied by Kasi Viranna himself for his own proportion of the investment were better than those of other merchants, and that his own town could yearly make 4,000 ordinary ginghams and 1,000 fine ones.[8] He had also obtained from the King of Golconda a perpetual grant of San Thomé and its dependencies, by sea and land, in terms similar to those of the cowl for Madras.[9]

[1] Fort con. 21 Aug., 1 F.S.G. 15–16 (*M.R.* 120–3).
[2] O.C. 4266, f. 6.
[3] According to Langhorn (O.C. 4215, f. 1, reproduced in Love, i. 356), in 1676 Pollepalli Yengana had been 'chaubuck'd [whipped] and turned out' by Madana in connexion with Chennupalli Mirza's death from poison (p. 163 *ante*); but he appears later on to have recovered his control of the Carnatic.
[4] Langhorn's let. 22 & 27 Sept., 27 F.S.G. 28, 29.
[5] Master's let. to Co. 30 Jan., 3A. Misc. 13. Cf. p. 163 *post*.
[6] 5 L.B. 372.
[7] Fort let. 1 Sept., 3A. Misc. 18(2).
[8] Ibid. 21(1).
[9] O.C. 4266, f. 2; 3A. Misc. 19(1). A yearly rent of 1,300 pagodas was payable (Fort con. 3 June 1678, *M.R.* 1678–9, 77: cf. Love, i. 408–9). The Company was not inclined to a former proposal that it should itself rent San Thomé, as it could not foresee what quarrels this might cause with other nations (5 L.B. 364).

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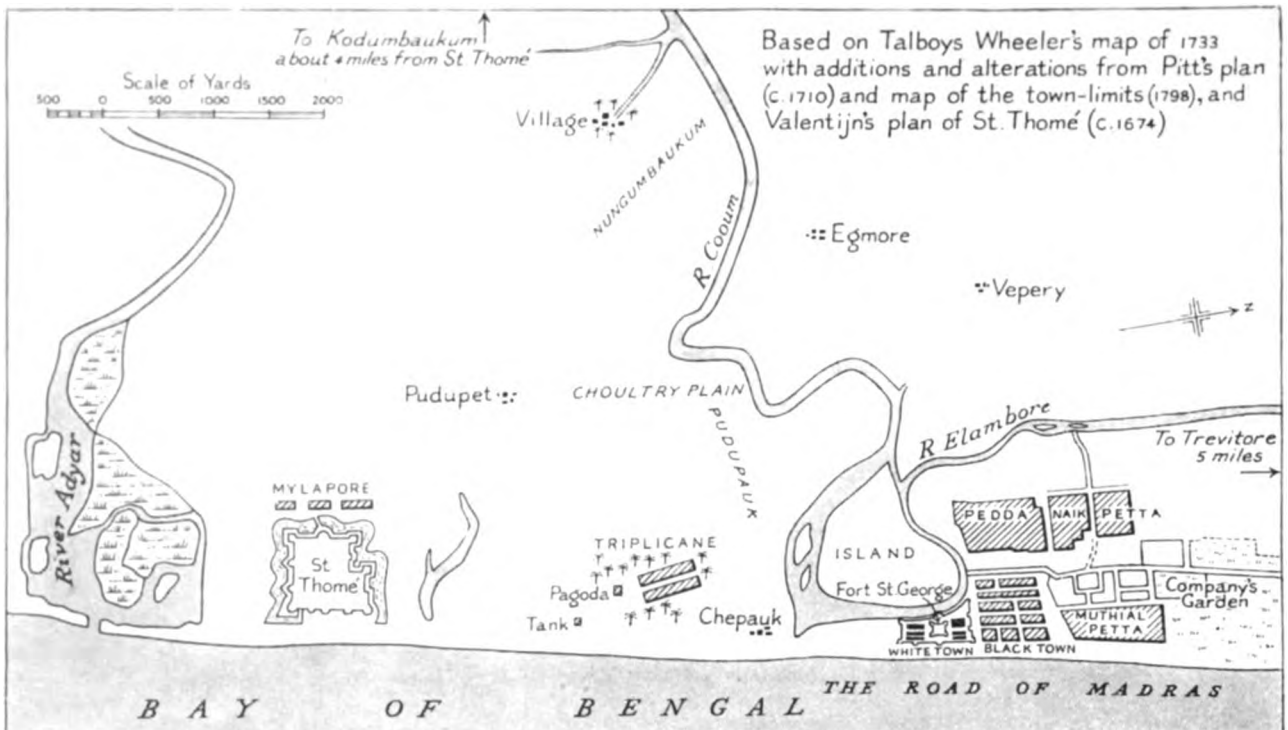

ROUGH MAP OF MADRAS AND SOME OF ITS ENVIRONS

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Another order of the Company relating to the investment said that pepper was not to be bought at Madras, unless procured at 5 dollars a pecul,[1] as it could be bought cheaper elsewhere. Langhorn's full reply is not on record, but the remark in its abstract that 'the Dutch go hedging it on the Malabar coast' suggests that he justified its purchase in view of the difficulties in getting pepper on that coast.[2]

Sivaji's proximity in October made it necessary to increase the garrison by enlisting all the Christians they could find, and to refuse a request from the factors at Bantam for twenty or twenty-five soldiers with a corporal to be sent there (see p. 191). Langhorn wrote that he was preparing to send about twenty-five men, when they were told it was not 'Portuguezes and mestizas [half-breeds]' that were wanted, but Englishmen, 'which put a stop to our proceedings'.[3] They would have gone on the Company's ship *Unity*, which arrived at Madras from Bantam and Siam with a cargo of tutty (spelter), copper, quicksilver, vermilion, and red lead, to the value of 21,255 pagodas. Such goods were, however, in no request at the Fort, and the ship was sent on to Persia in October.[4]

A consultation of 1 November records that the 'house in the Fort' was in a bad condition, its outward wall 'crazy and tottering', and 'the whole house rocking in a strange manner' in any great storm, as it was 'built of brick and playster without lime'. After considering the result of its survey by the chief gunner and engineer (William Dixon), and two Indians (the chief carpenter and the chief bricklayer), the Council resolved to buttress it up 'for security of the lives of the Agent and others of Councell, the minister and factors and writers inhabiting therein'.[5] This was only a temporary measure and its condition was reported to the Company, with a view to its being pulled down and rebuilt.[6]

Langhorn's status on the other hand, far from tottering, gained strength during November. On the 19th Mohun was called on by the Council to substantiate his allegations against the Agent and others of the Company's servants by calling witnesses to be examined on oath. In reply he asked for a copy of the interrogatories he had sent to the

[1] Malay and Javanese *pikul*, a man's load (Yule, 690). Its usual weight seems to have been about 130 lb.: cf. Bowrey, 282 *n.*, 313 *n.*, & *Barlow's Journal*, ii. 359.

[2] 5 L.B. 365; 3A. Misc. 19(1). As to this difficulty, cf. *E.F.* i. 314, 342–3, &c.

[3] Fort let. 8 Oct., 18 F.S.G. 55.

[4] Ibid. 53, 55; 3A. Misc. 20(2).

[5] 1 F.S.G. 19–20 (*M.R.* 124). Cf. Love, i. 382, where the passage is reproduced.

[6] 3A. Misc. 21(1), 22. It was not demolished till 1693 (Love, i. 555–6).

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Company and for time to produce his evidence. Two days later he declined to proceed further in the matter. This withdrawal fitted in with the acknowledgement of misconduct he had already made to the Company and his request to be readmitted into its service (p. 323). His thus abandoning a militant attitude was perhaps due to advice from Master, and prevented further 'washing of dirty linen' which was unlikely to promote his desire to be re-employed. Upon this withdrawal, Langhorn, desiring 'to give the Honble. Company . . . further satisfaction', called on all the Council to testify as to his behaviour in the discharge of his trust.[1] Accordingly, on 30 November, the rest of it all testified that throughout his dealings he had not

committed anything injurious unto the said Honble. Company, their estates or safety, or unto any person whosoever here inhabiting, trafficking, or coming and going, but on the contrary that he, the said Sir William Langhorn, hath in all things, as farr as hath come to our notice, promoted, studyed, and endeavoured, the just rights and advantage and the improvements of their estates passing through his hands, and also of this Town and Inhabitants thereof, notably increased and enriched during his government through the blessing of God upon his cares and impartiall administration.

This certificate was also signed by the secretary, John Nicks, the two factors John Davis and John Thomas, the two senior writers, Vincent Sayon and Francis Ellis, and the chief gunner, William Dixon, 'having all the time of the French warr the charge of the armes and ammunition'.[2] A real reconciliation seems to have been effected between Langhorn and Mohun, for the former in 1679 became one of the sureties for Mohun's fidelity as a factor at Fort St. George.[3] Langhorn's other accuser,[4] Major Puckle, was dead, so his conduct as Agent became free from attack in the particular quarters that had threatened it. On the other hand, the sting of the accusations that had been made against him presumably led to the 'severe reflections' on Puckle contained in the last letter he wrote as Agent at Madras to the Company.[5]

Among the matters of which Puckle had complained was the 'drunkenness, debauchery and profaneness' that prevailed at the Fort

[1] 1 F.S.G. 20, 21 (*M.R.* 125).
[2] 1 F.S.G. 21 (*M.R.* 125–6).
[3] *Ct. Min.*, 1677–9, 321 (6 Dec.).
[4] Puckle is so described in the consultation of 19 Nov. (1 F.S.G. 20).
[5] 3A. Misc. 19(2), paras, 43, 44, 63, 70. The last para. mentions that 'touching the Agents interest in shipping or freights . . . they have already answered Major Puckle's surmises and Mr. Mohun's protest'.

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and subordinate factories.[1] This received support from a letter written by the late chaplain at Madras, Rev. Patrick Warner (p. 165), bringing to the notice of the Company the vicious lives led by the soldiers and some of the writers in the Fort, a copy of which was sent with the Company's despatch of 15 December 1676.[2] It set forth not only the profanity, drunkenness, and uncleanness 'that so much reign and rage among the soldiery', but also their frequent marriages with 'popish Christians', who seduced them 'into popery'. He asked the Company to prohibit such marriages, 'for the children turn either infidels or popish'. The full reply of the Agent and Council is not on record, but the abstract says 'the soldier turned papist by his wife utterly denied'.[3] As regards drunkenness among the writers at the Fort, Warner gave an instance of some of them drinking throughout the night in a garden, where afterwards thirty-six empty bottles were counted. He also said some of them combined revelry of this kind with 'its ordinary concomitant uncleanness'. He was scathing about the poor attendance at chapel services, which he hints was largely due to the bad examples shown by the Governor and the Members of Council. He named two persons as 'constant companions with any of the young men in whatever debaucheries they were guilty of': these were 'one Mr. Mallory, formerly surgeon's mate in the *President*, and now surgeon's mate in this place [Madras]', and another, Barnes, who 'formerly went to sea as master of some small vessel, but having wasted the money entrusted to him, lives now idly and out of any employment'. The Company ordered an inquiry into these allegations. The answer on this and the other points raised by Warner would have been interesting, but all that its abstract gives is a note that the Agent and Council wrote 'of the factors and writers sobriety, as also of the soldiers in their degree—about frequenting the chapel—Mallory recommended—Barnes counselled [admonished]—the number of bottles spent in the garden—the Agent suppresses his resentment'. There was obviously for the most part an indignant denial by Langhorn.[4]

[1] O.C. 4178, f. 5 (*M.R.* 85).

[2] 5 L.B. 364. The letter is reproduced by Wheeler, 34–6. See also his remarks on the letter at p. 25.

[3] 3A. Misc. 19(1), para. 25. Such marriages with Indo-Portuguese women were, however, natural, as there were few English women available for soldiers to marry, and in any case they could not well afford to maintain English women and children on their small pay of 21*s.* a month, out of which they had to find provisions and other necessaries (5 L.B. 383). Cf. Wheeler, pp. 25–7, 37–8.

[4] 3A. Misc. 19(1), para. 25; 5 L.B. 364. Henry Mallory was among the party from the garrison that was sent to Masulipatam in March (p. 314 *post*); and in November Langhorn offered to

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Warner also complained that the Governor had 'refused to listen to any that would prevent his firing of great guns, and then vollies of small shot by all the soldiers in the garrison, at the consecration of a popish church within the walls'. The Company disapproved of this salute in honour of 'the nameing of a church by the Papists'.[1] This tolerance on the part of Langhorn had happened in 1675, as shown by a remark of Streynsham Master which mentions this occurrence and contrasts it with the marked want of goodwill shown by the Roman Catholics at the dedication of St. Mary's Church in October 1680.[2]

Owing to a steady rise in the cost of provisions, as well as the increase of rents due to 'the straitness of roome within the Fort and Christian Town', the married servants at Madras petitioned for allowances; and the Agent and Council in February sanctioned the following monthly scale:[3]

The second and third in Council, each	10	pag.	for diet.
,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,	4	,,	,, house-rent.
The rest of Council, ,,	8	,,	,, diet.
,, ,, ,, ,, ,,	3	,,	,, house-rent.
The Surgeon and married factors, ,,	4	,,	,, diet.
,, ,, ,, ,, ,, ,,	2	,,	,, house-rent.

'Washing, water, and barber, to be allowed to the Honble, Companys servants, below as well as in the Councell.' The same consultation ordered a weighing-house and standard scales to be established at the choultry to prevent abuse in weights.[4]

In May, Thomas Clarke, the interpreter for the Council, at last succeeded in getting some payment for the loss caused to him by his being ordered to pull down his house for strategic reasons (p. 149). As the previous orders in 1675 had proved futile, he was allowed 3 pagodas a month out of the choultry income in addition to his salary of 10 pagodas.[5]

The Company's despatch of 15 December 1676 complained that no

spare him temporarily in place of Heathfield, saying he was 'esteemed a very dilligent and able surgeon' (18 F.S.G. 62). Later on he went to Madapollam and Masulipatam (*S.M.* ii. 257 *n.*). Barnes was probably the Francis Barnes who was a freeman at Masulipatam in Jan. 1677 (*S.M.* ii. 107), as Mohun includes a 'Francis Barns' in his list of 'merchants' at Madras who were not in the Company's service (36 F.S.G. 93).

[1] 5 L.B. 364.

[2] *M.R.*, 1680–1, 75. Cf. Wheeler, 107–8.

[3] Fort con. 12 Feb., 1 F.S.G. 3 (*M.R.* 109).

[4] Ibid. Cf. 3A. Misc. 19(1), para. 31, as to building work going on at the choultry.

[5] Fort con. 19 May, 1 F.S.G. 8, 9 (*M.R.* 114–15). His widow was also paid 100 pagodas in full settlement of this claim in 1686 (Love, i. 387).

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register of private trade had been sent from the Fort or any subordinate factory, and said it expected better compliance in future. Langhorn replied that they had endeavoured to have this trade registered, but had not succeeded 'because of the troublous times'.[1] A previous despatch contained some unpleasant remarks that the moneys sent out by the Company should be really spent on buying the goods required, and not used for private trading, or for building boats or in any other way 'then what is of absolute necessity'.[2] Langhorn and his Council pointed out in reply that their management of the investments had caused no debts 'either long or bad',[3] and repudiated the charge of embezzling the Company's stock in building unnecessary boats and vessels as absurd. They said the sloop sent from Madras for the Bay was built there during the war for pressing needs,[4] and was absolutely necessary for bringing advices and provisions to the Fort. The others, *Arrival* and *Ganges*, had been built at Madapollam under the Company's own order, and had proved their worth and utility, as against 'the wofull experience of those rotten, useless, and chargeable vessels, the *Advice* and the *Diligence*, sent from home'; 'so', they ended, 'that what this imbezling meanes, we do not well understand'.[5]

The Company's despatch laid down definite procedure for inquiries into charges against various persons. These were ordinarily to be made by the Chief and Council of the place: if, however, they were against any of the latter, then by the Agent and Council at the Fort. Regular proceedings were to be held, witnesses examined, and the accused party heard: if the last named was a member of the Council, he was not to sit in it at the hearing. The proceedings were to be sent to the Company for their information, and in the case of the Agent being charged, for their orders. To prevent stifling of complaints, the parties making accusations were to send copies to the Company.[6]

[1] 5 L.B. 375; 3A. Misc. 20(1), para. 94.

[2] Desp. 4 Aug. 1676, 5 L.B. 320.

[3] At the end of the year only 1,000 pagodas had been taken up at 12 per cent. interest; previously the Agent used to supply money out of his own purse, when 'the Fort was left bare of money at the ships going away' (3A. Misc. 19(2), para. 58, & O.C. 4215, f. 10). See also the reply to Puckle's inquiry about bad debts, saying that there were none except those incurred before the investments were undertaken by Beri Timanna and Kasi Viranna (O.C. 4178, f. 7, & *M.R.* 88).

[4] This may have been the *Madras*, which was serving in the Bay during the second Dutch war of 1664–7 (*E.F.*, 1661–4, 282, 292; 1665–7, 142, 145) and was reported to be unserviceable in 1674 (p. 379 *post*).

[5] O.C. 4266, ff. 2, 4, 5. The *Advice* was sent out in 1674 (p. 367), and the *Diligence* in 1668 (*Ct. Min.*, 1668–70, v, & *E.F.*, 1668–9, 126, 143).

[6] 5 L.B. 371; cf. Puckle's proposals on this point, O.C. 4178, f. 2 (*M.R.* 81).

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The despatch also repeated previous orders as to all business in a factory being done by consultation pursuant to such orders as the Company might give, and as to every member of the Council being responsible for what was agreed on by consultation.[1] This direction again (see p. 168) gave rise to protest by Langhorn and his Council. On 22 June, the day after the arrival of the *Bengal Merchant* with the despatch, the Council met and recorded a resolution that 'we nor any of us, joyntly or severally, neither can be, nor will be, responsible nor held to be so, for what we do by consultation [if it is] pursuant to such orders as we receive from' the Company.[2] They also wrote to it at the end of the year 'about each one being answerable for himself alone, and not for each other'.[3] The question formed the subject of correspondence between Langhorn and Hatton. The latter said he found the Company's order 'somewhat obscure' and asked the Fort to explain it. In reply Langhorn sent him a copy of the consultation of 22 June, and asked for his views. Hatton accordingly sent an involved opinion, agreeing with that taken at the Fort. The question was conceived as turning mainly on the meaning of the word 'responsible'. Hatton construed it as covering 'not the adhering to but [only] digression from rules' or orders of the Company. Langhorn said Hatton had very well 'etimologised' its 'grammatical signification', but as to 'the intentional signification' in the view of the Company, 'we can [only] hope for the best'.[4]

Langhorn was in a position to argue on a legal point of this kind, for he was evidently a lawyer. In December, at the request of the Council, he allowed it to take over certain of his law-books required for the 'good government in the administration of justice' at a cost of £5. 15*s*. 6*d*., or Rs. 51¾.[5] The list of them (28 in number) includes various text-books, collections of statutes, and law-reports.[6]

Langhorn was personally rebuked in the Company's despatch for his uncivil replies and for having encouraged Papists (pp. 159, 180). He clearly felt that he had received 'much unkindness' from the Company during the last three years of its despatches to the Fort,[7] and he must have become reconciled to leaving his office as Agent. He told the Company that, though he 'did not foresee the shortening of his time, so different from the advices he had . . . so neither [he hoped] will your

[1] 5 L.B. 359, 365.
[2] 1 F.S.G. 11 (*M.R.* 116–17).
[3] 3A. Misc. 19(1), para. 37.
[4] Mad. let. 2 Aug. & 19 Sept., 2 Mad. 27–8, 41; Fort let. 5 Sept. & 23 Oct., 3 Mad. 40, 51–2.
[5] Fort con. 19 Dec., 1 F.S.G. 22–3 (*M.R.* 126–7).
[6] Langhorn had been admitted to the Inner Temple on 6 Aug. 1664, but does not appear to have practised at the bar (*D.N.B.* xxxii. 103).
[7] 3A. Misc. 19(1), para. 41.

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Worships impute to him what sticklings [went on] in his behalf at home, [which were] without his knowledge and extremely against his mind'.[1] In July he had decided to sail in the *Bengal Merchant*[2] and she took him home accordingly.

The last two recorded consultations of the year provide the only evidence on the records as to the completion of the investment. The silence about it suggests that there had been no material hitch in the supply of the cloth promised by the merchants (p. 175); and on 19 December the Council agreed on the price to be paid for a new sort of dungaree cloth that had been provided.[3] But news from Bengal that the stoppage of the boats laden with saltpetre would probably prevent a full supply of it from arriving in time for shipment on the homeward vessels (p. 432) led the Council to supplement its cloth-investment. On 21 December it was decided to ask the merchants to provide as much longcloth and sallampores as they could before 20 January. Fortunately this proved to be unnecessary, as all the stopped saltpetre arrived in time for shipment, whereupon the Council at once ceased buying this extra cloth.[4]

To complete the history of Sir William Langhorn's tenure of the governorship of Madras, it may be added that he embarked in the *Bengal Merchant* on 27 January 1678, and on the same date Streynsham Master began his term of office.[5] Another passenger for home was Herries, who went with his wife and family in the *Caesar*.[6] On 10 January, in anticipation of his departure, Bridger was ordered to take over the warehouse from him and to make over his own office of purser to Jacob Smith.[7] The three ships reached England on 31 July 1678, and Langhorn and Herries were received by the Court of Committees in the following November.[8]

The last item to record relates to the unfortunate English captives in Ceylon. The Company sent a reminder, asking the Agent and Council

[1] PS. of 4 July to O.C. 4266, f. 6. As to the intrigues in England for extending Langhorn's term of office, see the remarks in Sir James Oxinden's letter of 12 Jan. 1678 to Master, reproduced in *S.M.* i. 67.

[2] Fort let. 12 July, 18 F.S.G. 27.

[3] 1 F.S.G. 22 (*M.R.* 126). See also the list of calicoes from Madras, 1 F.S.G. 27.

[4] Ibid. 24 (*M.R.* 128); 3A. Misc. 21(1), para. 128. See also p. 435 *post.*

[5] Fort note, 27 Jan. 1678, *M.R.*, 1678–9, 1; Master's let. to Co. 27 Jan. 1678, 3A. Misc. 21(2). As to his subsequent career, see Love, i. 399–400.

[6] *M.R.*, 1678–9, 1. Evidently Master did not regret the departure of Herries, as he 'ever imbroiled the Companys affairs' (*S.M.* i. 64). On the other hand, Hinmers, who denied all concern in private trade imputed to him by Mohun, was praised by Langhorn and the Council (3A. Misc. 20(2), para. 103).

[7] 1 F.S.G. 25 (*M.R.* 129).

[8] *Ct. Min.*, 1677–9, 197, 227.

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to make another effort to procure their release. This does not appear to have been attempted, but in August a letter was sent to William Vassal in reply to one of 30 May that had been received from him, asking if he could submit a feasible proposal. The sum of 25 pagodas was also sent to Herr Caulier, the Dutch Governor of Pulicat, in repayment of 50 dollars which the Governor of Ceylon had given to the captives, and with a promise to refund anything more that might be spent on their relief.[1]

APPENDIX REGARDING SIVAJI'S INCURSION INTO THE CARNATIC (p. 171)

Sivaji and his doings loom large in the records of the year 1677. Events up to 19 June were reported in a letter of that date to the Company,[2] as follows:

We are now to acquaint you that Sevagee, grown great and famous by his many conquests and pillagings of the Moghulls and Visapour [Bijapur] countrys, is at length come hither with an army of 16 in [i.e. to] 20 thousand Horse and severall thousands of foot, raised and raising amongst the woods, being unfortunately called in by the King of Golconda or Maddana, to help them to take Chengy [Gingee], Vealour [Vellore] and Pamangonda, the remainder of the sea part of the Cornatt [Carnatic] country as far as Porto Novo, out of the Visapours hands, with title of Generalissimo, by which means he has gott in a manner the possession of this country, the said King having no force to oppose him. We have twice presented him with some raritys of counter poysons, etc., by him desired to the vallue of pagodas 112 inclusive,[3] in order to the begetting a fair correspondence with him now at first, if possible, grounding it upon the introduction of those settlements you have allready in his countrys at Rajapore and Carwar, the former whereof was very well taken; of the latter we have yet no newes from our Bramany, who attends his motion, but more particularly [grounding our efforts] upon the King of Golcondas Serlaskar, Meirza Mahmud Omin [Mirza Muhammad Amin] and our loving friend, who has some 1,000 horse and 4,000 foot along with him. Since when we have ill newes of his pillaging a godown of your merchants at Timmery [? Tirumanur] in the very country of his brother Eccogee [Vyankoji] to the vallue of pagodas 2,000, which [we] doubt [not] he will have much adoe to recover.

Also that he has ordered letters to be wrote to all this part of the country, the sea coast especially, to borrow moneys to the extent of pagodas 200,000, 50,000 whereof from Paliacat [Pulicat], and as much from hence, which [he] not being like[ly] to find creditt [to that extent] will serve him for a pretence to play his old pranks, especially now that there begins to arise jealousies between him and Golconda, on his keeping Chengy and all that he getts in his own hands, and Golconda thereupon stopping the promised payment of pagodas 3,000 per diem,

[1] 5 L.B. 364; Fort let. 27 Aug., 18 F.S.G. 43–4; 3A. Misc. 19(1), para. 26.
[2] O.C. 4266, ff. 5, 6.
[3] See p. 185.

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unless the siege of Vealour [Vellore] yet holding out, and Seer Cauns [Sher Khan's] opposition detaine him, and his designes against the Naiques [? of Madura and Tanjore] to the southward draw him that way. Meanwhile the monyd men all about the country shift out of the way as fast as they can, he having taken a minute account of all such as he passed by within 2 leagues and 2½ of this place, the which has necessitated us to go raising souldiers and peons as we meet with men for our purpose, and to go setling the auxilliarys,[1] as also to hasten our preparations of materialls for the new building the Caldera point according to your order, part[s] whereof are allready brought in,[2] and to be as watchfull as we can, not knowing how soon we may have use thereof, keeping several Bramanys going and coming for the better preventing of surprisalls.

Early in May Sivaji marched to attack Gingee, &c., with, it was reported, 20,000 horse and 40,000 foot. On the 9th the van of his army was within eight or nine 'Gentu' leagues[3] of the Fort and was expected to be that night only four leagues away, 'a distance which it is very usuall for his horse to march in a nights time'. The Agent and Council, warned 'by the sad experience' of other places he frequented, resolved to strengthen the garrison by enlisting 50 Christian soldiers and 100 peons, 'the former with our auxilliarys to strengthen our outguards', the latter 'to observe his motion, and to attend our Bramany for the better obtaining of intelligences and prevention of surprisalls'. Two large tents were at the same time ordered to be provided for the 'outguards'.[4] On the 14th Langhorn received a letter from him, asking for some 'cordial stones and counterpoisons', which were bought at a cost of 60 pagodas and sent to him with a civil message and some fruit, his Brahman envoy also being given a small present of broadcloth and sandalwood. Sivaji offered to pay for the articlès he required, but it was resolved to send them as a present, 'considering how great a person [he is] and how much his friendship does allready and may import the Honble. Company as he growes more and more powerfull and obvious to them', and as he was but a day's march away.[5] On 25 May Sivaji wrote from Vellore thanking the Council for the 'Maladiva [i.e. from the Maldives] coconuts, the beazar[6] and the cordiall stones, etc.', and asking for a further supply of them and of 'other sortes of good counter poysons'; and a second consignment costing 52 pagodas was sent him through the camp Brahman, Ramana.[7]

Golconda was now suffering the usual fate of those who call in a powerful and unscrupulous ally. On 6 June, in a letter to the factory at Bantam, Langhorn wrote that 'Sevagee is now serving the King of Gulcandah against Visapore very honestly, hitherto contenting himself with his pay. He has taken Chengy

[1] See below. [2] See p. 175.

[3] According to Streynsham Master, a 'Gentu' league was nine miles (*S.M.* ii. 134, 159).

[4] Fort con. 9 May, 1 F.S.G. 4–5 (*M.R.* 112). Cf. Fort let. 12 May, 18 F.S.G. 18.

[5] Fort con. 14 May, 1 F.S.G. 5 (*M.R.* 113).

[6] Bezoar, a word used generically for an antidote, but ordinarily limited to certain hard concretions found in the bodies of animals, to which antidotal virtues were ascribed (Yule, 90).

[7] 27 F.S.G. 13; Fort con. 18 June, 1 F.S.G. 10 (*M.R.* 115). The Brahman's full name seems to have been Nellor Ramana (27 F.S.G. 17).

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and beseiges Vealour; we must note how Visapore will resent it.'[1] But on the 18th of the same month a Fort consultation notes a change in Sivaji's attitude, 'his power increasing and he exercising so much authority in the King of Golcondas country that he sends all about to receive the Kings rents by his own people and punishing the Kings Avaldars and great men of the country at his pleasure'.[2]

On 26 June Sivaji's forces inflicted a severe defeat on those of Sher Khan, the Bijapuri commander, and captured much booty, as reported by a Brahman envoy at his camp in the following letter:[3]

Translate of a letter from our Bramaney Wordapa from Sevagee Rajas Camp dated 27 June 1677.

The 26 current Seir Cawn being at Trivady [Tiruvadi], about night he intending to runn away about Tevonepatam [Tevenapatam, a suburb of Cuddalore], Sevagee Rajas people haveing notice thereof, some of his horse followed after him and there being Ackalanagues [Akala Naik's] wood in the way, Seir Cawn went into it, where the said horse followed him allso. 500 of Seir Cawn's horse stood and fought with Sevagees people the same night for some two howers time and, when the moon was allmost downe, Seir Cawn runn away with some of his horse and ellephants southward to the said wood. Sevagees horse followeed after him againe, and he himself hath setled his army one league so[u]thward of Tevonapatam, his people haveing taken, in the said Akalanagues wood, belonging to Seir Cawn 200 horse, 20 camells, severall oxen, tents, great drums, etc. The horses that followed after Seer Cawn are not as yet returned. His father in law remains at Trividy: he has not as yet dellivered up the Fort. Seavegee has left there Babbo Saib [Baba Sahib], some horse Savarumwar, and some of Nassir Mahomed Cawn['s] horse. As for other matters I refer you to our pattamar [path-mar, foot-runner] Brameney Yengana. Since I writ you the abovesaid, the said horsemen that followed Seer Cawn have brought with them 200 horse and two elliphants belonging to Seer Cawn, so that they have now taken some 500 horse in all, and Seer Cawn is now runn away with 100 horse to the towne called Bonaguiry [Bowanigiri] where Sevagee Rajas horse are gone thither allso.

Sivaji's progress and methods were thus described by Langhorn and his Council in a letter to Gerald Aungier of 3 July:[4]

Sevagee has got possession of Chengy, beseiges Vealour, and himselfe is marched to reduce Seer Caun, bafles allready with Gulcondah, putting his own people everywhere into possession as fast as he gaines it. Gulcondah stops payments, and the former begins to cast about where to make prey. What will be the end, must leave to time.

In a postscript they added that they were

sorry for the great trouble that Sevagees army gives you and wish both yourselves and us well freed of him, but surely the after history of so farr distant

[1] 18 F.S.G. 20. [2] Fort con. 18 June, 1 F.S.G. 10 (*M.R.* 115).

[3] 27 F.S.G. 16. Cf. Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 301–2 (4th edn., 284–5).

[4] 18 F.S.G. 25. As to the postscript, see *E.F.* i. 278, regarding the activity of Sivaji's troops in the neighbourhood of Surat during March–May 1677.

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excursions of his, and both at once, will appeare something extravagant. He carryes it seemingly fair with us also, but its ill sleeping where he watches.

On 16 July Sivaji, as reported by the Brahman Ramana from his camp, was at Bonagir-patam (or Bowanigiri), a fort on the Vellor River, twenty-two miles south of Tiruvadi,[1] having 'followed after Sier Cawn by Punamale way', and it was there that the Brahman delivered to him the second batch of counter-poisons and other articles sent from the Fort. He had settled his main army by the bank of the Kolerun River at a town called Tirumaduwada [Tirumalavadi],[2] whence the Brahman wrote as follows, about Sivaji's ways of raising money:[3]

Here came an Higyb [Hajib, agent] from the Naque of Madure, to whom his Highness Sevegee Raja spake that his master bore a signe of being worth 900 lacks [lakh = 100,000], whereof he should give him for the present 100 lacks for his expences, to which the said Higyb answered that part of his Masters Country the Naque of Misur [Mysore] had taken and part Yekagee, wherefore he was not able to give him any thing at present, and that if he would restore him back the said country he will give him seaven lacks. These are the news at present here. The Nague of Madure has sent all his family away to Madure from Ghertanapelle [Chartanapalli, i.e. Trichinopoly], where they were before; and while the River of Colorum remaines full they feare nothing, but afterwards God knows what will be done.

There came a letter to Meirza Mahomed Omin [Mirza Muhammad Amin], that Badea Cawn and the sonns of Idolsha Ollum Cawne [? Adilshah Alum Khan], Sheck Minajee,[4] and Saria Cawne [? Sharja Khan], are allready come this side of Kishna River with some seaven or eight thousand horse, and it is reported the said persons are coming to assist Seavagee Raja. Tis allso reported that the King of George [? Golconda] has given Casolacoty Timonague 6 lacks in country [money] to entertain 100000 footmen and sent him by way of Shirpy. Golconda and Vizapore are joyned togeather and 'tis said that there comes 20,000 horse of the Vizapores.

Again a letter to Walter Clavell describes the situation as it stood on 20 July:[5]

here [times] being very ill boding, Sevagee on the one side in Chengy and Vealour country, and the Moghulls and Ballull Cawns [Bahlol Khan's] forces on the other side at Coalberghen [Kulbarga] on the Visapore frontier. The King of Gulcondah has hooked into the quarrell.

On 27 July Ramana reported the arrival of one Raganatapuntula [Raghunath Pant][6] from Shivaji's country with 400 horsemen, and that he had been received

[1] Cf. Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 302 (4th edn., 285).

[2] Cf. ibid. 303 (4th edn., 286–7).

[3] 27 F.S.G. 17, 18. Cf. Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 303–4.

[4] Shekh Minajee was a general in the Bijapur army, who had offered his services to the Mughals and taken money from them for this, but had ended by going over to the King of Golconda (Vira's let. 16 June & 26 Aug., 27 F.S.G. 15, 20; Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, 252; cf. p. 189 *post.*)

[5] 18 F.S.G. 36.

[6] He was Raghunath Narayan Hanamante, who had formerly been guardian of Sivaji's brother, Vyankoji, during his minority, and had suggested to Sivaji the conquest of the Carnatic (Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 285–6, 4th edn., 271).

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with marks of honour, kept for two days, and then sent with the envoy of the Naik of Madura to 'make an end of [the] business' with the latter.[1] The next day he further reported that[2]

Since Raguntapuntulo hath been with the Nague of Madure he agreed with him to pay unto his master 6 lacks of pardoas [pardao, i.e. a half pagoda] and his said master to retire back with his army, on which account the said Nagues Higyb has brought with him 1½ lack of pardoas and paid Sevagee Raja. After which here came Yeckogee Raja [Sivaji's brother, Vyankoji] with 2,000 horse to Trimalawada [Tirumalavadi] to visit his brother, who went to meet him as far as the towne called Terupatora [Tirupatur], after whose arrivall Sevagee Raja sent him a message saying that he will allow him one quarter part of all the money, horses, jewells, and country, to himself which his father had got while he lived, and that he would have the other three parts, to which he answered that he could not give his consent thereunto: upon which Sevagee Raja waxed very angry and bad him be gone, who presently went away with five horses; and presently after it Sevagee Raja apprehended Jagornutt Pantulo [Jagannath Pant], Sevagee pantulo [Sivaji Pant], Conery Pantulo [Konher Pant], and a merchant called Nilogee Nague, who [Sivaji] doth allso intend to send Jawardo Pantulo [Janardan Pant] to take possession of Yeckogees country.[3]

The presence of the Brahman Ramana in Sivaji's camp was at this time unwelcome to the Golconda officers there, and he had difficulty in maintaining it against their opposition. About 27 July he was asked by one of them, Madana Pant,[4] to remove himself, on the ground that the English were subjects of Golconda and were only merchants, and that 'when he wrote up to Gulcondah of divers peoples higybs being here, he received orders from thence not to suffer too many higybs to remaine here'.[5]

Soon afterwards further peremptory orders were personally given to the envoy by Madana Pant, who 'orderd the porters to hinder me from goeing to Sevagee Rajas presence'. On his complaining to Mirza Muhammad Amin, the Golconda commander, and his chief Brahmans, they backed up Madana Pant, saying that he was the chief representative of Golconda there and should be placated.[5] On 2 August he reported that he had been again sent for by Madana Pant and ordered to depart from the camp without further delay. Muhammad Amin advised him to comply, and he told the Fort that he proposed to leave, as he was afraid of harm if he did not.[6]

On 2 August the Brahmin, writing from Tundumgurti, to which place Sivaji had moved his army, reported that it had been sent on to Yelavanasor, and that

[1] 27 F.S.G. 18. [2] Ibid. 19. Cf. Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 304–5, 4th edn., 287.

[3] Jagannath Pant was diwan of the kingdom of Tanjore, which had been conquered by Vyankoji in 1675 (Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 282). He and the other three (also in Tanjore service) were arrested by Sivaji, because he ascribed Vyankoji's flight to their advice (ibid. 305). Janardan Pant was a brother of Raghunath Narayan Hanamante.

[4] He was Lingappa's uncle, who looked after his affairs at Poonamallee. He became Nawab of Golconda in 1682 (Love, i. 411 *n.*, 412).

[5] 27 F.S.G. 19. [6] Ibid. 20.

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Sivaji 'himself with Somogee Nague [Somaji Naik] and some others of his great men are gone for Hirudachalam [Vriddhachalam] to worship the great Pagotha', and had not yet returned. In the same letter he sent news that Sivaji had given orders that possession should be taken of all his brother Vyankoji's territories; also that Sivaji's forces had that day taken possession of Yelavanasor Fort, Jagannath Pant having agreed to this and turned out the occupants of the Fort. Sivaji, it was stated, 'brings Jagarnut pantulo, Sevagee pantulo, and Nillogee Nague along with him'. He also reported a visit from Signor Deager, and the Dutch chief of Tevenapatam, with presents for Sivaji. Their object was thought by some to be to recover goods which had been stolen from them. They were well received and tashrifs given them.[1]

A letter of 24 August from Langhorn and his Council to the Surat factory stated[2] that Sivaji, after

dispossessing Seer Cawn and stripping his brother Eccogee of all his open territoryes on this side [of the] Coalladon [Kolerun] River, has made no further progress, Vealour and Auzney standing out, and no great probabillityes of their reduction, unless by length of time. Meanwhile Eccogee is leagueing with the Naiques of Madure and Maysore and other woodmen and [is] likely to find Sevagee worke enough. Gulcondah as yet sitts still, who in this juncture might easily unroost him from his new conquests. But his Braminy Councell are perhaps afraid, least so doing might bring the fire into their own house, and give Sevagee the oppertunity he waits for to plunder, if he cannot possess, his countrey.

The next news of Sivaji's doings and connected events is contained in a letter dated 26 August from Vira Ragava, the Fort representative at Golconda, which runs as follows:[3]

Seeing Dillil Cawn [Diler Khan] and Badar Cawn [Bahadur Khan] had taken Calubariga [Kulbarga] Fort,[4] these two generalls and Balball Cawn [Bahlol Khan] have joyned togeither and are come downe with their forces neare the said Fort to fight against Gulconda army, and the reason why [they came] thither is because the King of Gulconda sent for Sevagee Raja, who is an enemy both to the Mogull and Vizapore, and permitted him to pass through his country to the Cornett, and that he [the King of Golconda] should lay hold of Sevagee Raja and dilliver him up to the Moghull, and that he should likewise deliver up Shekee Minaju, who is now entertained in his service, he haveing received great summs of money of the Moghull [on his] promiseing to serve him, which if [the King does] otherwise, they will come and fight with him, and where[as] the Ollampanna [the King] wrote to his shallaskareen [sar-i-lashkar, i.e. commander-in-chief] at the fronteers towards Vizapore to be very carefull and watchfull in those parts, he remaines there accordingly. The King wrote from hence to his shallaskareen and other great persons that they should one way or other endeavour to make peace with the Moghull, though they promise him large summs of money, about which they are now treating.

[1] 27 F.S.G. 20. Cf. Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 306–7, 313–14 (4th edn., 288–9).
[2] 18 F.S.G. 42. [3] 27 F.S.G. 20–1.
[4] Kulbarga was captured by the Mughals on 7 July (Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, 251).

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The differences between the Mughal Empire and Golconda, arising mainly from the latter's connexion with Sivaji, developed fast in September. According to further news sent by Vira from Golconda on 19 September, the Emperor rebuked Diler Khan and Bahadur Khan for taking Kulbarga Fort, which belonged to Bijapur, and allowing it to pass into the possession of the Golconda State, which had let Sivaji pass through its country, and called on them to cause the King of Golconda to send him 100 lakhs of rupees and 10,000 horsemen as a reparation for this offence. In reply to their demands, which at first were for double the above figures, the King of Golconda offered to pay five lakhs, which was refused. The two generals then joined with the Bijapur commander, Bahlol Khan, and brought their armies nearer Golconda.[1] Then (he continues):[2]

Gulconda people, haveing notice thereof, allso joyned all their forces hard by the said army, as the Shalaskareen[s], Siddy Mahsood [Masaud],[3] Sayd Mocktooms [Sayyid Makhtum's], Idolshaws [Adilshah's], Saja [? Sharja] Cawns, and the Sharkell['s], and some of Cornut [Carnatic] countrys forces. Some 4 or 5000 horses of the Moghulls and Balball Cawns being intended to fall upon the King of Gulcondas army, the latter, haveing notice thereof, went out with some 20 or 30000 horse to meet them and fought very hard for a great while. Balball Cawns forces, not being able to stand against them any longer, being almost routed, then Dillill Cawn came and helped him, and saved his army from receiving further harm, after which every one retyred to their ground and 'tis said that Gulcondas army came off victoriously, and that the contrary party has a great loss, haveing killed [of] them 700 horse in the said engagement, and on the Gulconda side some were wounded, but few killed, likewise some 5 or 6 great Captains were killed of the Mogull and Balball Cawnes side.

The same letter reported that the King of Golconda had ordered Madana to march with his forces, but that the latter had made excuses and contented himself with sending Pollepalli Yengana: also that the King had himself sent reinforcements to his forces, viz. all the horse and men that were under Mirza Sangier, Goodcharulo, Shekh Minajee, and other great captains, and that an engagement was shortly expected. Intrigues, peace negotiations, and alarm at Golconda were also mentioned, the envoy writing:[4]

They are now allso treating concerning a peace, but seeing that Badar Cawn has taken bribes of Gulconda he advised the said King [to] fight a little first, and then he will bring it to pass that the peace should be concluded, [so] here they are furnishing Gulcondas Fort as fast as they can with all manner of provisions.

Sivaji at this time had proceeded some three or four days' march up-country

[1] 27 F.S.G. 22. Bahadur Khan was, however, recalled by Aurangzeb from his posts of Viceroy of the Deccan and commander-in-chief of the invading force, and he left Golconda territory early in September (Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, 251–2).

[2] 27 F.S.G. 22–3. Cf. Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 319, as to the crushing repulse of Dilir and Bahlol by the Golconda troops in September.

[3] Sidi Masaud was then a Bijapur general, and succeeded Bahlol Khan as regent of Bijapur in 1678 (ibid. 317–18, 322; *Aurangzib*, 253).

[4] 27 F.S.G. 23.

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with a view to reducing places belonging to his brother Vyankoji, and this had lessened the alarm at the Fort. All the same, the Agent and Council were not sufficiently reassured to feel that they could reduce their garrison, as recruits could not be easily reobtained on fresh alarms, and Sivaji's movements could not be foreseen. Thus in September they wrote to Madapollam that

there is nothing more uncertaine then which way he will bend his course, whether directly thence to his Decan countreys, or by the same way he came, especially he being now solicited to return towards Gulcondah to make head against the Moghulls forces.[1]

On 22 September, three days after the above was written, Sivaji sent a request to the Agent and Council for engineers and craftsmen, writing:

Since my arrivall into the Cornat country I have conquered several forts and castles, and do also intend to build new workes in severall forts and castles. You may likely have with you such men as knowe how to make great carryages for gunns, and how to contrive mines. We have need of such men at present, especially those that know how to make mines, and to blow up stone walls. I had such men with me, who came from towards Goa and Vingorla, and are all kept employed in severall of my forts and castles, and when I enquired of them for more such men, they tould me that they were all gone for Chinapatam [Madras] and Pollicat.

He accordingly asked to be sent 20 or 25, or at least 5 or 10, of such men.[2]

To this request a 'civill excuse' was returned, as the Agent and Council feared that to comply with it might increase Sivaji's power, as well as lead to their incurring the enmity of the Golconda and Mughal powers. At the same time they took steps to increase the garrison at the Fort, being alarmed at the proximity of Sivaji, who was then within two days' march. They resolved in Council to entertain all the Christians they could find, so as to bring their numbers up to 250, and to hasten the collection of lime, brick, and stone 'for the carrying on of the new Caldera Point and building of the curtain from thence to the Fishers Point northward, as also from the Round Point, alias Charles's Point, to St. Thomas Point southward', in accordance with a previous resolution of 13 August. They recorded that the curtain 'from the gate by Sir Edward Winters to the Choultry gate towards the bazar' had fallen down on 2 October after heavy rain.[3]

Sivaji's neighbourhood and other dangers also led to the refusal of a request from Bantam for English soldiers made by the Agent and Council of that place, who were told that this was due to 'Sevagee being within 2 days march, picking quarrells and wanting nothing but opportunity, the Moghulls and Visapore armys fallen into this country, and allready blood drawn, and part of our walls fallen down, which we are working incessantly to repair'.[4] They further reported[5] that

[1] Fort let. 19 Sept., 18 F.S.G. 50.

[2] 27 F.S.G. 23.

[3] Fort con. 3 Oct., 1 F.S.G. 17 (*M.R.* 123). 'The gate by Sir Edward Winters' meant the Middle gate, see Love, i. 372 *n.*

[4] Fort let. 8 Oct., 18 F.S.G. 35.

[5] Ibid. Cf. Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 302–3, 307.

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the place of Porto Novo has been lately pillaged by Sevagee, now master of all these parts and sworn enemy to all Moores and Pattans, and this not once but by degrees as he starts pretences, [so] that there will be but ill depending on that place for fraights, untill better settled. Seer Caun has been quite subdued, taken [and] pillaged, as all to him relateing or pretended such, and escaped, quite stript, into the woods, and all that country, Chengy, Veleour, etc., now in Sevagees possession and pealed to the bones, [so] these parts [are] in a most unsettled and undefinsible condition.

The next news of Sivaji and his doings is given in a letter to Masulipatam on 23 October. This showed that at that date the Golconda forces were making headway against those of the Mughals and Bijapur. The Agent and Council, in reporting this 'good newes', wrote:[1]

we wish them well out of that embroyl. Sevagee is yet in his new conquests, though they talk of his going to Gulcondah againe upon a supply of pagodas 100,000, which will doe very well for the poore countrey.

Later, in a letter dated 28 October from the English Brahman at Golconda,[2] a long report was given of encounters between the rival forces of Golconda and those of the Mughals and Bijapur. He wrote:

The shallaskareen, Mahomed Hibraim, with some 30000 horse and severall other Captains, being about the fronteirs of Vizapore at a place called Giviny [Jeewaniyee below Malkhed] some 12 leagues off of Gulconda, Dillill Cawne and Balball Cawn being allso 1½ leagues this side of Callubarigu [Kulbarga] Fort; but since the Ollampana had enordered his army to goe and fight with that of the Moghulls, and Balball Cawns his army haveing accordingly drawed nearer to a place called Mangalique, one Gentue league distant from the place where the Moghulls army was, after which Hidolsha and severall other Captains went with their men and have engaged with the Moghull and Balball Cawnes forces, and brought them with all their elliphants very neare to the place where Gulcandas forces were setled, and in the meanetime there came one Captain of the Moghulls side, named Prohy Hassan Cawne,[3] with some 20,000 horse, who fought very stoutly and courageously, which caused both the armys to retire to theire places where they were before. Three days after the first engagement Sidelor Yengana and severall other Captains, being gone to fight against the Moghull and Balball Cawnes forces, who after a small engagement made Gulcanda people believe as if they did run away, and carryed those towards an ambuscado, which Moghulls people had made, where Gulcanda people, haveing lost a great many men and was sadly routed that they knew not what to do, and were putt out of their witts; and at the same time the Moghulls people, haveing joyned more forces killed many more of Golcondas people, and tooke their great drums and flaggs; and when they were going to take the said Captains prisoners, there appeared the

[1] 18 F.S.G. 58.

[2] 27 F.S.G. 24–5. Martin's *Mémoires*, ii. 118, also contain a brief account of the encounter.

[3] Husain Khan was an Afghan clansman of Bahlol Khan. With his brother Kasim Khan he held the Kopal region in the southern corner of the kingdom of Bijapur (Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 319–20). For a reference to this fighting, cf. Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, 252.

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Shallaskareen and severall other of Golcondas side, who all fought very stoutly with the Moghulls forces and made them to retire back; and so the said Captains were released, haveing allso brought with them severall persons that were killed and wounded in the said fight; since when they have had severall other fightings, but neither of them have had the advantage one over the other, Gulconda people being gone a great way within the Moghulls country and Balball Cawnes, and brought away all their provisions that [people] were bringing for their army, they seeing themselves in great want of it. The 20 currt. they came and fell upon Golcondas army and killed every man and woman, even the very children, that were at the market where they had all there graines and caryed away all from thence, haveing allso routed the Shallaskareen and all the other Captains belonging to Gulcondah, and made them all leave their places where they were setled before, especially all the great Bramanys, [so] that none can tell as yet where [they] are, nor none can tell whereabouts will Gulcondas people joyne again to fight against the Moghull and Balball Cawnes forces. Gulcondas people, haveing ketched [caught] severall of the said Cawns [? Sidelor Yenguna] letters which he wrote to the Mughulls people, he was taken prisoner and kept in Gulconda Fort very strictly, and gave all his soldiers to be under the command of another Captain. The Devan allowes him 5 rupees [per] day for his maintenance. Seeing Serjam Olum Cawn [Sharja Alam Khan],[1] Hassawn Cawne, Hussen Cawne, Hiji Cawne, Masse Cawne, and severall other of Pattan Cast Captains, who had some 2000 horse under them, and by reason of their cast they would not fight against the Moghull and Balball Cawnes forces, wherefore the Devan kept watches about their houses.

This ends the details given in the extant Fort St. George records; but some further information (e.g. as to Bahlol Khan's death in December 1677, the failure of Sivaji's plot to capture Bijapur by treachery, and the breach that took place between him and the King of Golconda) will be found in letters written in 1678 by the Rajapur factors to Surat (*F.R.* 107, Sur., cf. Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 317–18, 322) and in news from Rajapur retailed in Bom. let. 14 Feb., 8 Bom. 13, reproduced by D. R. Banaji, *Bombay and the Sidis*, 190. Orme's note XLII at pp. 76–8, and Forrest's *Selections from Bombay Government Records*, i. 132, 134, 135, also contain extracts from Bombay letters of 27 June, 11 July, and 24 August 1677 (8 Bom. 37, 43, 47) relating to this incursion.

[1] He was probably the rival of Sidi Masaud, the future regent of Bijapur, between whom peace was effected by the King of Golconda in 1678 (Sarkar, *Shivaji*, 322).

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MASULIPATAM, 1670

No records of the Masulipatam factory are extant for the first six months of the year, probably on account of the disorder that prevailed there. Its Chief, William Jearsey, had returned from Madras (*E.F.*, 1668–9, 274), but seems to have entirely neglected his duties. Orders from the Company were on their way by the out-coming ships removing him from the chiefship for his contempt of the Company's orders, permitting gross, profane, and scandalous vices in the factory, carrying on private trade out of India, using the stock of the Company to his own advantage, making short returns, and neglecting to send accounts or returns of his proceedings.[1] His successor-designate was Richard Mohun, a factor from the South Seas who had impressed the Company with his ability, and was directed to sail by the ships that left England in December 1669.[2] John Niclaes, the 'second', was also to be relieved of his office for insolence and debauchery. Both he and Jearsey were to be excluded from the Council or any part in the management of the Company's affairs. Three others of the Company's servants—Robert Fleetwood, Ambrose Salisbury[3] and Henry Arnold—were to be discharged from service for scandalous behaviour and notorious wickedness and were to be returned to England, with any others similarly guilty, or if they had reformed, were to be recalled to the Fort and report made.[4] Of these Niclaes and Arnold had died in 1669 (*E.F.*, 1668–9, 283). Fleetwood remained at Masulipatam, and Salisbury at Petapoli, throughout the year, but (in obedience to the Company's orders) were required to go to Madras.[5] The Agent and Council at the Fort thought there was no just ground for the charge against them, 'unless their zeale for conformity and against non-conformity are made the ground of that accusation'.[6]

This refers to the complaints against the two chaplains, Walter Hook and William Thomson, of unorthodoxy and neglect of duty, which had

[1] Desp. 7 Dec. 1669, 4 L.B. 288, 300.

[2] Ibid. Mohun was appointed a factor at Maccassar in 1658 (*Ct. Min.*, 1655–9, 213, 256) and served there for most of the time before he went home in 1664 (*E.F.*, 1661–4, 207, 211). In 1665 the Company presented him with a gratuity of £40 for his good services (*Ct. Min.*, 1664–7, 139) and in 1668 admitted him to its freedom (*Ct. Min.*, 1668–70, 37). The minute appointing him Chief at Masulipatam referred to his good 'abilities and faithfulness' (ibid. 251).

[3] He spelt his surname 'Salusbury', but I retain the spelling contained in previous volumes.

[4] 4 L.B. 288.

[5] Mas. con. 28 Dec., 1 Mas. 20; let. from Salisbury, 11 Dec., 9 Mas. 95.

[6] Fort let. to Co. 19 July, 3 Misc. 129.

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led to opposition in 1668–9 and representations to the Company and the Archbishop of Canterbury for their removal.[1] These had been effectual and the Company's despatch of 7 December 1669 contained orders, issued by command of the King, for their return to England. They were to be allowed to choose their ships and to be well accommodated, and the terms of the despatch show that the sympathies of the Company were with them.[2] Hook had died at Masulipatam before the orders arrived.[3] Thomson speedily complied with them, sailing for England in July by the *Return*, which also carried a letter from the Agent at the Fort replying to the charges made against him.[4] In place of Hook and Thomson the Company were sending out two other ministers, Thomas Bill and Edward Newcombe, of whom the latter was to go to Masulipatam, with an injunction that they were 'to be given all due encouragement in the preaching of the Gospell'.[5]

Richard Smithson had been deputed from Madras in June of the previous year to inspect the factories at Masulipatam and Petapoli.[6] He submitted a report to the Company in January,[7] writing from Madras, to which he had recently returned. He had completely failed to get the necessary books and papers.

Jearsey, pressed by him in the name of his 'old acquaintance and friendshipp' to complete the books, had first pretended that they were almost finished and would be delivered in three or four days, but at the end of that time had been obliged to admit that there were none, and that they had not been kept since Nicholas Buckeridge's departure.[8] Accounts for five years were missing; the Agent and Council had ordered that an effort should be made to make up at least those of the last two years, and Smithson had proceeded to do this in spite of Jearsey's endeavours to persuade him to desist on various pleas, excuses, and promises—unfulfilled—to furnish the accounts of the first three years. His efforts had been handicapped by sickness—'a

[1] *E.F.*, 1668–9, 137, 155, 160, 281, 284–7.

[2] 4 L.B. 286.

[3] Mas. let. to Co. 14 July, O.C. 3446.

[4] 3 Misc. 127.

[5] 4 L.B. 286. Newcombe, however, remained at Madras and died there (p. 22 *ante*), while Bill seems not to have sailed at all (Rev. P. Penny, *Church in Madras*, i. 53).

[6] *E.F.*, 1668–9, 202. An English factory had been established at Petapoli in 1621 (*Imp. Gas. of India*, xix. 128). In 1670 it was of little importance, and only one of the Company's servants, Ambrose Salisbury, was in residence there. For further details as to the factory, see Bowrey, 53 *n.*

[7] Let. 12 Jan., 3 Misc. 106–7.

[8] Nicholas Buckeridge had been sent out as a special commissioner to investigate charges against Winter in 1664 and returned home in 1665 (*E.F.*, 1661–4, 366, 372, 376, 392).

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complication of the dropsie and jaundies'—and at one time he had to retire for a change 'to the more wholesome aire of Meddapollam'.[1] Nevertheless, he was able, when he wrote, to send certain accounts and to promise others.[2]

His death took place at some time before 14 June (p. 2), and the investigation was taken over by Mohun, the new Chief, as ordered by the Company.[3] Sir William Langhorn and Joseph Hinmers also took part in it. They had been sent out as members of the Council of Fort St. George but were, together with Mohun and Smithson, also members of a Commission appointed by the King to inquire into the charges against Sir Edward Winter and the differences between him and Foxcroft and the latter's son, Nathaniel.[4] Their duties as Commissioners necessitated their proceeding to Masulipatam where Winter then was, and this enabled its weak and disordered establishment to be strengthened by adding them temporarily to the Council there.[5]

The Company had appointed Matthew Mainwaring to be second in Council, Roger Brodnax[6] to be third, and Thomas Moore to be fourth. The first two were in Bengal (pp. 325–6) and gave no assistance to the Council, except that Mainwaring joined it at the end of December; while Moore's participation in its work lasted only from 5 July to 26 August.[7] George Chamberlain, who had been taken into the Company's service as a factor on £25 a year and appointed to be 'fifth' at Masulipatam, joined the Council at the end of December.[8]

Langhorn, Hinmers, Mohun, and Moore left Madras on the *Rainbow*[9] about 30 June (p. 3), and reached Masulipatam on 4 July. After landing they were met on 'the bridge'[10] by Jearsey, Sir Edward Winter, and several others. Jearsey made over his office at once and offered the

[1] i.e. Madapollam, a town adjoining Narsapur, on the southernmost of the main mouths of the Godaveri. The Company had a house there (cf. *E.F.*, 1661–4, 391), and their servants used it as a health resort. Thus Fryer (i. 99), referring to the unhealthiness of Masulipatam, writes: 'The English for that cause, only at the time of shipping, remove to Medapollon where they have a wholesome seat forty miles more north.'

[2] 3 Misc. 106–7.

[3] 4 L.B. 288.

[4] Ibid. 297.

[5] Fort let. to Co. 19 July and 16 Dec., 3 Misc. 127, O.C. 3519, f. 1.

[6] In 1669 Brodnax had been given orders to go to Masulipatam (*E.F.*, 1668–9, 308), but had disobeyed them. As to his further insubordination in Bengal, see pp. 327–9.

[7] Presumably Moore died about this time (cf. *Ct. Min.*, 1671–3, 73, which refers to 'the late Mr. Moore').

[8] *Ct. Min.*, 1668–70, 261; desp. 7 Dec. 1699, 4 L.B. 300; 1 Mas. 1–7, 22; 5 Mas. 1–39.

[9] The *Rainbow* left Masulipatam for the Bay on 28 July (Mas. let. 5 Aug., 5 Mas. 28).

[10] There were two bridges at Masulipatam; that here mentioned must have been the shorter one, leading to the town, in which the English factory was situated. The other bridge led to the English garden, which was two miles out of the town (Fryer, i. 81; Bowrey, 61–3; *S.M.* i. 83, 293).

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keys of the warehouses, but it being late these were refused. Inspection next day showed that both godowns and outhouses were absolutely empty, while in the writing offices were only papers of no value, all books of account or other papers of any importance having been removed by Jearsey before their arrival.[1]

Their report to the Company[2] was dispatched ten days after their arrival. It was intended to catch the *Return* which, under orders of the Company, sailed direct back to England from Madras, but the letter reached that place too late for the vessel's departure about 20 July,[3] so it only left at the end of the year with the main shipping. Up to the time of its writing they had had nothing more than promises from Jearsey, in spite of peremptory orders to which they had recourse when amicable and friendly means had failed: they then got a promise of the papers within a month.[4]

In one matter they were able to approve of Mr. Jearsey's work: they commended his 'faculty as an architect', recording that he had done good service to the Company in the building of their house, 'which is both handsome and well contrived for the business, as also both the outhouses and godownes',[5] All, however, were empty and 'without even a bench', so much so that they were beholden to Mr. Jearsey for the loan of furniture for their own use. But for this they had nothing but bare walls, while handicraftsmen were lacking.[6] A great feud between the smiths and carpenters of the place had grown to such a pitch that they had all run away and their return was uncertain.[7]

A fortnight before the arrival of Mohun and the others, two of Jearsey's ships had left. Their escape caused much disappointment to the Chief and his Council, as by seizing the ships they could have put pressure on Jearsey. They reported to the Company that they contemplated this measure, and would have no hesitation in putting it into effect, if by the time the ships got back he had not made satisfaction to the Company.[8]

Their reference to these ships led to some passages with the Fort, as the Agent and Council there thought that it was suggested that they were responsible for the escape of the ships, owing to their having kept Langhorn and the others at the Fort longer than necessary.[9] The latter, however, explained that they were merely reporting the facts, not

[1] Let. to Co. 14 July, 5 Mas. 1–3; let. to Fort, 14 July, ibid. 8; Mas. con. 7 July, 1 Mas. 2.
[2] 5 Mas. 1–7 & O.C. 3446. A portion of the letter is reproduced in *Ind. Antiquary*, xxxiv. 168.
[3] Mas. let. to Fort, 5 Aug., 5 Mas. 25. Cf. p. 3 *ante*. [4] 5 Mas. 5.
[5] Ibid. 3, 9; O.C. 3446, f. 2. [6] Mas. let. to Bengal, 27 July, 5 Mas. 19.
[7] Mas. let. to Fort, 14 July, ibid. 9. [8] Ibid. 3. 9. Fort let. to Mas[9] 27 July, Mas. 28.

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imputing blame.[1] Doubtless both parties feared the displeasure of the Company, who had directed that Mohun should proceed to Masulipatam as soon as possible, keeping the directions regarding Jearsey private until his arrival.[2] The Fort also pointed out that the letter from Masulipatam to the Company had reached Madras sealed and not open for their perusal,[3] as should have been the case. Mohun and his Council pleaded ignorance of the Company's orders as their excuse.[4]

The new Chief and Council lost no time after their arrival in putting in hand contracts for the goods required for the year's shipping to England, and in a few days had already placed a number to be fulfilled in four months.[5] In spite of their relations with Jearsey they resolved to take his advice about the investments in calicoes and the reliability of particular merchants;[6] but later on (p. 204) they discovered it had not been wholly sound. In their negotiations 'with the most eminent merchants who dealt in calicoes' they found them 'very subtle and very unwilling to come to an agreement but upon deare terms . . . they being not ignorant of our necessities'.[7] In view of their difficulties they decided to dispatch John Hopkins, who was provided with 1,000 pagodas, to Madapollam to buy ginghams, longcloth, and sallampores.[8]

They reported on Madapollam in their letter to the Fort of 14 July, and dwelt on the advantages of maintaining a factory there.[9]

Madapollam, wee are informed, is a factory fitt to be continued and will afford yearly greater and greater quantity of callicoes, if supplyed with moneys, and that this factory doth much depend upon it for investments, being cheaper bought there then here by 20 per cent or more, all the country neare it being weavers, and noe cloth in all those countrys better cured than at Verashroone;[10] and this may be done with little charge by keeping two or three Englishmen at Madapollam at the most, one or two of which may now or then goe to Verashroone, Dashroone,[11] etc., to provide and see it brought in, these places lying not far distant from said factory; some country people they must likewise have to bee imployed upon these occasions.

[1] Mas. let. to Fort 5 Aug., 5 Mas. 25.
[2] 4 L.B. 296.
[3] Fort let. to Mas. 27 July, 9 Mas. 27.
[4] 5 Mas. 25.
[5] Mas. con. 8 July, 1 Mas. 2.
[6] Mas. undated con. about the end of July, ibid. 8.
[7] Mas. let. to the Fort, 17 July, 5 Mas. 6.
[8] Mas. con. 11 July, 1 Mas. 4; instrns. to Hopkins, 16 July, 5 Mas. 15. Hopkins had been sent out to Fort St. George as 'a youth' in 1662 (*E.F.*, 1661–4, 163, 182), and had been transferred to Petapoli in 1669 (*E.F.*, 1668–9, 283). The Company in its desp. of 7 Dec. 1669 (4 L.B. 289) increased his salary to £20 a year.
[9] 5 Mas. 4.
[10] i.e. Viravāsaram, about nine miles north-west of Madapollam. A factory had been established there in 1634 and closed in 1662 (*S.M.* i. 83, 87, 274).
[11] i.e. Drācharam, seventeen miles south-west of Coconada (cf. *S.M.* i. 115 *n.*).

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They would, however, be very circumspect and not act without the advice of the Agent and Council. They also did not know what charge Jearsey would make for the factory, 'which is said to be very commodious and one of the best houses in the country'.

The Agent and Council at the Fort, however, took exception to the suggestion that a factory should be set up at Madapollam, as the orders of the Company only allowed of three factories on the Coast and these already existed at the Fort, Masulipatam, and Petapoli.[1] Mohun replied that they had 'only hinted it to you as necessary . . . upon information received', and that they merely intended 'a person or two [to be] in those parts continually upp and down'.[2]

Hopkins speedily got to work and an intimate, and at times almost daily, correspondence was maintained, he sending them 'musters' (samples) and details of the cloths procurable and they criticisms, instructions, and orders.[3] Madapollam proved a good centre for supplies and it soon became necessary to add to his funds. Advances for work had to be made, as 'by reason of the oppression of the Governors and for want of the encouragement of the English residence there', the weavers were 'much dispersed and impoverished, so that without mony beforehand there was no possibility of anythinge to be don'.[4] Caution in the making of these advances was repeatedly enjoined, but a certain amount of discretion was conceded. By the beginning of September they were expressing disappointment that he had so far procured a very inconsiderable part of the goods required.[5] The help of one, Francis Turner[6] of Pundapallee,[7] was accepted on account of his long

[1] Fort let., 27 July, 9 Mas. 29, 30. The Company in its despatch of 7 Dec. 1669 to Masulipatam (4 L.B. 302) said that Madapollam had cost it a great deal of money and was a place of little use to it. Fleetwood in his description of trade at Madapollam also says (9 July) that the merchants there had dispersed for want of employment (9 Mas. 8).

[2] Mas. let., 5 Aug., 5 Mas. 27. In fact, however, a factory was now virtually established at Madapollam by sending factors there annually to get cloth; and this was recognized at any rate in 1672, when Fleetwood was appointed its Chief (p. 219 *post*).

[3] Mas. let. *passim*, 5 Mas. 15–77; Mad. let. *passim*, 9 Mas. 36–109.

[4] Cons. of 22 July, 18 Aug., 14 Sept., 10 Oct., 4 & 19 Nov., 1 Mas. 6, 9, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16.

[5] Mas. let., 18 Aug. & 1 Sept., 5 Mas. 37, 39.

[6] I have not succeeded in tracing the identity of this Francis Turner; but he was probably the 'Mr. Turner', who had built a good house at Navarajpuram, as mentioned in Master's diary (*S.M.* ii. 161). The previous volumes of this series contain no mention of this name, except as that of a 'writer', who came to Madras in 1668 but died at Masulipatam the same year (*E.F.*, 1668–9, 128, 137, 157), and who, incidentally, was son of a friend of Samuel Pepys and received presents from him and Mrs. Pepys on his departure to India (*Ct. Min.*, 1668–70, 3 *n.*). The reference to his long experience also indicates that this Francis Turner must have been a different person.

[7] Its situation is doubtful. Recent maps do not show any place of that name in the vicinity of

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experience in those parts, but, on Hopkins taking exception, it was left to him to determine how far he should use or follow Turner's advice.[1]

Further remittances of 1,000 or 2,000 pagodas follow from time to time, and Robert Freeman, and later James Walcot, were sent to assist him and allow him to move about and visit other centres such as Viravasaram.[2] In September–October Freeman and Walcot were recalled to Masulipatam and replaced by John Field.[3] By 9 September Hopkins had obtained some 2,000 pieces of cloth, most of which was longcloth, and the rest sallampores and ginghams.[4]

Towards the end of September the Chief and Council at Masulipatam were not wholly satisfied with the way things were proceeding at Madapollam, and reproof and cautions were accompanied with a threat that neglect would be neither forgotten nor forgiven.[5] This led to an 'expostulatory letter' from Hopkins, which, in turn, brought forth a further rebuke against 'needless justification', and further injunctions to use 'care and dilligence... without any further carping or cavilling'.[6] In October Walcot, who had been sent to Madapollam 'for the restoration of his health', on his return to Masulipatam brought accounts with him, whereupon Mohun and his Council approved the purchases that had been made and asked for their speedy delivery.[7] Most of the goods were sent by boat to Masulipatam in December in time for their lading on the ships that arrived from the Bay (p. 204).[8]

The Petapoli factory appears to have been in abeyance during the year, on account of the dismissal of Ambrose Salisbury (p. 194), but in December, at the request of the Council he had some ginghams dyed red as samples for the Company, and also sent a consignment of gunnies, dungarees, ropes, and other packing material to Masulipatam.[9]

Madapollam, but it may be identical with 'Punipilloo', where Hopkins mentioned that a sloop of Mr. Jearsey lay 'on the shore', so that it was probably on the river there (let. 8 Dec., 9 Mas. 92). Turner also, writing in Feb. 1671 from Pundapallee, mentions that another vessel of Mr. Jearsey had 'this instante come to an anchor against the factory' (9 Mas. 139).

[1] Mas. let. 31 July and 1 Sept., 5 Mas., 21, 22, 39; Mas. let. to Turner, 21 July & 9 Aug., 5 Mas. 17, 30, 31.

[2] Mas. let. 9 Aug. & 9 Sept., ibid. 33, 40. Both Walcot and Freeman had been sent out in 1668 (*E.F.*, 1668–9, 127–8).

[3] Mas. let. 27 Sept. & 10 Oct., 5 Mas. 46, 49. Field had entered the Company's service in 1662 *S.M.* i. 104 *n.*).

[4] Mas. let. 14 & 16 Sept., 5 Mas. 39(2), 40(2), 41.

[5] Mas. let. 27 Sept., ibid. 45.

[6] Mas. let. 4 Oct., ibid. 46, 47.

[7] Mas. let. 10 & 16 Oct., ibid. 49.

[8] Let. from Hopkins, 15 Dec., 9 Mas. 101; Mas. let. 15 Dec., 5 Mas. 77.

[9] Mas. let. 28 Nov., 8 & 22 Dec., ibid. 60, 69, 79; Petapoli let. 2, 11, & 21 Dec., 9 Mas. 86, 95, 104. The correspondence is reproduced in full in *Ind. Antiquary*, xxxvii. 263–6.

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In their letter to the Company at the end of the year the Council praised him for this service.[1]

Political news during the latter half of the year mainly concerns the movements of 'the great Governour Mahmed Beague',[2] and the questions that arose as to whether a visit and present to him could be avoided on his approach to Masulipatam, where his progress brought him about 22 July.[3] His influence and continuance in office were doubted, and he was, it was reported, in financial difficulties. On 20 July Mohun received through Mir Abdullah Bakir,[4] 'the most eminent person of this place and who, in very considerable commands he has had in this country, has ever been very friendly to our nation', a request for a loan of 5,000 pieces of eight; to this a reply was sent that the 'urgent occasions' of the Company prevented their making such a loan.[5] In early August they report to Madras:

Mahmed Beague the Governour of these parts . . . hath for about six or seven days been at Goodra,[6] about 2 miles from this place, endeavouring to raise what moneys hee can be borrowing and extorting from all of meane degree to pay what hee owes to the King of Golconda, which is credibly beleived hee will not be able to attaine, which gives a great suspicion of his being turned out of his Government; hee hath not yet taken any publique notice of us, only [we] doe suppose that the sub-governour by his instigation did send to us to know if with him wee would give him a visitt to congratulate his safe arrivall hither, to the which wee answered that at present had much business to doe, besides an indisposition the Chiefe had then upon him, which made him uncapable to waite upon him at the tyme. . . .[7]

Later they learnt from 'several Moores of good quality' that both Muhammad Beg and the Governor of the town were displeased at their failure to pay the compliment of the usual visits and presents; they also received news that the former had been 'tasherifft by the King of Golcondaw, an argument of continued favour', and so thought it not safe to trespass further on his patience. They accordingly sent assurances that they would wait on him on 4 October.[8] Difficulties then arose as

[1] Mas. let. 27 Dec., 5 Mas. 92.

[2] i.e. Muhammad Beg, Governor of that part of the Golconda kingdom.

[3] Mas. let. to Fort, 21 July, ibid. 16; Mas. con. 20 July, 1 Mas. 7.

[4] He was Governor of Masulipatam, and was said to have built the two bridges there, cf. *S.M.* i. 83, 84; ii. 159, *n.* 2.

[5] Mas. con. 20 July, 1 Mas. 7.

[6] Gudur, four miles inland from Masulipatam. It was the usual residence of the Governor of Masulipatam (O.C. 4633, cited in *S.M.* ii. 302).

[7] Mas. let. to Fort, 5 Aug., 5 Mas. 28.

[8] Mas. con. 10 & 26 Sept., 1 Mas. 10, 11, 12.

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to the form of the present to be given; its value, after strict inquiry, had been fixed at 902 pagodas. The Governor wanted it all in cash; but it was held that this would form an inconvenient precedent, so it was arranged that it should be made partly in money and partly in goods as was usual, and that the latter should be bought back through a local merchant.[1]

On 8 October the Fort was informed that the promised visit to the Governor had been paid, that they were 'civilly treated and tashereift', and that on the following Tuesday he would return the visit, when they would make him the present as frugally as possible.[2] The return visit was duly paid by Muhammad Beg, when a present of 700 pagodas, in the form arranged, was made to him, and other gifts to the amount of 200 pagodas distributed to the Governor of the town, the Shahbandar, the Kotwal, and some others of his principal officers.[3] The dispute had caused considerable interference with trade, as the Governor's underlings had refused 'his rucca [written order] for the quiett passage of goods, with many petty affronts dayly offered';[4] but the visit appears to have satisfied him, and he showed himself friendly when occasion arose in the following year (pp. 216–17). All parted 'good friends, having since mett with no opposition in our buisiness'.[5]

A little earlier serious trouble had arisen between the French at Masulipatam and the same Governor, which on 13 September led to 'a mortall fray betwixt the French and Moores, there being slaine of the French Monsieur Furnardeen and of the others four, and seven mortally wounded'.[6] The Chief and Council of Masulipatam give a lengthy report of the affair and of the events which led up to it. These arose, they said, from the affairs and misdeeds of an Armenian by name 'Mackra' (Markara),[7] who had lived some years in France and been a covenanted servant of the French East India Company at Surat and elsewhere. He was charged with misusing large funds entrusted to him to procure a farman from the King of Golconda. The French Director brought him from Golconda to Masulipatam, where he was called on to proceed by ship to Surat to answer for his misdeeds. Thereupon he

[1] Mas. con. 11 Oct., 1 Mas. 13.
[2] Mas. let. 8 Oct., 5 Mas. 48.
[3] Mas. let. to Co. 27 Dec., ibid. 86.
[4] Ibid. 48, 85, 86.
[5] Ibid. 85.
[6] Mas. let. to Hopkins, 14 Sept., ibid. 39. 'Furnardeen' was a clerk in the French factory, called Fromentin (Martin, i. 276).
[7] He had come from the Armenian colony of Zulfa at Ispahan and been engaged in Paris on the strength of his knowledge of Eastern trade. (Cf. *E.F.*, 1668–9, 3, 4, 286, 288, and Kaeppelin, 48, 49, 55, and 61–73 *passim*.)

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intrigued with, and promised bribes to, Muhammad Beg to take him out of French custody and set him at liberty. The latter agreed and sent armed men to demand him from the French for examination, on the ground that he was not a Frenchman and had desired him (the Governor) to bring them to a reconciliation. This surrender the French refused and high words passed. The Moslems seized an ox which was bringing water for the French. The latter sallied out 'about five or six with swords and pistolls' and released the ox, but in retiring one of them, by name Furnardeen, was killed.

Upon this they make a second sally to bring off this dead body, not exceeding their former number, in the which they acquitted themselves like worthy brave souldiers driveing the Moores before them, withall doeing execution upon them, and in their retreat carryed off the body of the said Furmanteen [*sic*], but their second Monsieur Marteen [Martin] was shott in the brest with a barbed arrow but [we] suppose not mortall. This is what damage the French received; the Moores had fouer slaine and seaven wounded, most of which is said mortally. The 18th instant departed this life Monsieur Gojune [Goujon], haveing been sick of a feaver 10 or 12 dayes; those that remained, though most part sickly and weake, yet appeare with undaunted courage, resolveing not to deliver up Mackraw, though many tymes since demanded by the Moores, and truly wee are of opinion that they will persist in their denyall, whilst a man of them breaths.

Peace would appear to have been quickly re-established, 'Mahomed Beague . . . haveing sent them betle[1] and cryed pacavi [peccavi] for his rashness'.[2]

The Dutch also had their difficulties with the Golconda authorities. They had been called on to pay a yearly rental of 4,000 pagodas for Pulicat or leave it. Their 'second', it was reported, was going to Golconda with a present of £9,000 sterling to secure the removal of their inconveniences. Moreover at Masulipatam they paid 6,000 new pagodas, as well as five times what the English paid in presents.[3] The Nawab, Neknam Khan, had also threatened that, if they did not comply with the Golconda demands, he would 'in a short tyme lay their Fort levell with the ground'.[4]

[1] The leaf of the *Piper betel* which is chewed with the dried areca-nut (Yule, 89). As stated by Fryer (ii. 96), it is associated with farewell at all friendly interviews, and its sending signified a desire for friendship.

[2] Mas. let. to Fort, 16 & 27 Sept., 5 Mas. 42–4. Cf. Martin, i. 272–84.

[3] Mas. let. to Co. 14 July, O.C. 3446, f. 4, & 5 Mas. 5.

[4] Mas. let. to Fort, 13 Aug., 5 Mas. 36.

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Trading operations went on steadily throughout the latter half of the year, and by the beginning of December the Chief and Council at Masulipatam had about 500 bales of cotton goods in readiness and hoped to have this total increased to 700 bales before the arrival of the ships, then shortly expected from the Bay.[1]

The *Coast Frigate*, which sailed thence on 19 November, reached Masulipatam on 5 December,[2] but the *Happy Entrance*, which had left the Bay on 5 November, was never heard of again.[3] Her non-arrival, and the fact that the *Coast Frigate* was full, necessitated their taking out some of the less valuable and more bulky saltpetre from this ship, and replacing it by 225 bales of cloth.[4] She sailed for Madras on 15 December. The two other ships, *Rainbow* and *Zante*, arrived on 21 and 27 December respectively. On the former they shipped 250 bales, but the latter could take no more than 50 bales. This left a large quantity of goods for which no transport was available.[5] For this they blamed Jearsey's 'pernicious' advice; acting on it they had bespoken more goods than they really required, but their merchants delivered them all and, to keep faith, they took delivery.[6]

They had experienced much difficulty in disposing of the goods the Company had sent out to them.[7] It was not till December that their lead was sold to one Christian Belkier, the master of a Danish ship. Their broadcloth was also disposed of late in the year, in truck for long-cloth and sallampores, while cloth rashes and alum they were unable to sell on any terms.[8] Apart from this, the experience of the year led them to conclude that the prospects of trade at Masulipatam were good. They could, they reported to the Company, profitably use twice as much stock as had been sent them that year, amounting to between £24,000 and £25,000, while if any were left over at the end of a year it could be advantageously invested in the off-season, when the demand for goods was small and the weavers unemployed.[9]

Towards the end of the year Mohun and his Council began to suspect that Jearsey's failure to complete and deliver accounts was merely a device to gain time and enable him to dispose of his goods and ships

[1] Mas. let. to Fort, 2 Dec., 5 Mas. 62; Mas. con. 6 Dec., 1 Mas. 19.

[2] Mas. let. to Fort, 5 Dec., 5 Mas. 63. The *Coast Frigate* had previously reached Masulipatam on 3 Aug. and left for the Bay five days later (Mas. let. 5 & 8 Aug., ibid. 29, 30).

[3] Cf. ibid. 64, 77, 84, 96, 106.

[4] Mas. let. 28 Dec., ibid. 83, 95.

[5] Mas. let. to Fort, 28 Dec., ibid. 95, 96.

[6] Mas. let. to Co. 27 Dec., ibid. 81, 82.

[7] Mas. let. to Fort, 5 Aug. & 26 Sept., ibid. 28, 44.

[8] Mas. con. 12 Dec., 1 Mas. 20; Mas. let. to Co. 27 Dec., 5 Mas. 82.

[9] Mas. let. to Co. 27 Dec., ibid. 83.

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expected from abroad. They learnt that he was endeavouring to convert his estate into diamonds; accordingly they resolved on 1 December to put into execution the orders of the Company and to proceed against his effects, as they had been instructed to do, if he failed to account and make satisfaction to the Company.[1] In this they acted promptly and vigorously. They had already written to one George Pitches at Golconda, asking him to arrange for the seizure and detention, pending further orders, of certain goods belonging to Jearsey, viz. 'tortois shell, tuttenag[2] and other commodityes', which were then with one Mundas or Moonedas, a bania (Hindu merchant) of the Dutch factory at that place. Definite orders for their detention were now issued and a promise of indemnity to both Pitches and the bania was given.[3] On 5 December they gave orders for the seizure of 100 bags of sugar, believed to belong to him, on the *Coast Frigate*,[4] and two days later of his sloop *Martin* from Pegu, as well as her cargo, which mostly belonged to him.[5] Hopkins and Field at Madapollam were also instructed on 6 December to secure his sloop *Advice*, then lying in the river there; and on 21 December to seize his ship *Diamond*. Captain Goodlad of the *Rainbow* was asked to take similar action as regards any goods belonging to Jearsey on his ship, to send a boat with men to board the *Diamond*, if she should arrive when the *Rainbow* was still there, and to secure for the Company any of Jearsey's goods that might be on her.[6]

Due notice, as prescribed by the Company,[7] was given to Jearsey of these steps as they were taken, and he was asked to send someone to represent him on board the ships and at the landing and checking of the goods at the 'banksall [the Shahbandar's office]'. This he refused to do, though Arnold[8] and Walcot were thrice sent personally to him, with the special object of securing a representative at the weighing of gance,[9] elephants' teeth, and wax taken out of the sloop *Martin*.[10]

These measures proved effective and on 9, 11, and 14 December Jearsey submitted to the Chief and Council three of the ordinary books

[1] Desp. 9 Dec. 1669, 4 L.B. 300; Mas. con. 1 Dec., 1 Mas. 17.

[2] Port. *tutenaga*, spelter (Yule, 932).

[3] Mas. let. 28 Nov., 5 Mas. 60, 61; Mas. con. 1 Dec., 1 Mas. 17, 18; Pitches's let. 12 Dec. 9 Mas. 103–4.

[4] Mas. con. 5 Dec., 1 Mas. 18.

[5] Mas. con. 7 Dec., ibid. 19, 20; Mas. let. 7 Dec., 5 Mas. 65, 66, 67.

[6] Mas. con. 21 & 29 Dec., 1 Mas. 21, 23; Mas. let. 29 Dec., 5 Mas. 97, 98.

[7] 4 L.B. 300.

[8] This was Joseph Arnold, who had removed from Bantam to Masulipatam in 1669 (*S.M.* i. 250 *n.*). The Fort gave him a very good character and had sent him to assist the Council (Mas. let. 27 Dec., 5 Mas. 91).

[9] *Gansa*, a mixed metal of brass and lead (Yule, 364).

[10] Mas. con. 12, 13, and 26 Dec., 1 Mas. 20, 21.

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of accounts, but without any subsidiary books and papers such as waste books, letters, copy books, cash books, charges for merchandise, and 'pettys'. They sent these on to the Fort, together with their hasty observations thereon and a list of 'exceptions'. Owing to lack of time they asked that copies of the books should be made at the Fort and the originals returned. The items to which exception was taken were considerable, though the short time available had limited their inquiry, books were lacking, and important papers had been removed.[1] A copy of the exceptions was also addressed to the Company with some additional remarks. There was no attempt to draw conclusions beyond a statement that on the balance Jearsey claimed credit for 3,407 pagodas, and that 'if in your prudence you apprehend any weight in this hasty survey will much alter the case, . . . we hope you will in the close of all have that favoureable regard to him as one [who], though in some things faulty, has served you much and long'.[2]

These sentiments were all the more generous in that Jearsey was loud in complaint and protest against their actions, questioned their authority, and threatened legal steps against them. The delay in submitting accounts he ascribed to his gout and to difficulties in having copies made. He accused them of having ruined his credit and disgraced him.[3] His complaints and his troubles were vividly detailed in an appeal made to the Agent and Council at the Fort on 19 December, where he describes his creditors as pressing him 'in the morning as soone as my dores are open, and I am forced to let them come in and give them good words that they should not make a clamor in the streets'.[4] The Agent and Council took up the attitude that they had no power to interfere, as the matter had been wholly entrusted to Mohun and his Council.[5]

The presence of Sir Edward Winter at Masulipatam had, as already noted, necessitated the repair to that place of the Commission to inquire into the charges against him. On arrival they found that his papers were at Madapollam with some of his witnesses, the rest being at the Fort.[6] They examined such witnesses on either side as were produced and drew up a charge against Sir Edward, which they sent to Madras for approval and for the filling in of certain blanks. It came back

[1] Mas. let. to Co. 27 Dec., 5 Mas. 88, 89; Mas. let. to Fort, 15 & 28 Dec., ibid. 78, 96, 97.
[2] O.C. 3530, f. 1.
[3] Mas. let. to Fort, 28 Dec., ibid. 96; Jearsey's let. 7, 12, 13, & 18 Dec., 9 Mas. 87, 96, 97, 102, 103.
[4] 9 Mas. 113–15.
[5] Fort con. 29 Dec., ibid. 107.
[6] Mas. let. to Co. 14 July, O.C. 3446, f. 3.

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approved, as far as it went, but uncompleted owing to pressure of work at the Fort.[1] At the end of the year it became evident that the task could not be finished in time for the return of the Commission by the ships then departing, so it was resolved to send the incomplete charge with the books and papers relating to it back to the Agent and Council with a request that the 'blank parcells' be finished, or directions be given as to how this should be done, and the charge returned for delivery to Winter. It was proposed thereafter that the main body of the Commissioners should proceed to the Fort, leaving Winter and Mohun to follow for the completion and return of the Commission.[2] Meanwhile, as already stated (p. 196), Langhorn, Mohun, and Hinmers had the assistance of Mainwaring and Chamberlain from 28 December.[3]

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MOHUN continued as Chief of this factory throughout the year. Langhorn and Hinmers, who had been acting as members of his Council, left for Madras about 4 February.[4] Mohun followed them in April and returned at the beginning of August, on the completion of the work of the Commission (p. 20).[5] During his absence the Council was reduced to two, viz. Mainwaring and Chamberlain.[6] Mohun on his return suffered for some time from 'a lethargick disposition', which kept him on his cot and prevented him from doing any business.[7] Of the new writers who came out this year one, Gervase Gifford,[8] was posted to Masulipatam. At Mohun's request Francis Langston, who was considered deserving of preferment, was also transferred there, as well as William Probart, 'an enjenious youth and good penman that came from Christs Hospital'.[9] In February Walcot was suspended (p. 216),[10] and replaced as Secretary of the Council by John Field.[11] The factory suffered a loss by the death of John Hopkins on 8 March.[12]

[1] Mas. let. to Co. 14 Dec., O.C. 3519, f. 1, & 5 Mas. 86, 89.
[2] Mas. con. 31 Dec., 1 Mas. 23, 24; O.C. 3519, f. 3.
[3] Mas. con. 28 & 31 Dec., 1 Mas. 22, 23.
[4] Mas. con. 8 Feb., ibid. 25.
[5] Mas. let. to Co. 9 Aug., O.C. 3569, f. 1; Fort let. to Masulipatam, 31 July, 9 Mas. 1.
[6] 1 Mas. 29.
[7] Mas. let. 23 Aug., 5 Mas. 6.
[8] Gifford probably died at Masulipatam, as his name does not appear either in Puckle's or in Master's list of the Company's servants there in 1675–6 (12 Mas. 39; *S.M.* i. 283–6).
[9] O.C. 3575, f. 15; 9 Mas. 3. The latter two had come out in 1668 (*E.F.*, 1668–9, 127–8).
[10] He and his wife sailed for Madras on the *European* (5 Mas. 14), and they evidently went on to England by the ships which left that place in Jan. 1672 (p. 29).
[11] Mas. let. 22 Feb., 5 Mas. 118.
[12] Mas. let. 9 & 13 March, ibid. 120. 124.

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The servants of the Company, apart from Walcot, were well reported on to the Company as 'sober and well-governed persons, liveing in good obedience unto your orders'.[1] John Field was particularly recommended as 'an integrite and industrious person'.[2]

Mohun returned from Madras on the *East India Merchant*, which arrived on 4 August, bringing stock for the factory to the value of £11,767, and which sailed for the Bay on the 9th.[3] The *Sampson* and the *Bombay Merchant* followed on 29 August and left for the Bay on the 31st.[4] The *European* brought further stock (p. 21) on 5 September. In her were put the cotton goods left over from the previous year and saltpetre from Petapoli and Bengal, as well as Jearsey's remaining 'goods and lumber'. She did not get off on her return journey to Madras till 22 September, being delayed by contrary winds and currents, which caused the commander to fear that he would miss his port if he did not wait till they abated.[5]

As in Madras, so at Masulipatam, the effects of Sivaji's ravages elsewhere made the disposal of goods from England very difficult. The Council wrote in August that 'the Industan country is soe harrassed and destroyed by Savagee, which was the consumption [chief consumer] of all those commodityes; as it now is, nothing will vend'; and the imported cloth that had been sold the previous year also remained on the hands of its buyer.[6] The Fort instructed them that they must nevertheless take their share of goods for disposal, though alum and cloth rashes, the sale of which was especially difficult, would not be sent.[7] The silver ingots brought by the *East India Merchant* were speedily sold at a good price.[8]

Mohun and his Council made a prompt start in contracting for the goods required for this year's investment.[8] In September Mainwaring and Field were deputed to Madapollam and instructed to buy sallampores and ginghams;[9] but Mainwaring returned to Masulipatam by the 25th.[10] By November the greater part of the calicoes had been contracted for and most of them brought in.[11] In December Field sent a boat laden with cloth to Masulipatam.[12] The total value of the invest-

[1] Mas. let. to Co. 9 Aug., 5 Mas. 4.
[2] Mas. let. to Co. 7 Jan. 1672, ibid. 26.
[3] Mas. let. 9 & 23 Aug., ibid. 3, 6.
[4] Mas. let. 31 Aug., ibid. 11.
[5] Mas. let. to Co. 7 Jan. 1672, ibid. 24, 25.
[6] O.C. 3569, f. 2.
[7] Fort. let. 31 July, 9 Mas. 1.
[8] Mas. let. 23 Aug., 5 Mas. 6.
[9] Mas. let. 18 Sept., ibid. 15.
[10] Mas. let. 25 Sept., ibid. 15.
[11] Field's let. 11 & 18 Nov., 9 Mas. 21, 22, 23.
[12] Field's let. 11 Dec., ibid. 27; Mas. let. 12 Dec., 5 Mas. 22.

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ment this year at Madapollam was, however, only 3,500 pagodas, against Mohun's estimate that, if a factory were settled there, purchases could be easily made to the amount of 25,000 or 30,000 pagodas.[1]

At Petapoli, as in the previous year, Ambrose Salisbury, though no longer in the Company's service, was made use of to procure goods for Masulipatam and Madras. Thus, through him, large quantities of gunnies, ropes, and twine were secured as packing materials for the Fort, in view of the Company's disapproval of the previous practice (p. 6), and fifty ginghams were again sent to him to be dyed red.[2] Salisbury's services were rendered 'for God amercy';[3] but a request by Mohun to be reimbursed by the Fort for disbursements made for the Madras Council was refused on the principle that it was immaterial in what part of the Agency they were made.[4]

At Masulipatam the investment was well forward by the middle of December, when they had paid out to their merchants 33,533 pagodas, and through Field at Madapollam 3,500 pagodas. Included in their own payments, however, were 5,577 pagodas due to merchants from Jearsey's time.[5] On the other hand, the goods sent out by the ships that year remained unsold at its end. There was no demand whatever for alum, and they failed to get their merchants to take it in part payment for amounts due to them. The broadcloth they sent up to Golconda for disposal by George Pitches there, a matter apparently of some difficulty, for at the end of the year they were stimulating him to effect a sale. At Masulipatam they could neither sell it nor get it taken in exchange for other goods even at low rates. It was only silver, whether in the form of bullion or dollars, that they had disposed of well, viz. at better rates than those current in the bazar.[6]

Of the homeward ships, the *East India Merchant* sailed from Balasore to Madras without touching at Masulipatam.[7] The *Sampson* and the *Bombay Merchant* arrived from the Bay on 21 and 23 December

[1] Mas. let. to Co. 7 Jan. 1672, 5 Mas. 25.

[2] Mas. let. 3, 13, 18, & 25 Sept., 17 & 20 Oct., 6, 24, & 29 Nov., & 6 Dec., ibid. 13–18, 20, 21, 22; Salisbury's let. 11, 16, 22, 24 Sept., 3, 19, 20, 24, & 25 Oct., 1, 10, 17, & 26 Nov., 8, 16, & 31 Dec., 9 Mas. 6, 10–12, 13, 16–18, 19, 22, 24, 26–9, 32–3 (the above correspondence is reproduced in *Ind. Antiquary*, xxxvii. 267–76, 285); Fort let. 6 Oct., 9 Mas. 14; Field's let. 17 Oct., ibid. 15, 16. In Jan. Salisbury was ordered to accompany Langhorn and Hinmers to Madras (5 Mas. 105); but he had returned to Masulipatam by the beginning of Sept.

[3] Mas. let. 13 Dec., ibid. 23.

[4] Fort let. 6 Oct. & 23 Dec., 9 Mas. 14, 15, 32; Mas. let. 13 Dec., 5 Mas. 14.

[5] Mas. let. 13 Dec. & 7 Jan. 1672, ibid. 22, 23, 26. Cf. p. 210.

[6] Mas. let. 10 Nov. & 13 Dec., ibid. 18, 19, 23; Mas. let. to Co. 7 Jan. 1672, ibid. 25–6.

[7] Mas. let. 13 Dec. & 7 Jan. 1672, ibid. 22, 25; Fort let. 31 July, 25 Aug., & 13 Dec., 16 F.S.G. 37, 50, and 9 Mas. 30.

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respectively. The former was loaded with 174 bales of cloth by the 25th, but owing to rough weather the captain, in spite of several attempts, was not able to get on board her for several days, and she did not leave till 31 December.[1] The *Bombay Merchant*'s sailing was delayed till after the end of the year (p. 219).

In the beginning of the year, until Jearsey left for Madras on 25 March,[2] Mohun and his colleagues were largely occupied in dealing with him and his affairs, which were the cause not merely of difficulties but of serious disturbances that are mentioned later. The Agent and Council at Madras meanwhile maintained an attitude of critical aloofness to the whole affair. On 12 January they returned the Masulipatam books of accounts of Jearsey's time, refusing to copy them at Madras, and saying that they did not see that the severe proceedings taken against Jearsey would be of advantage to their masters, but that the business had been wholly committed to Mohun and his Council.[3] On 8 February they wrote that they did not approve of what had been done, and considered the proceedings should be reviewed, so as to see that they strictly followed the Company's orders, and that any irregularity was retrieved.[4] They refused to intermeddle in any way with Jearsey's affairs and consequently declined to take steps to seize his ship the *Ruby*, then at Pulicat, whither she had been taken, despite an order of attachment made on her and her cargo at Narsapur.[5] This had been served on the master of the vessel, as well as on Charles Proby and other Englishmen on board, by Field and Hopkins from Madapollam, and the latter had been even instructed to stop water and provisions; but all this was without avail.[6] The Agent and Council further refused to pass any orders on a suggestion that certain debts, amounting to 5,577 pagodas, incurred by Jearsey for goods sent home to the Company and due to local merchants, should be paid from the property that had been seized.[7] Later on, as the debts were clearly due from the Company, they were paid from its funds.[8]

Jearsey, early in the year, was intriguing with local Muhammadans to make over to them his goods and ships on the pretence that he was

[1] Mas. let. 25 Dec. & 7 Jan. 1672, 5 Mas. 24, 25, 27; Mas. let. to the Bay, 18 Jan., ibid. 28.

[2] Mas. let. 30 March, ibid. 126; Mas. let. to Co. 9 Aug., ibid. 1 & O.C. 3569, f. 1.

[3] 9 Mas. 126.

[4] Ibid. 136, 137.

[5] Fort let. 28 Jan., ibid. 129, 130. Narsapur was the main port near Madapollam, cf. p. 196 *n*.

[6] Mas. con. 1 Jan., 1 Mas. 25–6; Mas. let. 1 & 9 Jan., 5 Mas. 99, 101, 102. Charles Proby had been 'second' to Sir Edward Winter, but was dismissed in 1668 for his bad behaviour during the rebellion (*E.F.*, 1668–9, 133–6, 147).

[7] Mas. let. 9 Jan., 5 Mas. 104; Fort let. 28 Jan., 9 Mas. 129.

[8] Mas. let. 13 Dec. & 7 Jan. 1672, 5 Mas. 22, 23, 26; Fort let. 6 Oct., 9 Mas. 13, 14.

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indebted to them, but a warning by the Council to these 'Moores' about it was sufficient to stop them from giving him this aid.[1] Mohun and his Council had further cause of complaint against Jearsey, which they described in these words:

he doth noething but study mischiefe both to theires [the Company's] and the nations interest and seduce the Companys servants . . . nor is it possible to make any discovery of what fraud or debts, prices, expences wee are . . . commanded to search into, whilst he abides here daunting and fooleing these timerous people.[2]

They also reported that his conduct and behaviour generally were prejudicial to the Company's affairs, in his affronting and opposing the Chief and Council, keeping armed peons for that special purpose (though without reason as they used all civility and respect towards him), proclaiming his 'innocence' as regards the irregularities pointed out by the Company and themselves, and refusing to do more than give personal security for his liability to the Company, when called on to make a deposit of 20,000 pagodas or of a sum which with the property seized would make up that amount.[3]

On 20 January they ordered him to proceed, with his nephew John Jearsey,[4] to Madras within six days, but he refused to do so unless he got orders to that effect from the Madras authorities, which were not forthcoming for the reasons already mentioned. They said the only point concerning him that the Company had referred to them was whether he should be sent home, and as the ships had left there was no place for this question.[5] Fortunately for the Masulipatam Council Jearsey changed his mind or his tactics, and with many protests asked for his vessel, presumably the seized *Martin*, to take him and his necessaries to the Fort, and for money to pay the expenses of going there, as his credit was gone. He also wanted them to send him 100 coolies to carry some of his things down to Madras. He asserted further that, if they had not taken such rigorous action against him, he could easily have met all the Company's just demands against him (if any), and threatened them with legal proceedings in His Majesty's Courts of Judicature.[6] Early in February Mohun and his Council wrote to the

[1] Mas. let. 20 Jan., 5 Mas. 105 (*Ind. Antiquary*, xxxiv. 169).
[2] Ibid. 105–6.
[3] Mas. let. to Co. 9 Aug., O.C. 3569, f. 1.
[4] He was the son of William's elder brother, John (*Ind. Antiquary*, xxxiv. 165).
[5] Mas. let. 20 & 22 Jan., 5 Mas. 106, 107; Jearsey's let. 4 Feb., 9 Mas. 131; Fort let. 30 Jan., ibid. 134.
[6] Jearsey's let. 4 Feb., ibid. 131–3.

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Fort that they would do their best themselves with Jearsey, 'seeing [we] are like to receive neither orders nor instructions in ought'.[1]

Meanwhile matters were coming to a head and acts of violence took place that are fully set forth in the following extracts from consultations held on 8 and 9 February by the Council, then consisting of Richard Mohun, Matthew Mainwaring, and George Chamberlain.[2]

(8 February.) [There] was taken into consideration Mr. William Jearsey's still continued affronts to us . . . first for his making application to the Governor and other great men of this place to examine the differences depending betwixt us, relating to our hon. employers concerns.

Secondly, his forceable taking from our washerman 300 pieces of long cloath with many armed peones on the 4th present, whilst the Chief, Second and Third were accompanying Sir William Langhorne and Mr. Joseph Hynmers on their way for Madras, and on the 7th and 8th ditto his publickly beating our peons in the streets . . . and haveing friendly admonished him of these his unhandsome proceedings by twice sending Mr. George Chamberlain unto him, from whom he received but a slight kinde of an answer, it was resolved that, if for the future his armed peons should attempt ye like upon ours, wee would all appeare personally against them.

(9 February.) [This meeting is] occationed from a third attempt of Mr. Jearseys peons assaulting one of ours, as he came by his house to the factory about six in the morning, where three of them fell upon him and in a very severe manner beate him many blows with a great clubb, driveing him to our factory doore with their drawn swords, one of them haveing a gunn presented all the way as he came, to the which Matthew Mainwaring was a spectator and Richard Mohun in part, hee seeing them in a flourishing posture, in the street next the factory with their naked swords, upon which it was immediatly concluded that wee should arme and issue out upon his peons, which though many and ours but few, not exceeding fifteen or twenty at the most, Sir Wm. Langhorne haveing thirty of ours to await him in his journey, yet it was resolved on, being onely five of us, The Chief, Second and Third, with Joseph Arnold and Edward Bowcher.

But wee no sooner appeared but all his peons ran hastily into his house, shutting the doores upon them, which prevented us from chastizing their insolencyes, if they had keept the street as wee expected, resolving not to enter his house, where we remained about ¼ of an houre expecting their comming out, which they did not, which caused our returne to the factory without doeing what wee intended.

[1] Mas. let. 4 Feb., 5 Mas. 112. [2] 1 Mas. 25–6.

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This day the Governor about eleven or twelve of the clock came to the banksall and sent for our dubasse [*dubash*, interpreter] to know the reason of the difference betweene us which we acquainted him withall and desired him to force from Mr. Wm. Jearsey his peons, to which he gave answer he would presently doe it, but after Mr. Jearsey's dubass had been with him and delivered his Masters application, he was quite of another minde and peremptorily sent to us, to produce our authority and to bring the accompts dispending betwixt Wm. Jearsey and our Masters to ye banksall, there to be publicly examined, or otherwise he would not onely persist but assist him against us, upon which wee sent Mr. Joseph Arnold and John Field to Mr. Jearsey, to discharge all his unnecessary peons, for that wee were well satisfied he onely kept them to confront us, which he peremptorily denyed to doe.

On 10 February the Chief and Council wrote to Jearsey, accusing him of these misdeeds and calling on him to disband or reduce his peons: if he refused to do this, they threatened to deprive him of them by 'killing, imprisoning or what elce wee can'.[1] They also sent him a formal 'protest' against his irregular proceedings.[2] Complaint was speedily made by Jearsey to the Fort and in a letter, undated but apparently written towards the end of February, the Agent and Council deprecated the use of the threatening language quoted above; but they at last gave orders that Jearsey should be permitted to come to Madras by land. They said that he might be accompanied by a reasonable number of peons, but that neither he, nor Sir Edward Winter, should be allowed to enter the town with colours flying and drums beating.[3]

The correspondence over Jearsey's affairs between Madras and Masulipatam continued to the end of March and was conducted with much animosity, quoting of scriptural texts, and bandying of words and phrases between the parties. In a letter of 7 March the Agent and Council professed to close the controversy and to leave the last word to those at Masulipatam, but they do this at great length and with many last words themselves.[4]

On 9 March there was another attack by Jearsey's peons as described in the following consultation entry:[5]

About five this evening one of our peons, a Moore named Hydracon [Hyder Khan], being at the bazar three of Mr. Wm. Jearseys peons

[1] 5 Mas. 112, 113.
[2] Mas. let. 10 Feb., ibid. 112–13 (*Ind. Antiquary*, xxxiv. 170).
[3] 9 Mas. 142.
[4] Ibid. 144; Mas. let. 30 March, 5 Mas. 125–6.
[5] 1 Mas. 28.

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met him and jossled him in the street; he desiring to know their reasons for so doeing one of them lays upon him many blows with a truncheon, which he with his targett endeavoured to defend without drawing his sword, in which time one of Mr. Jearseys peons draws and cutt a very daingerous wound in his head, as will appeare by our doctors certificate. This being done, a great noise was made through the whole towne, which occationed Richard Mohun and Mathew Mainwaring to look into the street from our balcone, where we saw a great number of Mr. Jearseys peons in a body, all armed, some of them with drawne swords and marching towards our factory but came not to it, and returned to said Mr. Jearseys house; this though an intollerable affront to our Masters authority we suffered with patience, and sent to enquire the grounds of the tumult from the most criditable of the spectators, and shopkeepers, where this broil begun, who by their attestations given doe justify that our peon was not in the least blame; wee likewise sent Mr. Joseph Arnold and Mr. John Field to Mr. Jearsey to know what he meant thus still to affront us, since on our parts, as we had been, so still were tender of the least disrespect toward him, likewise to intimate the strict charge we had allwayes given our peons, not in ye least to disturbe his, and that, if there were differences between them, we might have notice of it and so reconcile them and not for him to proceed in his hostill manner to the greate dishonour of the honble. Company and disgrace of us their servants, but his answer was that it was the occation of our peons and not his.

Jearsey also showed pugnacious tendencies which are described by the Council in a letter to the Company as follows:

His house for the time of his difference with us [was] an absolute garrison, haveing his gunns planted, his firearmes in readiness in all parts thereof, especially in the toure [tower] where himself usually kept, there being seldom less of blunderbusses and pistolls than eight or tenn upon his table, which he used to boast were well laden for us if we came at him, which he would not permitt . . . save one at a time.[1]

The trouble slackened, though it was not completely closed, with the departure of Jearsey for Madras on 25 March. The Agent had permitted him to come with a reasonable number of peons, an order to which exception was taken at Masulipatam as likely to be treated as confirming his actions and implying disrespect to the Chief.[2] The same orders had prohibited his entering Madras with colours flying and drums beating, but this did not prevent his departure from Masulipatam 'with

[1] Mas. let. to Co. 9 Aug., O.C. 3569, f. 1.
[2] Mas. let. 13 March, 5 Mas. 122–3.

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his collours flying, drum, trumpetts, pipes and hornes, sounding, with a rejement for his gaurd'.[1] John Jearsey accompanied him to Madras.[2] A copy of his defence was sent to the Company on 9 August, but without comments as Mohun and his Council thought it 'to little purpose'.[3]

After his departure no further seizures of his property proved possible, as he 'ordered his concernes in gennerall to Pollicat or Sadraspatam, two factorys of the Dutch', where the Company's officers had no power to interfere.[4] His sloops, *Martin* and *Advice*, were sold by auction in Mohun's absence, but under directions given before he left for Madras (p. 20), the first to Edward Lock[5] for 600 pagodas and the second to Robert Fleetwood for 140.[6]

Towards the end of the year the Fort, while as usual disclaiming any power or responsibility in the matter, suggested that the Company would expect something more than the mere sending of Jearsey's accounts home to them, and that for the clearing up of these accounts his defence should have been both taken and considered. The letter is signed by the Agent and the five members of his Council; but not unnaturally Langhorn and Hinmers, who had been parties to the alleged inaction, dissented from the paragraph in question, as also did Wilks.[7]

On one matter the Fort and Masulipatam were unanimous. In the previous year Jearsey had taken possession of a parcel of pepper which the King of Siam had sent to India by the *Diamond*, and had shipped it in the *Ruby* to Maccaw.[8] This had come back unsold and remained on board the *Ruby*. The King's *egib* [*hajib*, agent] had pressed Jearsey to restore it, but had been met by evasions, whereupon he had detained Jearsey's servant until security was given for his master's adventure. This behaviour on the part of Jearsey was calculated to prejudice the Company, as well as Englishmen in general, in their relations with Siam,[9] and here for once the Fort was able to see eye to eye with Masulipatam in a matter relating to him.

[1] Mas. let. 30 March, ibid. 126 (*Ind. Antiquary*, xxxiv. 170–1).

[2] O.C. 3569, f. 2. Cf. p. 211. [3] Ibid., f. 3.

[4] Mas. let. to Co. 7 Jan. 1672, 5 Mas. 26. Sadraspatam is about thirty-five miles south of Madras, and the Dutch had established a factory there in 1647 (*Imp. Gaz. of India*, xxi. 348).

[5] Presumably Lock was a freeman at Masulipatam, though his name does not appear in Master's list of English freemen there in Jan. 1677 (*S.M.* ii. 104–7). He had been an adherent of Sir Edward Winter, cf. *E.F.*, 1668–9, 133, 134, 136.

[6] Undated con., 1 Mas. 29. [7] Fort let. 30 Nov., 9 Mas. 25, 26.

[8] This almost certainly refers to Macao, the Portuguese possession near the mouth of the Canton River: cf. *E.F.*, 1637–41, 112, where it is called 'Macaw'.

[9] Mas. let. 20, & 22 Jan., 22 Feb., & 30 March, 5 Mas. 106, 116, 126; Fort let. 7 March, 9 Mas. 144.

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Early in the year James Walcot, who on 1 January had been in favour and commended to the Company,[1] joined his fortunes to those of Jearsey. At a Council meeting on 13 February, Mohun, Mainwaring, and Chamberlain convicted him of frequenting Jearsey's house in spite of admonishment given him, carrying information to Jearsey, beating one of the Company's peons, and negligence in his duty as secretary. For this they suspended him 'from his present employment in our Masters service as treacherous, idle and not fitting to be entrusted in the meanest place or service in this their factory';[2] but they continued his pay and accommodation in the factory-house. The latter he refused under the influence of his wife—apparently another of the troublesome wives of Company's servants—and the Council described him as 'tormented and soe hagridden as that we are apt to think his life is a burthen to him'.[3] He complained to the Madras Council, who, in the belief that he had been turned out of the Company's service, promptly ordered his reinstatement and gave permission for his return to England by the next ships.[4]

Little further seems to have been accomplished at Masulipatam towards the completion of the commission of inquiry into Sir Edward Winter's affairs, and the only instructions received from Madras on the subject related to the coming of Mohun to the Fort for this purpose, and the summoning of Sir Edward's servant, Henry Cook (cf. p. 207).[5] A dispute between Winter and the local merchants regarding the seaworthiness of his vessel *Bone Adventure* for a voyage to Persia was, however, settled on 29 January, through the Chief and Council bringing the merchants to agree to re-land their goods and pay half of the settled freight.[6]

Relations with Muhammad Beg, the Governor of the district comprising Masulipatam, continued good, but in consequence of his falling into large arrears with the King, he was deprived of his governorship and on 15 August conveyed himself away secretly by night.[7] It was, however, generally anticipated that he would continue to govern the districts of Ellore and Rajahmundry, near the 'Madapollam side'.[8]

[1] Mas. let. 5 Jan., 5 Mas. 100.

[2] 1 Mas. 26, 27; Mas. let. 22 Feb., 5 Mas. 118. Walcot denied having shown any of the Company's papers to Jearsey, and alleged he was turned out because of his refusal to sign false documents connected with illicit trading by Mohun and Mainwaring (Walcot's let. 1 Sept. 1672, 3 Misc. 152).

[3] Mas. let. to Co. 9 Aug., O.C. 3569, f. 3; Mas. let. 13 March, 5 Mas. 123.

[4] Fort let. (undated) & 25 March, 9 Mas. 142, 147.

[5] Fort let. 16 March, ibid. 145. See also Fort let. 12 Jan., ibid. 127.

[6] 5 Mas. 108–9.

[7] Mas. let. 16, 23, & 31 Aug., ibid. 5, 8, 9, 10, 11.

[8] Ibid. 9, 10, 11.

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He showed himself friendly to the Chief and his Council in a serious tussle which took place between them and the Governor of Masulipatam, some time during Mohun's absence and very shortly before 1 July, when a report about it was sent to the Fort.[1] A dispute had arisen with some bricklayers, who had agreed to repair the house formerly occupied by Jearsey but were held to have done their work badly and to have cheated the Company. The acting Chief took the high-handed action of seizing and 'drubbing' them, and the Governor retorted by imprisoning their dubash, and by raising a force of peons and threatening to beset the factory. The Council brought three small guns into the factory, complained to his superior, Muhammad Beg, and seized eleven of the Govérnor's servants. The Governor hastily climbed down and released the dubash, whereupon the servants were also set free. Subsequently the Governor received a severe rebuke from Muhammad Beg, and begged to be taken into favour again, which the Council said 'wee shall not presently grannt him, to discoridge any other for the future from committing any such irregularitye'.[2]

Muhammad Beg also had trouble from one Anhupa, the 'King of the woods', who was a tributary of his. Annual attempts to get this tribute increased led to a revolt by Anhupa. In March he was reported to have killed about 1,000 of Muhammad Beg's people and to have put a stop to all traffic in timber. This prevented the Council from starting to build one or two vessels for service in the Bay, a work which they had been asked to carry out. In June there was a better prospect of a start, as the King had been forced to retreat; but it was rightly feared that the boats could not be got ready this year.[3]

The new Governor 'Gifferd Beague' (? Jaffar Beg) was being daily expected to arrive at the end of August.[4] The making of a visit and of presents to him were deferred as long as possible, and the visit was not paid till late in the year. His presents on the occasion were 'such as hardly deserved our acceptance'; the return visit was put off till after the departure of the ships, and the Chief and Council determined that in their return-presents they would be as 'frugall as possible'.[5]

Previously there had been occasion for his good offices, as two of the sub-governors at Petapoli and Narsapur had been hindering the dispatch of the Company's goods. The former demanded a piece of good

[1] Ibid. 132–3.

[2] Ibid.; Mas. con. (undated), 1 Mas. 29–31.

[3] Mas. let. 9 March & — June, 5 Mas. 120, 130; Turner's let. 15 Feb., 9 Mas. 135–6; Bay let. 13 Dec., ibid. 29. The request to build the vessels was first made in 1669 (*E.F.*, 1668–9, 308, 311).

[4] Mas. let. 25 Aug., 5 Mas. 10.

[5] Mas. let. 25 Dec., ibid. 24.

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red cloth 'for his master Mahomed Cawne', as well as customs on the packing materials which Salisbury was procuring for Madras.[1] These he detained, and it required a letter from the Governor and a present of three yards of cloth to secure their dispatch.[2] The sub-governor also laid claim to a garden belonging to the Company, and to complicate the matter threatened to build a mosque on it. Here, too, the Governor assisted Mohun by his orders.[3] Similarly at Madapollam Field on 11 December had to appeal for a letter to the sub-governor there, who was interfering with the dispatch of his cloth.[4]

At the end of the year signs of the approach of war with the Dutch were apparent. On 15 December the Fort sent a warning that all ships should sail in company;[5] and early in the new year the Masulipatam Council, in a letter to the Company, reported that the Dutch there were expecting a war with the French and were making preparations accordingly. They stated that six great ships of theirs had arrived in the road on 29 and 30 December, 'all equipped for warr and to rendezvous with the rest of the fleet' at Ceylon.[6]

MASULIPATAM, 1672

Richard Mohun, Matthew Mainwaring, and George Chamberlain were Chief and members of the Council at Masulipatam throughout the year. In September Mainwaring and Chamberlain were away at Madapollam 'for the recovery of their healths', and Mohun was ill for several days.[7] In December Mohun, who was then at Madapollam, was again ill.[8] To other servants of the Company at Masulipatam there is little reference in the records.[9] Peace seems to have prevailed amongst them after the stormy events of the previous year; but James Walcot, on his arrival in England, followed up his quarrels at Masulipatam by putting before the Company in September an 'information touching

[1] Salisbury's let. 3 Oct., 9 Mas. 13.

[2] Mas. let. 6 Dec., 5 Mas. 22 & Salisbury's let. 8 & 16 Dec., 9 Mas. 27, 28 (reproduced in *Ind. Antiquary*, xxxvii. 276, 285).

[3] Salisbury's let. 4 Dec., 9 Mas. 20; Mas. let. 6 Nov. & 6 Dec., 5 Mas. 18, 22 (*Ind. Antiquary*, xxxvii. 272–3, 276).

[4] 9 Mas. 27.

[5] Ibid. 32.

[6] Mas. let. 7 Jan. 1672, 5 Mas. 26.

[7] Mas. let. 2, 7, 16, 19, & 21 Sept., ibid. 64, 65.

[8] Madapollam let. 31 Dec., 9 Mas. 8.

[9] Mention is, for instance, made, *passim*, of Robert Freeman; Christopher Hatton, a good linguist who was entertained in the Company's service this year (4 L.B. 501); William Probart; James White; and Maurice Wynn. The last named was a linen-draper sent out this year to assist the warehouse-keeper at Masulipatam, while James White had come as an 'apprentice' for Bengal in 1669 (*E.F.*, 1668–9, 300).

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the irregular proceedings of Mr. Richard Mohun'. He accused Mohun of sending the Company's broadcloth to Golconda on his own account and charging it to the Company's account when he found it 'turned to a bad markett',[1] of having twelve or thirteen ships at sea of his own or upon freight that required 100,000 pagodas for their stock, of using the Company's money for his own investments, and of other irregularities, such as buying Jearsey's sloop, the *Martin*, at his own price and pretending that she had been sold to other persons. According to Walcot, the *Bombass*, which Mohun had freighted from Sir Edward Winter, had returned from Bantam with pepper, but other ventures of his to Mokha and Persia had been unfortunate: he had had a bad year and Walcot believed he was wishing 'for the next Europe shipps to stopp the mouths of his importunate creditors'. Walcot blamed Mainwaring, alleging that Mohun 'at his first comeing was mighty exact and just in all the Companys affaires', but that he was drawn aside by 'Mr. Mainwarings bad councell'. He stated that Mohun had often proclaimed his resolve in three years' time 'to raise a great estate'[2]—an aspiration that was common among the Company's servants in those days.

In the middle of the year, by the Company's orders, Ambrose Salisbury and Robert Fleetwood were reinstated in service.[3] The former was left at Petapoli and employed in the provision of saltpetre and packing materials; the latter was sent to Madapollam as chief.[4] Against this reinforcement, however, were two deaths, viz. that of Francis Langston on 31 May,[5] and that of Thomas Sprigg, one of the factors sent out that year by the Company (p. 31), on 13 August, shortly after his arrival at Masulipatam.[6]

Of the ships returning for England from the Bay at the end of the previous year, the *Sampson* had left on 31 December (p. 210). The *Bombay Merchant*, which arrived on 22 December 1671, did not sail until 9 January.[7] She was detained while cotton yarn and turmeric were taken out and then again put on board under orders from the Fort. There was delay, too, on the part of the merchants in the delivery

[1] Perhaps it was partly in consequence of this accusation that the Company in its desp. of 13 Dec. ordered that no cloth should be sent to Golconda in future (5 L.B. 20).

[2] 3 Misc. 149–52; a summary of it is in O.C. 3663.

[3] Desp. 18 Dec. 1671, 4 L.B. 496, 501; cf. *Ct. Min.*, 1671–4, 85, 92.

[4] Mas. let. to Salisbury, 21 June, 5 Mas. 50; let. from Salisbury to Mohun, 27 June, 9 Mas. 64; Mas. let. 16 Aug. & 21 Sept., ibid. 64, 65.

[5] Mas. let. to Fort, 21 June, 5 Mas. 49.

[6] Mas. let. to Fort, 19 Aug., ibid. 63; desp. 18 Dec., 4 L.B. 499.

[7] Mas. let. to the Bay, 18 Jan., 5 Mas. 28.

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of goods they had contracted for, and in the end different or coarser goods had to be accepted, to make up the deficiency.[1] It had been impossible to sell broadcloth, alum or lead, or to get merchants to take them in barter, and consequently the opening of the year saw the factory's cash very low. George Pitches at Golconda had experienced so much difficulty in selling the broadcloth sent by the factory that he was instructed to dispose of it for what he could get.[2] In February, Ambrose Salisbury, who was then out of the Company's service and was trading on his own account at Petapoli, bought the alum as a private venture, but for some two months he was unable to get delivery or dispose of it owing to delay and restraint from the Governor of that place. He demanded five pagodas a candy (of 520 pounds) on the alum and, on not receiving it, 'stopped the boate, unhangs her rudder, and take[s] the sayles from the yards'.[3] Repeated and peremptory orders from the Governor of Masulipatam, to whom the one at Petapoli was subordinate, were disregarded. Salisbury, in recounting his troubles, surmised (apparently with every justification) that the Governor of Masulipatam, while issuing official orders for the release of the alum, was privately ordering its detention.[4] Trade generally, and especially the procuring of cloth for export, was much hindered by this Governor and his successor during the year (p. 221).

Of the outward ships from England the *Johanna* arrived from Madras on 6 July, and the *Loyal Subject* on 24 July. The first brought ten chests of rials of eight of a reputed value of 45,000 pagodas, and the latter eight more chests of treasure. They were followed by the *Berkeley Castle* on 30 July. This ship returned to Madras from Masulipatam on 16 August; the other two proceeded to the Bay, the *Johanna* leaving on 23 July, and the *Loyal Subject*, which was delayed by the desertion of the second officer, the boatswain's mate, a quartermaster, and four of the crew, not till 4 August.[5] With the ships there came news of the goods required for shipment to England and information that £30,000 had been sent out for Masulipatam by them.[6]

By 21 September large contracts had been placed with merchants, details of which were supplied to the Fort in a letter of that date.[7]

[1] Mas. let. to Fort, 7 Jan., 5 Mas. 25, 27; Fort let. 31 July, 13 Nov. & 23 Dec., 9 Mas. 2, 23, 31.
[2] Mas. let. to Fort, Pitches, and Clavell, 7 & 22 Jan., 5 Mas. 27, 29, 30.
[3] Mas. let. to Salisbury & Fort, 28 Feb. & 8 March, ibid. 30.
[4] Mas. let. to Salisbury, 12 & 16 March, ibid. 31; Salisbury's let. in March, 9 Mas. 36–41.
[5] Mas. let. 10 & 27 July & 7, 16, & 19 Aug., 5 Mas. 54, 57, 59, 62, 63.
[6] Desp. to Masulipatam, 18 Dec. 1671, 4 L.B. 512.
[7] 5 Mas. 65.

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Salisbury was busy at Petapoli endeavouring to procure 700 candies of saltpetre demanded by the Fort, and 'coarse goods' were being bought to fill the ships.[1] Field had been sent to Madapollam, and later on Wynn, and then Fleetwood, followed, the former as an assistant and the latter to take charge of the factory.[2]

By November Fleetwood had been supplied with 10,000 pagodas for his cloth purchases, and Salisbury had arranged for 500 candies of saltpetre and was hopeful of securing the rest.[3] Its provision and delivery were much delayed by rains, and still more by the demands of the Governors at Petapoli and elsewhere, of which Salisbury had repeatedly to complain, as well as by the 'villanies' of the saltpetremen.[4] In December, when the stuff was bagged and ready for transport, the Governor's servants put their 'de roy[5] and chop' on it, meaning thereby to appropriate it for the King of Golconda. This, he suggested, should be defied, writing to Masulipatam: 'I purpose to take of[f] the chop the Kings people have put on the gunneys and the peeter, and will venture a brush with them'.[6] He also made a request for fifty 'Bundarees'[7] and good peons for this purpose, which was not approved, and instead a small present was suggested to procure the release of the saltpetre.[8] The last letter of the year from Salisbury, however, shows that the saltpetre was still being detained and the Governor was demanding a larger present than that given him.[9] At Masulipatam itself on 8 December a large quantity of cloth remained undelivered, and in the latter part of the month trade was at a standstill owing to the hostile action of the Governor,[10] so that there was good justification for fears then expressed as to possible delay in the provision of cargo for, and the speedy dispatch of, the ships from the Bay after they arrived.[11]

[1] Ibid. 67.

[2] Mas. let. 7 & 10 Aug. & 21 Sept., ibid. 59, 60, 65.

[3] Mas. let. to Fort, 6 Nov., ibid. 74.

[4] e.g. Salisbury to Mas. 11, 12, 14, & 15 Dec., 9 Mas. 2–4 (*Ind. Antiquary*, xxxvii. 295–7).

[5] Mahr. *durāhi*, and Hind. *durāi*, an interdict.

[6] Salisbury's let. 12 Dec., 9 Mas. 3.

[7] The reply from Masulipatam refers to the '50 Bundarees' as '50 Rashboots [Rajputs]', and the same substitution occurred when Salisbury repeated his request for 'Bunderees' on 14 Jan. 1673 (p. 233). He himself subsequently called the men that were sent to him 'Rasbootes', see his let. 20 & 21 Jan. 1673, 9 Mas. 12*b* (*Ind. Antiquary*, xxxvii. 295–8, 309–13, where the whole correspondence is reproduced). It seems to me probable that they were 'Bondilis' who originally came from Bundelkhand (p. 100 *n.*).

[8] Mas. let. 16 Dec., 6 Mas. 2.

[9] Salisbury to Mas. 26 Dec., 9 Mas. 6.

[10] Mas. let. to Mohun, 8, 11, & 25 Dec., 6 Mas. 1, 2, 5–7.

[11] Mohun and Fleetwood to Mas. 23 Dec., 9 Mas. 5.

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Throughout the year there had been recurring difficulties with the Golconda representatives at Masulipatam. The English were not the only parties involved, as the Dutch and the French were equally or more harassed and hampered by them at various periods. Demands for presents were the chief cause of the troubles which the English factory experienced, but in the case of the French there was a more legitimate source of enmity in the capture of San Thomé by their fleet (p. 44).

The year had not far advanced before Mohun and his colleagues had to report to the Fort that their new Governor, Jaffar Beg, was proving 'more troublesome than his predecessor' and was daily pressing them for an invitation to the factory and for a present.[1] A fortnight later there was a further account of 'troubles and affronts' from him, which included his failure, as described above, to stop or remedy the interference of the subordinate governor at Petapoli with the alum sent to Salisbury. On invitation he paid a visit to the factory, when he gave an assurance of better treatment and appeared satisfied with the promise of a present of the value of 700 pagodas, of which 20 candies of lead (at 15 pagodas the candy) was to form part, the rest to be in cash.[2] Later, however, he refused to accept the lead and, when the 700 pagodas were given him in cash, raised his demands to 1,000.[3]

To the Dutch the Governor was even more troublesome and Mohun described how 'he playes the divell with the Dutch'. He had stopped 1,000 of their oxen bound for Golconda with spices and cloth, carried off one of their peons, and demanded customs and payments already made to his predecessor, Muhammad Beg, for which they had receipts. He was similarly at variance with the French, and Mohun said things had become so serious that both the Dutch and French 'hath for many dayes been in armes and have layd into their factoryes stores of provision and water, keeping themselves in a defensive posture'.[4] A Dutch mission at Golconda under one Signor Smith was not expected to help much, as he and the rest of the Dutch there were slighted at the King's court.[5] The interference with trade was such that, according to Mohun, all the merchants who dealt with the English and Dutch left the place and put themselves under other governors, so that 'there is

[1] Mas. let. to Fort, 23 Feb., 5 Mas. 30.
[2] Mas. let. to Fort, 8 March, ibid. 30.
[3] Mas. let. 20 March, ibid. 32.
[4] Mas. let. to Fort, 8 March, ibid. 30, 31.
[5] Ibid. 31. 'Signor Smith' was Pieter Smit, who in 1676 was 'second' at Pulicat and about to become Chief of the Dutch factory at Masulipatam (*S.M.* i. 297). As to the title of 'Signor' being then used for foreign officials, see ibid. 297 *n.*

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nothing of trade stirring, nor like to be', and the goods of the Dutch were everywhere stopped.[1]

By 12 April things had improved, so far as the English were concerned, as the Governor seems to have received the extra money he demanded.[2] On that date he summoned the Chief to his camp near Gudur to receive a farman from the King of Golconda,[3] and presented him with a horse and a vest, the King's gifts; the French also were present and received similar gifts. The Dutch were still in disfavour, their trade 'impeded' in all places under the Governor, and their spices detained and rotting. Their embassy at Golconda, according to Mohun, was only prejudicing them, 'since Giffar Beague, the Nabob of this place, is inexorably bent against them' and Signor Smith had lost a former great friend, Sayyid Muzaffar, by his 'disobligeing of him'.[4] This state of affairs was unchanged at the end of the month in spite of a farman obtained by Smith at Golconda, confirming their former privileges and ordering the release of all goods of theirs that were under restraint, for the Governor at Masulipatam rudely flouted it. Their other factories were similarly disturbed and that at Dasharoon [Dracharam], near Madapollam, was abandoned.[5] In May, however, peace had been re-established between the Dutch and the Governor, the goods which he had stopped on the way to Golconda had been sent on, and their 'business in generall in these parts [was proceeding] undisturbed as formerly'.[6]

There is no mention of further trouble between the Governor and the various European factories for some months until the end of July, when, in view of events at San Thomé, the French became anxious whether reprisals might not be taken by Golconda for its capture by their fleet, and betook themselves to a ship in the roads. On 7 August Mohun and his Council reported this to the Fort:

The French Chief and factors on the 27th past, feareing what might happen to them from the Moores occasioned from their Vice-Roys takeing St Thomay, in the night got boates and conveyed themselves on board of Mirabdle Bekess [Mir Abdullah Bakir's] junck in the

[1] Mas. let. to Fort, 20 March, 5 Mas. 32.

[2] The matter of its payment had been referred to the Fort, and authority had come from there for Mohun and his Council to decide about it on the spot (Fort let. to Mas., 28 March, 9 Mas. 45).

[3] This must have been from King Abdullah Kutb Shah, who died on 21 April (p. 39 *n. ante*); but no indication is given of its contents.

[4] Mas. let. to Fort, 16 April, 5 Mas. 33. Sayyid Muzaffar was one of the chief ministers of the King of Golconda, cf. pp. 91–5.

[5] Mas. let. to Fort, 30 April, ibid. 37.

[6] Mas. let. to Fort, 19 May, ibid. 42.

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road, a vessell unprepared for any voyadge, where they continue, wee suppose in hopes of a vessell to be sent for them from their Vice-Roye,[1]

There they remained for some months, buying a small vessel for their conveyance to San Thomé, should that prove necessary. In November they were still on board,[2] but in December they had returned to Masulipatam on assurances by 'express phirmaund' from the King, together with promises of assistance from Muzaffar 'to compose the business, beleiving [they] may have any reasonable terms', as Langhorn reported to the Company in his letter of 16 December.[3]

A letter to the Fort early in May contains a reference to the recent death of Abdullah Kutb Shah, King of Golconda, and the succession of his son-in-law Abul Hasan Shah. Mohun said it was reported that this settlement of the succession to the throne satisfied almost everyone, especially the commonalty, and was 'likely so to continue, unless the Mogull [Aurangzeb], dissatisfied, should come in [i.e. invade Golconda] for his clame to the Kingdome and so overthrowe all'.[4] In view of this possibility it was suggested that the 'piscash' to the new King should be deferred until it was seen whether the Mughals routed him, and that it should be presented on behalf of Masulipatam as well as the Fort.[5] On 16 May the Agent and Council wrote that they were endeavouring to settle Masulipatam affairs at Golconda through Venkatapati, but that, as the native governments of Madras and Masulipatam were separate, the latter's application to the 'Seirkell', under whom Masulipatam was,[6] might give offence to others.[7] Langhorn in his letter of 16 December also referred to 'the decease of the old King, old Nabob, and most of the old Counsell, all about the same tyme in Aprill last, and succession of the younger Mirza, husband to the Kings youngest of 3 daughters, but something of the blood royall', and the fears entertained that 'the Mogull whose eldest sonn having married with the last Kings eldest daughter, and the agreement the best title to this Crowne, will not easily be satisfyed'.[8]

The settlement of one outstanding matter contributed to the establishment of good relations with the Golconda authorities. In the previous

[1] 5 Mas. 59. [2] Mas. let. to Fort, 21 Sept. & 6 Nov., ibid. 66, 75.

[3] O.C. 3721, f. 2.

[4] Cf. p. 39 *n.* Abul Hasan Shah had married King Abdullah's third daughter, while his eldest or second daughter had married Sultan Muhammad, the son of Aurangzeb.

[5] Undated Mas. let., 5 Mas. 39.

[6] See p. 69 *n. ante.* He was the Golconda minister next in rank to the Nawab. The former governed the province in which Masulipatam lay, and the latter the province containing Fort St. George (Fort let. 28 March, 9 Mas. 45). [7] Ibid. 54.

[8] O.C. 3721, f. 4.

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year certain slaves, or servants, of the King of Golconda had sailed for Persia in one of Sir Edward Winter's ships. This ship 'lost her passage' and was forced to return from Ceylon. On a dispute arising, Mohun recovered for them half their 'freight', and later on they were dispatched to Persia by a vessel belonging to another English merchant, on the Governor's giving an undertaking in writing that the half fare required to make up the full charges for the second passages would be paid. The King of Golconda objected strongly to the payment of this amount, and the Agent and Council at the Fort told Mohun to see that the claim was waived in view of the necessity of not displeasing one from 'whose graceous favour the Honourable Company receive soe favourable usage and protection'. The claim was accordingly given up and the guarantee of the Governor was returned to him with the approval of the Fort authorities.[1]

About the same time there came from Golconda an 'antient Persian' who put forward a claim to the site of the factory at Masulipatam on behalf of the daughter of the man who, it was alleged, had a right to the greater part of it and had mortgaged it in Jearsey's time for 200 pagodas. As no documents about it were forthcoming, the matter was referred to Madras with a request that the facts should be obtained from Jearsey.[2] He reported that it had been mortgaged with a right of redemption and that there was a document, as well as an entry in the books about it some sixteen years earlier.[3] On this information, the payment of 10 pagodas seems to have satisfied the old Persian, who returned to Golconda with a promise that he would settle the matter with the claimant to the ground.[4]

At Masulipatam, as elsewhere on this side of India, there was a tacit endeavour on the part of both English and Dutch to conceal or ignore the outbreak of war and to avoid hostilities. In September the Chief and Council had notice of the 'great probability of a warr' with the Dutch, and were informed by 'Sig. Braumes and the Fiscall' of the Dutch factory that they had similar news, but they hoped the breach would be made up, especially as an ambassador had been sent from Holland to England.[5] Accordingly, when the Fort informed Mohun,

[1] Fort let. to Mas. 27 & 28 March, & 18 April, 9 Mas. 42–5, 46, 48; Mas. let. to Fort, 30 April, 5 Mas. 35–6.

[2] Mas. let. to Fort, 30 April, ibid. 38.

[3] Fort let. to Mas. 18 May, 9 Mas. 49. Jearsey said the ground had originally been leased at a rent of 3 pagodas a year, but that payment of this ceased on a mortgage of the land for 200 pagodas advanced by Christopher Yardley (who was Chief at Masulipatam *c.* 1650: *E.F.*, 1651–4, 43).

[4] Mas. let. to Fort, — May, 5 Mas. 38–9.

[5] Mas. let. to Fort, 21 Sept., ibid. 66.

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in September, that Van Goens was sending ten ships to Pulicat and six to Masulipatam, no apprehension was felt. Mohun said the Dutch had 3,000 bales of goods at Pulicat and 2,000 at Masulipatam, for taking which five or six ships would be required, and that the withdrawal of these would enable the English ships to deal with the remainder of the Dutch fleet, if the occasion arose.[1]

In the beginning of October he further reported that six Dutch ships had arrived at Masulipatam on various dates between 24 September and 2 October and were still there, but that they were proceeding to Batavia as soon as the weather permitted, and the Dutch were still professing to be confident that 'their State would not breake with the King' of England.[2] Definite news of the war reached the factory at Masulipatam towards the end of October, on the receipt of a letter from Surat stating that the Company's despatch showed that the previous fears of war with the Dutch had now become a certainty.[3] By 25 October the Dutch ships had all departed except one hooker believed to be kept as a refuge, but Mohun reported the following high-handed behaviour on land:

> The 22nd they landed a great peece of ordnance in a case with considerable ammunition, whereof advice being given to the Cottwall they were stopped by the King's duroy [prohibition] in the bancksall, whereupon they imediately armed and brought all to their house without further obstruction or oppression; since this every night 5 or 6 of their people ride about the towne well armed and appointed.[4]

Langhorn in his report to the Company at the end of the year added that they had mounted twenty great guns in their factory, and that this and their mounted patrols practically made them masters of the place.[5]

In November the Dutch still pretended to know nothing of the 'conjuntion' of the English and the French against them; but a rumour that fifteen of their vessels had gone from Ceylon towards the Bay caused Mohun to send a warning to the Chief there and to ask that the English ships on their voyage southwards should call at Narsapur for news of their enemies before proceeding to Masulipatam.[6] He had become suspicious and anxious as to dangers from the Dutch at Masulipatam, and on 20 November he instructed Fleetwood at Madapollam 'to cause a good mudd wall to be cast up round about the

[1] 5 Mas. 66–7; O.C. 3721, f. 2.
[2] Mas. let. to Fort, 7 Oct., 5 Mas. 68.
[3] Mas. let. 25 Oct., ibid. 70.
[4] Ibid. 70–1.
[5] O.C. 3721, f. 3.
[6] Mas. let. 6, 11, & 13 Nov., 5 Mas. 75, 76.

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factory and also to repair the platform', as a defensive measure.[1] Such measures of precaution were encouraged by Sir William Langhorn, who advised diligence 'to defend or prevent the danger' from the Dutch. No Dutch ships, however, turned up at Masulipatam or its neighbourhood, and towards the end of December the report of their coming was thought to be false.[2]

On the other hand, it appears that the Dutch were occasionally interfering with private traders and shipping to and from Madras. In May they seized a ship belonging to one Brigman, though she was under the English flag and protection: he was of English extraction, and was on his way in her from Ceylon with his wife (a Dutch woman) and family to settle at Madras. They also compelled vessels from Madras, which had been furnished with passes there, to take fresh ones for the Malabar coast from them at Tuticorin. The Fort authorities asked the Chief and Council at Masulipatam to give their opinion how the matter should be dealt with, and they advised that, as the protection of the English flag was grounded on the Company's commission to the Agent and Council for the improvement of their town and interests, the latter should 'vindicate [their] liberty of soe doeing by protesting against the violence offered you thereby'.[3] What steps, if any, were taken does not appear.

The Dutch were also reported to have been trying to get from the King of Golconda a grant of 'Diu Island,[4] the only good port on all this coast', both for its own importance, as it produced 'very good chay',[5] and because of its convenience for settling weavers there free from 'the extortions of the Moores'. Langhorn in reporting this to the Company expressed the fear that, if this place got into European hands, it would soon draw all trade from Masulipatam and its neighbourhood.[6]

The good relations established with the Governor of Masulipatam were interrupted by a change in the holder of the office. In August Mohun reported to the Fort that Sayyid Muzaffar of Golconda, in whose jurisdiction Masulipatam lay, was replacing the Governor by a slave of his own.[7] The new Governor arrived on 16 September and proved to be an unpleasant and grasping person, and an even greater

[1] Ibid. 77.

[2] Mas. let. 21 Dec., 6 Mas. 5.

[3] Fort let. 3 June, 9 Mas. 59; Mas. let. 21 June, 5 Mas. 48.

[4] Now known as Divi Point, a low headland sixteen miles south of Masulipatam, and surrounded by shoals (*Imp. Gaz. Ind.* xi. 364). Cf. *E.F.*, 1665–7, 248 *n.*

[5] Chay (Mal. *chayaver*) is a small plant extensively cultivated on the Coromandel Coast. Its root (Indian madder) yields a blue dye, which on treatment is changed to a deep red or other colours useful for dyeing cloth (*Madras Man. Adm.* iii. 160, and *Ind. Antiquary*, xxx. 399 f.).

[6] O.C. 3721, f. 3. Cf. Fort let. 2 Dec., 9 Mas. 1.

[7] Mas. let. to Fort, 19 Aug., 5 Mas. 63.

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source of trouble than his predecessor. Five days after his arrival Mohun and his colleagues unflatteringly described him in a letter to the Fort as 'a capon, very black and of a surley proud temper, infinitely hated allready by all that have seen him'.[1]

He had, according to them, enriched himself on the journey to Masulipatam by extortions from the people to the extent of 20,000 pagodas. He speedily sent for the French, English, and Dutch. Mohun being ill and his two colleagues, Mainwaring and Chamberlain, absent at Madapollam, Robert Freeman was deputed to wait on him and make the Chief's excuses.[1] By November the English factors, who had neglected to give him a peshkash, were daily receiving affronts, their provisions and necessaries were stopped, and a letter of complaint was returned unopened.[2] For some unexplained reason they believed that his stay as Governor was unlikely to be long, so were unwilling to make him a present; and their handling of the situation, and of a Governor of the character they described, would seem to have been shortsighted and clumsy.

Mainwaring and Chamberlain were then in charge; Mohun was ill and had gone to Madapollam, but was in close and constant communication with them and responsible as Chief of the factory. In a letter to the Fort of 6 November, they described how in their dealings with the Governor, 'we feed him with faire promises and endeavoure to keepe an amiable and plausible correspondency with him'[3]—tactics which were far from successful. Their goods were stopped, one of their peons was sent in irons to Gudur, and their merchants were intimidated from appearing.[4] Matters culminated on 24 December when the Governor's people beset them and prevented water and provisions from reaching the factory. They also obstructed their peons from moving in the town, and the latter threatened to leave them on account of the lack of water. To avoid open hostilities with the Governor, the French were approached for help. At their suggestion it was agreed that the English should seize the oxen used to bring water to the French factory; these would be left conveniently available. The seizure was accordingly made without opposition from the French, but led to violence and bloodshed which can best be described in the words of the letter from Mainwaring and Chamberlain about it.[5]

[1] Mas. let. to Fort, 21 Sept., 5 Mas. 67.
[2] Mainwaring and Chamberlain at Mas. to Salisbury at Petapoli, 4 Nov., ibid. 73.
[3] Ibid. 74-5.
[4] Mas. let. to Mohun, 11 Dec., 6 Mas. 2.
[5] Mas. let. to Mohun, 25 Dec., ibid. 5-7. Other accounts of the affair, received through Dutch

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Before Mr. Hattons door the Governors peons hindered our passage, being about 30 with their drawne swords, and severall from the banksall and nearer forced [fired] shot. It pleased God they missed us. The oxen in this combustion, being scared, made their wayes through. Mr. Winne received a blow intended on him on the barrell of his gunne. Mr. Samuel White[1] retreating to follow and guard the oxen to the factory had undoubtedly beene cleft downe the head, had not one of our people immediately shot the man that did intend the execution, which since wee hear is dead. Mr. Wall,[2] it seems, in this interim shot from his gallery and killed another Moore, but was not seene nor thought of by any but Mr. Freeman. After wee had made the Moors give way, we came home and the Moors then being about 50 in number gott into Mr. Walls house, breaking open his doores where hee was not, but gott into his landelords house who betrayed him to them, and they takeing this opportunity, seeing but a single man, cut him almost in peices that his gutts came out, who in 3 hours after dyed of his wounds.

In spite of this serious event the process of bargaining as to the amount of the present to the Governor still went on. On 23 December Mohun had written saying the sum of 1,200 pagodas then demanded was excessive, being more by 500 pagodas than had ever been paid before, but laying down no limit, as it was necessary that there should be no delay in the dispatch of the ships then awaited from the Bay.[3] Mir Abdullah Bakir—the former Governor of Masulipatam—now offered his good offices and was authorized to promise 1,500 pagodas, but the Governor again raised his demands and asked for 2,000.[4] A few days later, on 28 December, he reduced the figure to 1,800 and removed his restraint on the factory and its supplies, though merchants

sources, will be found in letters from one Yenkana at Armagaon to Kasi Viranna and Pedda Venkatadri, 30 Dec. & 3 Jan. 1673, 26 F.St.G. 71 & 73. Mainwaring in a private letter of 19 Feb. 1673 declares that the Governor's obstructive attitude was partly due to his being incensed at Mohun's 'forcing off his perticular goods and necessaryes' for private trade (3 Misc. 178). On the other hand, the Dutch at Pulicat reported that the dispute arose because the factors, fearing the arrival of the Dutch ships, had moved to Madapollam against the Governor's orders (Let. 25 Feb. 1673, *Dutch Records at the Hague*, 1st series, vol. 31, DCCCIII, p. 1). That this was part of the dispute is corroborated at p. 232 *post*.

[1] Unless 'Samuel' is a mistake for 'James', which seems unlikely, he must surely be the younger brother of James White, who afterwards attained a high position and notoriety in Siam. As a lad of twenty-two, he may have come to India as a seaman on one of the three Company's ships which called at Masulipatam in July (p. 220) and have been allowed to stay in the factory, pending the return of his ship from the Bay: she was probably the *Loyal Subject* (Capt. William Goodlad), as he came to the Coromandel Coast in her as mate in 1675 (M. Collis, *Siamese White*, p. 4).

[2] I have not traced any other mention of Wall, but he may be the John Walls, whose account with the Company was asked for in Aug. 1673 (*Ct. Min.*, 1671–3, 261).

[3] 9 Mas. 5.

[4] Mas. let. to Mohun, 25 Dec., 6 Mas. 7.

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were still not allowed to approach it. Two hundred pagodas were sent for the Governor himself, and endeavours went on to lower the other demands, of which 1,500 were ostensibly for the King of Golconda and 100 for his servants.[1] From Mohun there came news of the approach of the ships from Bengal, and instructions that, if a settlement could not be effected, those at Masulipatam should repair on board the ships, taking with them their guns for use at Madapollam, whither they might remove, if necessary.[2]

The six ships from England (p. 54) came into the road on the afternoon of 29 December, and their commanders and eight men came ashore, the rest being left on board so that there should be no suspicions of their having designs on the town. The Governor was taking no risks, and an hour before the landing sent orders limiting them to one boat and two men from each ship; he also 'placed a guard, about a hundred men, in the banksall and planted some great gunns before charged [i.e. already loaded] on the bridge'.[3] The two factors said he was 'very obstinate and imperious in regard hee knows his power is derived from the second person in the Kingdome, who is able to hold him out in anything when contrived for his benefitt and advantage'.[4] The position practically forced them to yield to the Governor's demands, and letters from them on 31 December show that they were hoping to compose the difference with him almost immediately.[5] At Madapollam there was some hesitation as to the proper course to be taken. Thus a letter from Mohun and Fleetwood of 29 December proposed taking up an aggressive and threatening attitude; another of 30 December from Mohun, Joseph Hall, who had arrived on the ships from the Bay, and Fleetwood, suggested the seizure of Mir Abdullah Bakir's person and ships, while a third of 31 December from Hatton and Fleetwood advised a peaceful settlement with the Governor.[6] An undated letter of about this time from Mohun, Fleetwood, and Field, however, authorized Mainwaring and Chamberlain to decide the matter in consultation with the commanders of the six ships from the Bay, which were still at Masulipatam at the end of the year.

[1] 6 Mas 8.

[2] Mohun and Fleetwood to Mas. 24 & 28 Dec., 9 Mas. 6, 7. See also O.C. 3950, an undated consultation, apparently held at Madapollam before the ships had reached Masulipatam, as to the action to be taken to relieve the factory and avenge Wall's murder.

[3] Mas. to Mohun, 29 Dec., 6 Mas. 9, 10.

[4] Ibid. 10.

[5] Ibid. 9, 10.

[6] 9 Mas. 7, 8. In the letter of 31 Dec. Mohun was reported to be very ill and unable to attend to business.

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Other preoccupations during the year were of minor importance, but one of them, to which much time and effort and many letters were devoted, may be mentioned. This was the provision of timber required for the building of the two small vessels for the Bay and for the fortifications at Madras. Francis Turner at Pundapalli acted as agent for this purpose, and the tale is one long record of delay and detention by corrupt officials. The timber had to be bought in the 'timber country' in the interior and brought to the coast. Unfortunately the route lay through the territories of more than one Governor, and each had to be 'satisfied' before he would allow it to pass.[1] Consequently the timber for the boats, though bought in February, did not arrive till May. Thereupon they were put in hand immediately and were completed and dispatched in July and August.[2]

The Fort in April ordered 100 firm and large teak timbers for the fortifications which were out of repair.[3] Turner procured their dispatch in May, but was forced to take about 100 additional small pieces, and owing to the usual delays and difficulties they did not arrive till August, after the *Berkeley Castle*, on which it had been intended to send them, had left for Madras.[4] Consequently they were sent on three native craft late in the year, and early in December a letter from the Fort told Mohun and his Council that one of these boats had arrived, another had gone ashore, and the third had not yet appeared.[5]

MASULIPATAM, 1673

THE year opened with Mohun, the Chief of the factory, ill at Madapollam. Robert Fleetwood and John Field, who were stationed there, acted as members of his council, sharing in his decisions and signing letters with him during his stay.[6] Affairs at Masulipatam were in charge of Matthew Mainwaring and George Chamberlain. Their chief and immediate task was the settlement of the pending difficulties with the

[1] Mas. let. to Bay, 21 & 23 Feb., 5 Mas. 29, 30; Mas. let. to Fort, 20 March, 25 April, — & 20 May, ibid. 32, 34, 39, 43; Turner's let. to Mas. 9, 16, & 30 May, 9 Mas. 49, 50, 52, 55 and *passim*.

[2] Mas. let. to Bay, 17 July, 5 Mas. 55, & to Fort, 19 Aug., ibid. 63. Some particulars of the vessels are given in Turner's letters of 7 & 12 June. One was of 70 tons and the other of over 40—rather larger than the size ordered; they cost about 2,000 pagodas (9 Mas. 57, 60; 5 Mas. 45, 53).

[3] Fort let. — & 27 April, 9 Mas. 46, 52; Mas. let. to Turner, 19 April, 5 Mas. 34.

[4] Turner's let. in May, 9 Mas. 50, 51, 52, 55; Mas. let. to Turner, 10 Aug., 5 Mas. 60, and to Fort, 21 June & 19 Aug., ibid. 48, 63.

[5] Fort let. 2 Dec., 9 Mas. 2.

[6] e.g. let. to Mas., *c.* 1 Jan., ibid. 9.

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troublesome new Governor and the getting in and dispatch of the goods which his blockade had delayed, and which the six ships from Bengal were awaiting. In consultation with their commanders, it was decided on 1 January that there was no practicable alternative to conceding the Governor's demands to the extent of 1,700 pagodas, a sum to which Mir Abdullah Bakir had got him to agree. On the same day, at the Governor's invitation, Mainwaring and Chamberlain paid a visit to him. In consequence of the settlement of the dispute they were civilly received and assured that their business would no longer be molested or hindered. He also gave them liberty to remove themselves and their goods from the town, if they had reason to fear a Dutch attack.[1] Mohun about this time had a relapse and his condition was so serious that it was reported to Madras that he was incapable of doing any business.[2]

Meanwhile other delays were taking place at Madapollam[3] and at Petapoli, where Salisbury was obstructed in the dispatch of the 500 candies of saltpetre expected from him (p. 221).[4] An important piece of news that reached Masulipatam about this time was that peace had been made between Golconda and Aurangzeb: 'The Mogulls army is retreated, this King haveing made peace with him for a sum of money to the others content'.[5]

With the removal of the Governor's embargo, goods began to come in, and Chamberlain and Wynn were detailed to sort them; but these two could not get through more than 2,000 pieces a day, so it was suggested to Mohun that only 100 pieces from each merchant's consignment should be examined and a fair price fixed on this basis—a procedure which would seem to have been adopted.[6] The quality was found to be 'very ordinary', the merchants' explanation being that the quantity demanded was more than they had ever been called on to supply in any previous year, and so they had been forced to buy up what they could get.[7] Salisbury, too, was able to announce that he was sending off 1,180 bags of saltpetre, which had been held up by the obstruction of the 'petermen' and the differences with the Governor

[1] Con. 1 Jan., & Mas. let. 2 Jan., 6 Mas. 10–12.

[2] Mas. let. to Fort, 2 Jan., ibid. 13–14. He was temporarily 'off his head' (O.C. 3838, PS., f. 4).

[3] Mas. let. 6 & 10 Jan., 6 Mas. 15, 16.

[4] Mas. let. 2 Jan., ibid. 14; Salisbury's let. 8 Jan., 9 Mas. 9 (*Ind. Antiquary*, xxxvii. 309).

[5] Mas. let. 2 Jan., 6 Mas. 13–14. Cf. Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, 270, as to the Emperor's policy being to fleece and terrorize the Golconda Government rather than to extinguish it.

[6] Mas. let. 5 Jan., 6 Mas. 14–15.

[7] Mas. let. to Mohun, 6 Jan., ibid. 16.

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of Masulipatam.[1] On 10 January Mohun, who seems to have recovered, was prompted by the great danger threatening the six ships, which had arrived from the Bay, should the Dutch fleet catch them in Masulipatam roads, to send orders that they should sail by night within twenty-four hours of the receipt of his letter, with whatever cargo they had on board; books and letters were to follow them overland and other goods to be sent to Madras in boats.[2] On 12 January the Agent and Council were accordingly informed that all goods that were ready had been sent off, and that the remainder would be brought to them by country boats. The same night the commanders were given their dispatch, with orders to ship saltpetre off Diu Point, where Salisbury would send it to meet them in boats.[3] A letter to Mohun on 13 January, reporting these facts, shows that the factors at Masulipatam had had to take over the goods from the merchants with an allowance over the contract-rates, which made them very dear, and that they had to bale them without sorting the cloth. Nevertheless the merchants complained that the bargains were bad ones for them, in view of the difficulties they had experienced from heavy rains and the exceptionally large quantities required.[4] The ships got away only on 14 January, but contrary winds prevented country boats reaching them with goods.[5] The total value of the goods sent, and to be sent, was estimated at not over 32,000 pagodas.[6] Steps were now taken to bale the goods which had come in too late for shipment, and to procure boats in which to send these, as well as other goods from Madapollam and Petapoli.[7]

Though Salisbury had been able to dispatch some 300 candies of saltpetre, his work was still hampered; for this he blamed a certain Brahman, formerly employed by Jearsey, who, he suspected, was instigating the 'petermen' to strike, in order to ruin him and to get employment for himself or a kinsman. Salisbury renewed his request for 'Bundarees' and wanted a letter to the local Governor, with the help of which he hoped to obtain the saltpetre. Otherwise he refused to be responsible for any damage to the Company's affairs and asked to be relieved of all concern with the supply of saltpetre.[8] The Brahman was warned and thirty Rajputs were sent from Masulipatam,[9] but

[1] Let. 8 & 10 Jan., 9 Mas. 9, 10 (*Ind. Antiquary*, xxxvii. 309).
[2] 9 Mas. 10.
[3] Mas. let. to Fort, 6 Mas. 17.
[4] Ibid. 17–18.
[5] Ibid. & Mas. let. to Mohun, 15 Jan., ibid. 20.
[6] Ibid. 18.
[7] Let. to Mohun and to Salisbury, 13, 14, & 15 Jan., ibid. 17–21.
[8] Let. from Salisbury, 14, 15, & 16 Jan., 9 Mas. 11–13 (*Ind. Antiquary*, xxxvii. 310–11).
[9] Let. 18 & 19 Jan., 6 Mas. 22–3.

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before they arrived the Golconda authorities detained all saltpetre for the use of the King of Golconda and made its movement impossible by putting his 'chop and de roy'[1] on it, with the result that the owners of oxen refused to transport it till these restraints were removed. Salisbury, finding that nothing could be done by violence, sent back the Rajputs immediately on their arrival.[2]

Mohun now determined to show the 'country people' how much they resented the recent violent and injurious interference with trade at Masulipatam by making a pretence of abandoning that place. He ordered Mainwaring and Chamberlain to put up the factory and house for public sale and to embark the Company's goods and movables for transfer to Madapollam, leaving only two Englishmen and ten peons to guard the factory and house.[3] Mainwaring and Chamberlain replied that they would consult the other Company's servants at the place about this proposal, and (if they agreed to it) would endeavour to embark the Company's goods accordingly after the baled cloth had been sent off in boats to Madras.[4] The project, however, appears to have been abandoned owing to the Governor of Masulipatam refusing to permit a removal of the factory's goods to Madapollam,[5] and the factory was still at Masulipatam in the second half of the year.

In spite of all difficulties Mainwaring and Chamberlain by 21 January had sent seven boats with goods intended to catch the ships at Madras. They sailed in two groups, one of four and the other of three boats, but about 26 January a Masulipatam letter informed Mohun that the latter had been seized by the Dutch.[6]

For the next five months there are no letters, outward or inward, or other entries in the Factory Records: it is only on the approach of the Company's ships from England towards the end of June that the series recommences. Mainwaring was then in charge of the factory till Mohun's return from Madras on 8 July, accompanied by Joseph Hinmers.[7] The latter assisted the Council, which included Hatton, till 18 July.[8] In the preceding month of March Mohun, Hatton, and others

[1] Seal and prohibition, cf. p. 221.

[2] Let. 20 & 21 Jan., 9 Mas. 12*b* (*Ind. Antiquary*, xxxvii. 313).

[3] Let. from Mohun and Fleetwood, 13 Jan., 9 Mas. 11.

[4] Mas. let. 15 Jan., 6 Mas. 20, 21.

[5] Mas. let. *c.* 26 Jan., ibid. 25.

[6] Mas. let. to Fort, 20 Jan. and undated, ibid. 23, 25. Altogether five boats were seized off Pulicat (p. 59 *ante*).

[7] Fort let. 26 June, 9 Mas. 14; Mohun's let. to Capt. Basse, 9 July, Marine Records (henceforward called 'Mar. R.'), 15 Misc. 52; let. from Mainwaring to Capt. Basse, ibid. 47–8, 51.

[8] Cf. Mas. con. 15 July, & Mas. let. 17 & 18 July, 6 Mas. 33, 39, 40.

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of the Masulipatam Council travelled overland to Madras (p. 64), and stayed there for some two months,[1] while Mohun's visit extended still further. This absence, the reason for which is not clear,[2] partly explains the gap in the Masulipatam records.

The war with the Dutch and the consequent hazards of the voyage to India led the Company this year to send out a combined fleet for the east and west coasts of India.[3] It consisted of the Company's own ship, the *London*, and nine freighted ships, the *Bombay Merchant*, *President*, *Massingberd*, *Unity*, *East India Merchant*, *Ann*, *Antelope*, *Sampson*, and *Caesar*. It was a formidable squadron, mounting in all 318 guns, manned by 992 seamen and 105 soldiers.[4] The orders of the Company provided that it should sail direct to Fort St. George, then to Masulipatam, returning thence to the Fort and finally proceeding to the Malabar coast and Surat. No ships were to go to the Bay, but goods for that destination were to be put ashore at Madras or Masulipatam, as might be found convenient, and sent on by such transport as could be procured. Strict injunctions were given that the fleet should leave Masulipatam by 20 August and the Fort by 10 September, or sooner if possible.[5]

It sailed from the Downs on 15 January. One vessel, the *Massingberd*, met with a disaster off the Land's End and returned disabled to Portsmouth, but after repair followed the other ships to India on 29 January, managing by good luck or the skill of her commander to avoid the Dutch and reach Madras safely on 30 July.[6]

The main fleet, under Captain William Basse of the *London*, who had been appointed its Admiral, had an uneventful voyage and on 10 June sighted Ceylon.[7] Proceeding up the Coromandel coast they were

[1] Hatton's let. 3 Aug. 1673 & 23 July 1674, copies of which are in 1 F.S.G. 25 (*M.R.* 63, 64).

[2] It could not have been in connexion with the charges against Mohun and Mainwaring, as these were not received from the Company till July (p. 57 *ante*). It may have been due to the beginning of dissension in the factory. An extract from a letter of 21 Jan. from Mainwaring and Chamberlain to the Fort shows they reported that Mohun was 'considerably indebted unto the Company' and that they thought he must have employed its money for his own use (*M.R.* 144).

[3] Dr. John Fryer was a passenger in one of the ships—the *Unity*—and his *New Account of East India and Persia* describes in detail the composition and personnel of the fleet and its voyage to India (p. 7 & chaps. i–iv, pp. 1–103).

[4] For these and other details see desp. 13 Dec. 1672, 5 L.B. 21–2, 30, and the list of seamen and soldiers made out at Madras (O.C. 3854). Fryer's totals of 394 guns and 1,010 seamen differ from those given above, but the Company's figures are more reliable.

[5] 5 L.B. 22.

[6] Capt. Basse's let. 27 June, O.C. 3806, f. 1; *Ct. Min.*, 1671–3, 206, 207, 209; Fort let. to Mas. 30 July, 9 Mas. 36: cf. p. 240 *n. post.*

[7] O.C. 3806, f. 1; Basse's let. 29 June, Mar. R., 15 Misc. 18. I give Basse's name as he spelt it himself and as it appears in the *Ct. Min.*, 1668–72 and 1671–3, though in *E.F.*, 1668–9, 184, it is spelt 'Bass'.

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met on 21 June off Porto Novo by messengers from Langhorn bearing a letter of 13 June from him and his Council. This gave warning that Van Goens, with twelve 'good ships' and other small ones, was off San Thomé and instructed the English fleet to proceed direct to Masulipatam and there leave the treasure which the ships carried. This they did, arriving and anchoring in Masulipatam road on 26 June.[1] Basse reported to the factors his arrival and the news from Europe, and awaited orders, suggesting that the treasure should be taken ashore as soon as possible, 'not knowing how soon the Dutch may follow us, but hope wee shall be able to defend ourselves, for wee are well manned and [have] good shipps and doe not feare them'.[2] This boast he repeated in a letter of the same date to the President at Surat, saying that 'wee . . . feare not the Dutch, though they be double the number of our shipps', and adding that his men were for the most part in good health. According to him the Dutch fleet of eighteen ships under Van Goens was then at Negapatam.[3] For some days he remained without definite orders, but by a letter of 27 June Langhorn sent instructions that the ships should get ready to come to Madras, keeping together and maintaining a sharp look-out on the way. Treasure and letters for the Fort were to be landed and sent overland, but goods for the Fort were to be reladen.[4] Before the receipt of these orders, treasure and goods intended for the Fort and for Masulipatam had been put ashore, but the Company's provision for Surat was left on board in view of the shortness of the ships' stay there. Some time after 3 July the fleet, on a false alarm of the approach of twelve Dutch ships, weighed anchor and proceeded to Diu Point, so as not to be surprised on a lee shore, and lay there awaiting further orders.[5]

The confidence of Basse in the superiority of his fleet over that of the Dutch was confirmed by various reports received from Madras. On 26 June Langhorn and his Council described the Dutch ships as 'but mean saylers for the most part, which includes the whole, and but slenderly manned', and stated that 'we do not despare but that halfe the number of ours may make their party good, if put to itt'.[6] On 4 and 7 July they followed this up with detailed news of the strength and condition of the Dutch fleet, based on information received from one Edward Green (master of an English ship, the *Mary*), who had been

[1] Basse's let. to Mohun, 26 June, 9 Mas. 15; to Fort, 1 July, Mar. R., 15 Misc. 19.
[2] Basse's let. to Mohun, 26 June, 9 Mas. 15; 27 June, Mar. R., 15 Misc. 17.
[3] O.C. 3806, f. 2.
[4] Fort let. to Mas., 27 June, 9 Mas. 15.
[5] Mas. let. to Fort, 9 July, 6 Mas. 26; Basse's let. to Mohun, 3 July, 9 Mas. 17.
[6] Fort let. to Mas., ibid. 14.

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captured off Ceylon but released on 2 July, and on a report from Kasi Viranna of news received from an inhabitant of Pulicat, who had been aboard one of the Dutch ships for nineteen days. The two sources of information differed as to the quantity of ships, but agreed in estimating the number of their European crews at about 1,200 men, helped by 120 'blacks'. Green reported having seen thirteen frigates, of which 'not above nine sayle at most fitt for service for want of men', and that several were 'very old vessels which in an engagement would prove very crazy and insufficient'. Kasi Viranna gave the number of ships as eighteen, but he, as well as Green, reported that two of the 'great ships' had been severely damaged by shot in an encounter with the fort at San Thomé and with one of the French Admiral's ships and were so disabled that they had to be deducted from the number of effective ships.[1] Langhorn concluded that all the Dutch had to depend on were seven ships, apparently referring to large fighting ships, of which one, the Rear-Admiral's ship, was damaged.[2] Langhorn and his Council at the same time sent further orders, cancelling those for the dispatch of the treasure by land and giving instructions for the ships with the treasure on board to proceed as quickly as possible to Madras, as time was short and money was required for making purchases there.[3] They complained of the delay in receiving the Company's despatches that were brought out on the ships; they did not reach the Fort till 7 July, in spite of elaborate arrangements, including twenty-one stages of peons laid between there and Masulipatam, to ensure speedy communications between the two places.[4] The directions for the quick and secret dispatch of the ships with the treasure, and their keeping together and maintaining a good look-out on the way, were repeated in letters of 7 and 8 July, which also laid down that Mohun and his Council should satisfy themselves that the ships could make the voyage to Madras, deliver what was to be landed there, and get back to Masulipatam in time to take in goods and sail again for Madras by 15 August, or the 20th at latest.[5] These orders were, however, not received at Masulipatam till 13 July, whereupon the fleet was directed to return

[1] This refers to an encounter which the French man-of-war *Breton*, on her return from Masulipatam, had with a part of the Dutch fleet on 11 June off San Thomé (cf. Martin, i. 486–7; Carré, ii. 560–5; Love, i. 327).

[2] Fort let. to Mas. 4 & 7 July, & 'Occurrences', 4–7 July, 9 Mas. 17–20. See also Mar. R., 15 Misc. 49–51. Most of Green's report is reproduced on p. 353 of Prof. C. R. Boxer's account of 'The Third Dutch War in the East (1672–4)' in the *Mariner's Mirror*, Oct. 1930 (hereinafter referred to as *M.M.*).

[3] Fort let. to Mas. 4 July, 9 Mas. 17–18.

[4] Fort let. to Mas. 4 & 5 July, ibid. 18, 19.

[5] Ibid. 20, 21, 22.

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from Diu Point to Masulipatam road and take the treasure on board.[1] The ships, delayed by contrary winds, only got back to the roads on 16 July, and the boats could not reach them owing to 'the great breaking seas [which] the afore-mentioned winds had raised upon' the bar. Consequently it was not till the 17th and 18th that the treasure could be brought alongside the ships.[2]

Of this treasure seven chests of rials of eight, valued at £7,000, were retained for use at Masulipatam. Other goods and stores landed were twenty-five bales of broadcloth, two barrels of rum, and three pipes of wine, one for the factory and two for the Bay. The rest was reshipped for Madras.[3] Basse and the other commanders were consulted about the Fort's time-table, providing for a final sailing of the fleet from Masulipatam by 15 or 20 August,[4] but refused to give any opinion on the matter on the grounds that they lacked local knowledge and, under the charter-party for each ship, were merely bound to carry out any orders received from Basse, and he to carry out those given him by the Company and the Agent and Council at the Fort. They promised, however, if so ordered, to use their best endeavours to keep within the time prescribed.[5] The Masulipatam Council expressed surprise at this refusal, but held that the programme was possible, and on 15 July issued orders that the fleet should sail for Madras with the treasure and goods for that place that had been shipped on board, but that if the vessels had not arrived by the end of the month, they should return and take on board such goods as were then ready at Masulipatam.[6] By later orders the date for return, if Madras had not been reached, was extended to 3 August.[7]

Basse was given his sailing orders on 18 July and the fleet got off next day, but were driven back by contrary winds and a strong current, and sailed again on 21 July.[8] They carried with them as passengers Joseph Hinmers and his wife.[9] Confined in irons were seven men belonging to Captain William Cruft's[10] ship the *Unity*, who had run away at

[1] Let. to Basse, 13 July, 6 Mas. 28, & Mar. R., 15 Misc. 56.
[2] Mas. let. to Fort, 1 Aug., 6 Mas. 58.
[3] Mas. let. to Fort, 9 & 20 July, ibid. 27, 45, 46; Mohun's let. to Capt. Basse, Mar. R., 15 Misc., 57, 59.
[4] Mas. let. to Basse, 13 July, 6 Mas. 28.
[5] Basse's let. to Mas. 14 July, 9 Mas. 25, 26; Mas. con. on board *London*, 17 July, 6 Mas. 38; Basse's let. to Mas. 15 July, 9 Mas. 28.
[6] Mas. let. to Basse & con. 15 July, 6 Mas. 32, 33.
[7] Mas. let. 18 & 28 July, ibid. 39, 53.
[8] Ibid. 40; Mas. let. to Fort, 19 & 20 July, ibid. 41, 44.
[9] Mas. let. to Fort, 18 July, ibid. 40.
[10] See Bowrey, 91–2 *n.*, for an account of Cruft's career in the service of the Company.

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Masulipatam with his skiff and been seized and returned. These had complained of bad usage from their commander and threatened not only to leave the ship again on the first opportunity, but also to refuse to fight if an engagement took place.[1] Basse had examined them, but considered their complaints, which mainly related to their victuals, unfounded as they received as much as any others in the fleet.[2] Another prisoner on board was John Pounsett, one of the writers sent out on the ships (p. 57). He had clandestinely brought out and delivered to the Dutch factory at Masulipatam a letter from a friend in England, by name Lawson, who had been formerly resident in Holland. He pleaded in excuse that he had done this innocently through ignorance.[3]

The Company had ordered that on the arrival of the fleet two or three small junks should be bought, to accompany it as fire-ships.[4] The matter of procuring them formed the subject of considerable correspondence between the Masulipatam factory and the Fort, Basse, and Francis Turner, but without its resulting in the provision of the vessels.[5] Basse and his commanders refused to take the responsibility of deciding on, or advising, the suitability of particular boats for the purpose, on the ground that 'the English abiding in the country were better able to judge the quality of the vessels here'.[6] The high terms asked by his officers and men for serving on these vessels, viz. £10 for each seaman and £100 for each commander and for other officers in proportion, were a further source of discussion and delay.[7] In the end one boat was secured, but the fleet sailed without it, as the demands of the officers and men who were to man it had not been settled in time.[8] Though the matter was obviously considered important, it does not appear, or at any rate it was not alleged, that their absence materially, if at all, affected the result of the engagement when the Dutch fleet was encountered.

From Madras came further news of the Dutch ships and encourage-

[1] Mas. let. to Fort, 19 July, 6 Mas. 41; the men's statements, Mar. R., 15 Misc. 78.

[2] Basse's let. to Mas. 19 July, 9 Mas. 29.

[3] Mas. let. to Basse, 16 July, 6 Mas. 37; let. from Pounsett to Rev. Mr. Whitehead (who was then Chaplain at Masulipatam), 9 July, 9 Mas. 23; let. from Basse, 13 & 15 July, ibid. 25, 26. Mohun, who referred the matter to the Fort (6 Mas. 37), had Pounsett transferred to the *Bombay Merchant*, the ship in which he had come out, and ordered that he should be treated 'with a civil respect' (Mar. R., 15 Misc. 32, 55; 9 Mas. 25).

[4] 5 L.B. 23.

[5] Fort let. to Mas. 7 & 8 July, 9 Mas. 21, 22; let. from Turner, 24 & 28 July & 6 Aug., ibid. 31, 33, 37; Mas. let. to Turner, 23, 26, & 29 July, 6 Mas. 45, 50, 56.

[6] Mas. let. and con. 16 & 17 July, ibid. 36, 38.

[7] Basse's let. 2 July, 9 Mas. 15; Mas. let. to Fort, 6 Mas. 26.

[8] F.S.G. let. to Company, 20 Sept., O.C. 3853.

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ment not to avoid meeting them. Langhorn and his Council on 8 July wrote as follows: 'Pray mind the Commanders that, should they chance to meet the Dutch by sea by the way, ours having in all probability the advantage of sayling, may bear through them boldly and saile on for Madras'.[1] A few days later news was sent that, after a conference between Van Goens and Pavillon at Sadraspatam, the Dutch ships had gone southwards, five on the 6th and eleven on the 7th.[2] Dissension between the Moors and the Dutch was reported, the Golconda authorities complaining that the Dutch had failed to give proper help at San Thomé, while the Dutch proposed that the former should attack the place by land and that their own help should be confined to the sea.[3] On 12 July Langhorn again wrote regarding the Dutch ships that 'should they come back, our ships need not fear them'.[4]

In these circumstances the Agent and Council at Madras strongly disapproved of the orders of the Council at Masulipatam for the return of the fleet to that port, if it had not reached Madras by 3 August; and they sent messengers both by land and sea to meet the fleet, in an effort to cancel them.[5] Similar orders were sent from Masulipatam by peons along the coast, for delivery to Basse by boat or catamaran.[6] These orders would not seem to have reached the ships, but in any case they proved unnecessary, as the fleet arrived at Madras without mishap on 29 July. The next day it was joined by the missing ship, *Massingberd*, which Langhorn on 30 July said had 'just come in'.[7]

The news at Madras was reassuring. Langhorn informed Basse that the coast was clear as far as Negapatam, and that Van Goens himself had returned to Galle for reinforcements.[8] The confidence of Basse in his own fleet and his contempt for that of the Dutch, which were to prove so mistaken, were, doubtless, increased by this information. On the other hand all was not well on some of his ships. The desertion of some of the crew of the *Unity* at Masulipatam was followed at Madras by what Langhorn described as 'a kind of mutiny' ashore on the part of some ten men belonging to Captain George Erwin's ship, the *Bombay*

[1] PS. to Fort let. to Mas., 9 Mas. 22.
[2] 'Occurrences', 9–10 July, ibid. 22–3.
[3] Ibid. 23.
[4] Ibid. 25.
[5] Fort let. to Mas. & Basse, 21 July, ibid. 32, 36.
[6] Let. 28 July, 6 Mas. 53.
[7] Fort let. to Mas. 30 July, 9 Mas. 36, cf. p. 235 *ante*. According to Fryer (i. 102) who had come on board the *Unity* from Masulipatam, the *Massingberd* arrived at Madras the day before the other ships, i.e. on 28 July; but this statement seems clearly mistaken, as Langhorn is confirmed by Carré, who (ii. 602) saw the ship arrive on a date corresponding to 30 July (o.s.).
[8] Fort let. 29 July, Mar. R., 15 Misc. 63.

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Merchant.[1] The commander of the *Unity* also accused his chief mate, Nicholas Upton, of neglect and insubordination,[2] and the Madras Council on 6 August had to order that some 'mutinous persons aboard' the fleet should be sent ashore.[3]

On 8 August Langhorn and his Council gave Basse his sailing orders. These were to sail for Masulipatam, embark goods there and return without loss of time, noting the orders of the Company that the fleet should leave Masulipatam by 20 August, beyond which time they were not to tarry.[4] They reached that port on 15 August, when Basse reported their arrival and requested that all goods should be sent on board speedily as time was short, while Mohun and his Council informed him that their stay would not exceed two days.[5] However, it was not till 19 August that they were given their dispatch, after the ship *London* had been laden with goods for the Company, and on the evening of the next day they sailed for Madras.[6]

Meanwhile the Dutch fleet had returned from the south. The news was communicated by Mohun and his Council to Basse on 19 August,[7] and a letter of 12 August from the Fort authorities to the same effect reached him the next day. This reported that twenty Dutch sail were then off San Thomé, but that it was not known whether they would anchor there or not.[8]

Basse was thus well informed of the possibilities of a meeting with the Dutch, but was by no means intent on avoiding them. He had for excuse the orders for his departure from Masulipatam by 20 August and for his speedy return to Madras. His attitude is thus described by one of his captains:

> That day wee sailed from Mesulipatanam, I was on board the *London*, and hearing the Dutch fleet was on the coast, gave my advice to stand of[f] to sea to avoid them; to that Capt. Basse made answer, wee must ply our best to get [to Madras] by the time prefixed, puting to hazard rather the losse of ships then a day or two of time.[9]

[1] Fort let. 9 Aug., ibid. 64.
[2] Ibid. 79.
[3] Ibid. 80.
[4] Ibid. 74; 5 L.B. 23.
[5] Basse's & Mohun's let. 15 Aug., Mar. R., 15 Misc. 34, 70.
[6] Ibid. 35, 75. Except for a letter to the Company of 25 Aug. (O.C. 3838) there is no other record of what then occurred at Masulipatam, as both the outward and inward registers (6 & 9 Mas.) close before the arrival of the ships.
[7] Ibid. 70.
[8] Ibid. 67. Other letters of 13 & 14 Aug., giving further news, did not reach Basse before he left for Madras (ibid. 68, 69).
[9] Jonathan Hide of the *President*, writing as a captive of the Dutch, 21 Sept., O.C. 3857, ff. 1–2. On 19 Aug. Basse had called all the other commanders on board the *London*, in order to

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Owing to contrary winds the fleet had not made much progress towards Madras when, on the morning of 22 August, the Dutch fleet was sighted off Petapoli, not far to the south of Masulipatam: they were inshore and to windward of the English, only some three to five miles distant from them.[1] They were some twenty ships in all, but of these only thirteen or fourteen were men-of-war. Basse made no attempt to evade them, as he might have done, but signalled to the other commanders to bring their ships into line for defensive purposes. This took some time as the English fleet was strung out and scattered. The Company had divided it into three squadrons, viz. those of the Vice-Admiral (the *President*), the Admiral (the *London*), and the Rear-Admiral (the *Sampson*) under Captains Hide, Basse, and Erning respectively: the first comprised the *Bombay Merchant*, *President*, and *Massingberd*; the second the *Unity*, *East India Merchant*, *London*, and *Ann*; and the third the *Antelope*, *Sampson*, and *Caesar*.[2] They went into action in line in this order, except for the *Caesar*, which remained to leeward of the line and never came into action at all. The engagement, which commenced at about half-past ten in the morning and lasted till about six in the evening, resulted in a severe defeat for the English, who lost the three ships *President*, *Sampson*, and *Antelope*. Captains Hide and Goldsborough, commanders of the first and last of these, were captured with them, and Captain Anthony Erning of the *Sampson* was killed. Basse's 'narrative' of the engagement is as follows:[3]

About 6 morning wee discovered the Dutch fleet consisting of 20 saile small and great, of which 12 or 13 were ships of warr, the other fly boats and small vessells, the small vessels lying to windward of their fleet being five, we standing in for the shoare with the wind S.Wst steered Wst. N.W. The Dutch fleet standing along the shoare to the

communicate the news of the Dutch fleet having been sighted at San Thomé (Mar. R., LXXI, Basse's log under that date); but apparently he did not have a consultation on the 22nd after sighting the Dutch fleet, and there were no doubt difficulties in the way of his doing so. As to this, Capt. Goldsborough of the *Antelope* in his account of the fight says: 'Hee [Basse] very well knew by former experience, that if hee had at that time called us to advise, wee would none of us consented to have fought them, when we were not constrayned to it by them'. (MS. Rawl. A. 185, ff. 386 *et seq.*, reproduced in *M.M.*, 378, and cf. Goldsborough's let. in O.C. 3857, f. 2.)

[1] Three to three and a half miles is the distance given in the Dutch account of the fight (*M.M.*, 367); Basse's log says the headmost of the Dutch fleet was about five miles off (ibid. 371).

[2] Desp. 13 Dec. 1672, 5 L.B. 21–2.

[3] O.C. 3834, ff. 1, 2. Capt. Basse has a longer account of the engagement in his Log-Book (Mar. R., LXXI under date 22 Aug.) and a shorter one in a letter to Langhorn of 1 Sept. (ibid., 15 Misc. 35–6). The first of these, as also that in the text, has been reproduced in *M.M.*, 343–86, where will be found other narratives and the report of the Dutch Admiral Cornelis Van Quaelbergen to Van Goens.

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Eastwards and others off to the S.wards, they having the wind of us. About 7 morning I laid my foretopsaile to the mast to stay for our fleet, and a little after I fired a gunn and spread the King's Jack at my missen peek which was the signe for all our fleet to fall into a line, that we might be the better able to defend ourselves, if the enemy should attacque us. It was ½ an hour past 9 of the clock before all our fleet came together, they being soe scattered from one another, Capt. Cooley [Cowley of the *East India Merchant*] about 3 miles to windward of us and Captain Goldsbrough [of the *Antelope*] as farr to leeward of us and others as farr asterne, which was occasioned by ill company keeping, notwithstanding I communicated Sir Wm. Langhorn's letter to all the Commanders, of 20 saile of Dutch ships, which was seene off St. Thoma Road, the 12th instant. About 10 forenoone all our fleet were in a line, only Capt. Andrews [of the *Caesar*] and he never came into it all the tyme of the ingagement, but lay to leeward of his flagship, hardly within shott of the enemy to doe them any considerable damage, neither was he nearer all the tyme of the ingagement, although Capt. Goldsbrough called to him and desired him to come to their assistance, but he refused and bore away from them; this I was informed by Mr Nehemiah Earning.[1] About ½ an houre past 10 forenoone the Dutch ships in their van fired at our van ships, which made us all ingage, let the success prove as it shall please God. Not above an houre after wee ingaged, Capt. Earning [*sic*: should be Erwing or Erwin of the *Bombay Merchant*][2] and Capt. Cruft [of the *Unity*] bore away out of the fleet to leeward. Capt. Erwing never came to ingage againe; Capt. Cruft at the latter end of the day came something nearer than he was, but lay to leeward of me, fired some gunns at the enemy, but could not doe them any damage being at soe great a distance from the enemy; what his defects were, which made him bare away I know not, little to be seene in his masts, sailes, hull or rigging; the cause why Capt. Erwing bore away as he told me, that he had received a shott under water in or about his runn [the part of a ship's bottom that narrows towards the stern] and had five foot water in his hold, this I leave to your further examination. Capt. Westlock [of the *Massingberd*] and Capt. Cooley [of the *East India Merchant*], the former Capt. Hides assistant, continued in his lyne with his flag about 2 houres and then edged and bore away to leeward of his flagg, and there lay, not being able to doe the enemy any considerable damage being soe farr distant from them; the latter, being one of my division, continued in his lyne about some three houres and then bore away to leeward of me, the

[1] He was purser and mate of the *Sampson*, and gave an account of the fight, which is O.C. 3838 (reproduced in *M.M.*, 379–80).

[2] The context shows the reference is not to Capt. Anthony Erning of the *Sampson*, who was killed fighting bravely.

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reason as he told me was because he wantted shott. Capt. Browne [of the *Ann*] kept in his lyne all the tyme of the ingagement and fought very well and stoutly: he stood to my assistance when all ships else bore away. As to your own ship *London*, being soe much disabled in hull, sailes, masts, standing and running rigging, as is to be seene the most part on board of her at this tyme, as alsoe the losse of soe many men slaine and wounded as I have given you an account of already, I thought it but necessary prudence to preserve your ship from the enemies hands, seing the rest of the ships bore away and left me to the fury of the enemy, Capt. Browne only excepted; about 4 Clock in the afternoone we had a very sad accident of powder blowing up, both our steerage and great cabin which was the losse of many men; about 6 afternoone being in soe disabled condition both in men and ship, by the perswasion of my mates and some other officers, I endeavoured to ware [look after] our shipp and bare away, intending to repaire some of our defects in sailes and rigging, but I had noe sooner bore up, but all the other ships bore away before me, and [did] not stay to the assistance of myselfe nor Capt. Hyde, who fought well and stoutly, as also the commanders of the other two ships which were taken. I suppose the great instrument of looseing Capt. Hide's ships was that his foretopsaile was not hoisted up but lay upon the cap and noe head saile made, whereby to comand and ware his ship, [there was] only a fore saile, and as I have heard say, his owne men did not stand by him at the close of the day; nor could he get a man to goe into the foretop to reave [fasten] a roape to hoist his foretopsaile, this you may please to examine further. All the time of the ingagement we went along with our topsailes ½ mast downe with foresaile missen and missen topsaile and oftimes laid our head sailes to the mast, but our foretopsaile for the most part of the time, that our fleet might keep close together all the time of the ingagement, and this I can safely say that had all our fleet done their best and utmost endeavours to have damnified the enemy, we might in all probabillity have worsted them and have taken more of their ships then they did of ours, for [of] our tenn ships not above five or six did sustaine their fury all the tyme of the ingagement. This I give to the best of my knowledge as alsoe an eye wittness to most of it, and am ready to testify it when thereunto called.

This account of the action is confirmed in the main by those from other sources. All show that the chief cause of the ease and completeness of the Dutch victory was the cowardice or inaction of certain of the English commanders. That of the *Caesar* was the worst offender. This ship never came into the line of battle, but lay safely to leeward throughout. The *Bombay Merchant* and the *Unity* fell out early in the

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fight,[1] and the *Massingberd* and the *East India Merchant* followed in the middle of the engagement. Five ships, therefore, bore the brunt of the fighting, viz. Basse's own ship, the *London*; the *Ann*, belonging to his squadron; the *President*, one of the ships in the van under Captain Hide; and the *Antelope* and the *Sampson* of the rear squadron, under Captain Erning of the latter ship. These all, as Basse wrote, fought stoutly and well.

The damage sustained by the *London* has been described in his narrative by Basse. Of his ship's company he had five men killed outright and eleven died of their wounds soon afterwards; eighteen more were wounded, ten of them seriously.[2] He gives six o'clock as the time when he bore away and the other ships followed, but other accounts agree in alleging that he did so at an earlier hour, which they put at four or five o'clock, and this seems to have been nearer the truth.[3]

He left three disabled ships, the *President*, *Antelope*, and *Sampson*, to be captured by the Dutch. The *London* in sailing away passed close to, or touched, the first of these and her captain, Jonathan Hide, appealed to Basse not to leave them, but only received an order to make sail, which the condition of the ship made it impossible to do.[4]

The Dutch then concentrated on the three crippled ships, and their Admiral made the signal for boarding them. The *President* was attacked from all sides by four of the Dutch ships and boarded by two of them. She put up a gallant fight and surrendered only after Hide had been laid unconscious, as well as burnt and temporarily blinded, by a hand-grenade. His account of this part of the action is worth reproduction:

[*Precis.* After Capt. Basse had left in spite of my request to him not to do so] the Dutch came up with us and two of them came on board, one on the one side and another on the other side, each of 50 guns apiece; a third lay by on the bow and a fourth right astarne, all plying

[1] It may be noted that these were the two ships whose men had given trouble. The *Bombay Merchant*, however, had suffered severely in the fight and, according to her commander, had five feet of water in her hold (O.C. 3834; Fryer, i. 122; Carré, ii. 649–50).

[2] Basse's let. 1 Sept., Mar. R., 15 Misc. 35. On the other hand, in the muster taken of the crew at Madras in September, only fifteen are shown as 'dead in the passage to India and killed in fight with the Dutch or dead of their wounds' (O.C. 3854, f. 2).

[3] See Hide's account, O.C. 3857, that of Nathaniel Earning, O.C. 3835, & the unsigned account in O.C. 3836. Basse in his Log-Book puts the capture of the *President* at half-past five, and he had broken off the fight before that.

[4] O.C. 3857, reproduced in *M.M.*, 374–6. Hide criticizes Basse for running away when he did; so also does Capt. Goldsborough of the *Antelope* (ibid., 377). Against this are Basse's plea that otherwise he would have been in great danger of losing his ship with the Masulipatam goods on board, and the doubt whether an attempt to save the three disabled ships would have been successful.

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their guns upon mee what they could, and wee the best wee could at them. This continued about 3 [sand-]glasses time, the work very hott with shott, granados and stink pots that my men could hold out noe longer and unknown to mee they called out [for] quarter, I being in the roundhouse and cuddy, where I defended it as long as I could, for all in that quarters that were not killed left mee alone, the Dutch cutting downe the deck over my head and at length threw in a granada, which laid me for dead, blew up the Dutch also: but through mercy in a small time I recovered myself and resolved to goe and gett more help, but when I came down into the Cabbin and steeredg I found all the men gone, and the Dutch and our men together upon the deck. By this granada I was sorely burnt by [i.e. on] my head and face that for some time I was blind, my hands sorely burnt that as yet I have not the perfect use of them, and severall other places of my body burnt through my cloths.

Similarly the *Sampson* was now taken and her commander Captain Erning slain; also the *Antelope*, which had five feet of water in her hold and sank the next day. The action ended about six o'clock.[1] No effective chase of the other English ships was made by the Dutch.[2]

An exact appreciation of the causes of the defeat can best be left to naval strategists, but some that contributed to it are clear. Basse had over-confidently engaged a fleet superior to his own in numbers, men, and guns; the discipline and morale of the seamen in some of the ships were none too good, as shown by desertions and mutiny; he accepted action when his opponents had a better position, their fleet being to windward of his; and finally the cowardice and defection of a number of his commanders increased the disparity in the numbers of fighting ships and threw too great a task on the three English ships which fought to the end.

The following remarks in a private letter written by Sir William Langhorn[3] may be quoted in this connexion:

Here have bin much shifting of this ill success from one to another, as is usuall at such times. Some impute it to Capt. Basse his not standing away from the Dutch fleete as soone as they espied them, he having received before his departure from Metchlepatam exact advices from me of their returne, their number and force, or at least for not calling a Councell of Warr first; and they are blamed for not behaving themselves soe well in the fight as they should have done, which it's best

[1] O.C. 3857.
[2] Van Quaelbergen's account of the action, *M.M.*, 368–9.
[3] Let. to Mr. Cooke at London, 9 Nov., 3 Misc. 183–4.

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leaving to be canvassed at home. But Capt. Bass, who I take to be a very honest man, pleads the wind was so scant and part of our fleete so much to leeward that he must have left them for a prey, had he bore away from them, and the Dutch themselves confess that, had those ships which kept aloofe done their duty, the day had bin ours, or had they at least but stood in to the rescue at last of the three shipps soe ingaged, theirs had come up noe more, having already their bellyfull, the sine [sign] for boarding them not being given till they saw the other seven all upon the runn.[1]

After the engagement Basse with his other ships kept away to the east and east-south-east, making all the sail they could in their (in some cases) damaged condition.[2] On 1 September the fleet was to the south of Madras, having, as Basse recorded, 'as itt ware fayne and drove by reason of reparing our damaiges as mast yarde rigginge and hulle'. From there he reported the action to Langhorn and sought orders as to whether he should come to Madras, which he was avoiding to do in case the Dutch were in the road near there. His fleet was, he said, 'now in a weake condition to ingaige againe', and had 'to shune them as much as wee can'. In this letter for the first time he shows his realization of the Dutch superiority, reporting that they had 'farr better and bigger shipps and more menn and gunnes'.[3] His ship, the *London*, had lost some fifteen or sixteen men, as well as had eighteen wounded (p. 245). From Hide's account written as a prisoner on board the flagship of the Dutch commander, Cornelis van Quaelbergen, at Masulipatam, it appeared that the *President*'s company had suffered more severely, having 'slain wounded and burnt 46 men, of which 14 are dead'.[4] No other ship seems to have suffered so much; in the *Caesar*, as well as in the *Unity*, only one of the crew was killed, while in each of the others that got to Madras, except the *London*, the losses (including deaths on the way out to India) were all under thirteen.[5]

As it happened, the Dutch fleet was not in the neighbourhood of Madras, having been driven to the north of Masulipatam, where they were on 21 September.[6] So the English fleet, on 1 September, finding

[1] This statement is corroborated by Hide in his account of the action (O.C. 3587, f. 1). Van Quaelbergen's report (*M.M.*, 368) says: 'Meanwhile seeing 1 or 2 of the enemie's ships slinking away, and that some others were exceedingly cut up in their sails, we resolved to make the common signal for attacking and boarding the latter, it being then nearly 3 hours after noon.'

[2] Basse's log-book in Mar. R., LXXI, 23 Aug. (*M.M.*, 372). [3] Mar. R., 15 Misc. 35, 36.

[4] O.C. 3857, f. 1. [5] O.C. 3854.

[6] Hide's letter of 21 Sept., O.C. 3858. The Bodleian Library copy of it shows his ship as being then in the Bay of Masulipatam (*M.M.*, 376). A statement of the Dutch losses in killed and wounded will be found in the Dutch account of the action (ibid. 369).

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the coast clear, anchored off Madras, whence they sailed for the Malabar Coast and Surat on the 11th of that month.[1]

The scanty records of the year give little information of the administration or personnel of the factory beyond what has already been mentioned.[2] According to a private letter of 17 October from Hatton to Langhorn, Mohun 'wholly dedicates himself and his affections to Mr. G[eorge] C[hamberlain], with whom he consults, and by whom he is directed in all matters of importance', so that he 'now lookes upon me [Hatton] with a distrustfull and jealous eye'.[3] Things were, therefore, evidently working up for the open dissensions that broke out next year (p. 251).[4] Three new writers from among those sent out in the ships, John Scattergood, Francis Riccard, and John Canham, were retained at the factory, and their stay there was duly sanctioned by the Agent and Council at the Fort.[5] Joseph Hall, who had been removed from Bengal (p. 341), was also there in the middle of the year. The orders of the Company, which were then received, provided that he should be admonished and made to obey orders and dealt with under its rules, if he refused to do so.[6] He was accordingly allowed to return to Bengal and procured a small vessel for the journey, but was delayed for some time. It was desired to send with him goods and despatches for the Bay that had been brought by the Company's ships, as also some new factors and dyers; and both the Fort and the Masulipatam authorities tried to evade responsibility for sending them by this vessel at the time proposed.[7] He finally sailed on 25 August, arriving at Balasore five days later.[8]

The difficulties with the Golconda Governor at Masulipatam seem to have lessened, though they did not entirely disappear during the

[1] O.C. 3843 & 3845; Fort let. to Co. 20 Sept., O.C. 3853, f. 1. Cf. Fryer, i. 121.

[2] As regards its accounts, Langhorn and his Council had to complain that they had received no books from Masulipatam since 1670 (PS. to Fort let. to Mas. 20 June, 9 Mas. 13).

[3] 1 F.S.G. (sec. of 1675) 47 (*M.R.* 65).

[4] See also O.C. 4044, f. 13, referring to various letters of 1673 as to complaints against Mohun's proceedings at Masulipatam; while the Company's despatch of 12 Dec. 1673 said that several complaints received by it confirmed the view that its estate and affairs at Masulipatam were 'in a bad posture'.

[5] Mas. let. to Fort, 23 July, 6 Mas. 48; Fort let. to Mas. 15 & 26 July, 9 Mas. 27, 34; desp. 13 Dec. 1672, 5 L.R. 24. Canham and Riccard probably died before Sept. 1675, as their names do not appear in Puckle's list made in that month (12 Mas. 39).

[6] Desp. 13 Dec. 1672, 5 L.B. 20.

[7] Mas. let. to Fort, 14, 20, & *c.* 26 July, & 1 & 3 Aug., 6 Mas. 31, 43, 52, 59; Fort let. to Mas. 20 & 26 July, 9 Mas. 30, 34.

[8] Langhorn's let. 8 Dec., O.C. 3903 ('July' seems to be a mistake for 'August'); Mas. let. 25 Aug., O.C. 3838, f. 4; Bal. let. 27 Oct., 4 Hug. 89.

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year after its stormy opening; but in July some inconvenience was expected to arise from the omission of the Agent at the Fort to make a complimentary visit and present to Sayyid Muzaffar at Golconda, 'to whose Government these provinces lye wholly subjected'.[1] A later letter, however, reported that the Sayyid had fallen into disgrace,[2] and the Masulipatam Governor seems to have put no difficulties in the way of their lading goods on the ships. He was, however, still obstructing the factory's general commerce: consequently it had been unable to dispose of any of the previous year's imports of broadcloth and lead, either for ready money or by barter, 'but it all remaines by us and wee feare it will do so, so long as the Governors are permitted by violence and oppression to terrifye all merchants from their accustomed intercourse with these ports'.[3] Most of the goods they shipped home in August also belonged to the investment of the previous year, and the short time available prevented their purchasing any goods with the treasure that was landed in July (p. 238).[4] Mohun made a strong representation to the Company about the 'oppression and outrages' of the various Governors, which he attributed mainly to the rapacity of the two ministers, Nawab Musa Khan and Sayyid Muzaffar, by whose support the new King of Golconda had attained the throne, and between whom the government of the kingdom was divided. On account of 'their greedy appetites after wealth', they had (he said) abrogated all previous grants of privileges and immunities. The Dutch had by large presents procured confirmation of their former privileges, and the omission of the English to follow their example 'is now become the great objection against us and persued upon us with soe much despight, contempt, and mallice that wee are become a despised people, trampled upon by every the meanest officer or souldier in the Governors service, and wholly subjected to the arbitrary humour of a covetous, proud, imperious person'. He urged the Company to send directions to the Agent and Council at the Fort to remedy this state of affairs.[5]

At Petapoli Salisbury reported in July that the Governor of that district was offering no obstruction.[6] Scarcity of boats for the transport of goods was the chief difficulty, and some were sent from Masulipatam

[1] Mas. let. to Fort, 14 July, 6 Mas. 31.
[2] Mas. let. 8 Aug., ibid. 62. Cf. p. 95 *ante*.
[3] Mas. let. to Co. 25 Aug., O.C. 3838, f. 3.
[4] Ibid., ff. 2, 3. Thus the new investment for 1673 must have been a small one. It also appears (p. 252 *post*) that the Agent and Council at the Fort withdrew further funds from Mohun's hands.
[5] Ibid., ff. 1, 2.
[6] 9 Mas. 29 (*Ind. Antiquary*, xxxvii. 315).

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to bring them; these included a large quantity of saltpetre, as well as dungarees and gunnies, and were forwarded in time for dispatch to Madras by the ships (p. 238).[1] He was also instructed to have boats ready for lading the ships, on their return journey to Masulipatam, with some fifty-five bales of goods from Karedu, which had remained over from the previous year.[2] An interesting remark in the correspondence with Salisbury at this time shows that the diet allowance at Masulipatam was only four pagodas a month for all members of the factory, except the Chief who got ten.[3]

There is little information as to the factory at Madapollam: a letter from Fleetwood on 22 July shows that he and Field were then busy getting goods ready for transport to Masulipatam; and though they had not arrived by 11 August, both they and the goods from Petapoli had reached the factory some four days later.[4] In that month Mohun reported to the Company that he had tried to sell the house there, in accordance with its directions in the previous year, but had failed to get any purchaser, as the oppressive government of the place had resulted in all persons 'of any considerable estate or condition' withdrawing to other parts. On the other hand, it had been 'a great refuge' to the Masulipatam factors in its time of trouble; it was also healthier than the latter place, and was suitably situated for the Company's business, except when the ships were present. Mohun, therefore, had employed the money that the Company sanctioned for additional buildings at Masulipatam in repairing and enlarging the house at Madapollam, so that it could accommodate all the factory servants.[5]

Under orders from the Company, Langhorn inquired whether Sir Edward Winter had any great sums of money owing to him at Masulipatam. Mohun replied that, so far as they could ascertain, he had no interests in India beyond a quarter share in a ship, the *Bonadventura*, then at Johore in charge of Edward Lock, and an old ruined house at Madapollam inhabited by Mrs. Lock, but that anything else he might

[1] Salisbury's let. to Mas. 9, 19, & 28 July & 1 Aug., 9 Mas. 23, 29, 34, 37; Mas. let. to Salisbury, 14 & 23 July, & 5 Aug., 6 Mas. 32, 46, 60. Cf. *Ind. Antiquary*, xxxvii. 314–18.

[2] Mas. let. to Salisbury, 29 July, 6 Mas. 57; Salisbury to Mas. 1 Aug., 9 Mas. 37; Fort let. 15 & 20 July, ibid. 27, 30.

[3] Mas. let. to Salisbury, 11 Aug., 6 Mas. 63.

[4] 9 Mas. 31; 6 Mas. 33; Hatton's let. 15 Aug. in F.S.G. con. of 1675, 1 F.S.G. 45 (*M.R.* 64). The Company had raised Field's salary to £30 (p. 57 *ante*).

[5] O.C. 3838, f. 3. As evidence of the unhealthiness of Masulipatam, Mohun mentioned two deaths that had occurred in 1673, one being that of William Probart, and the other that of a newly appointed dyer for the Bay, John Terret (ibid., f. 4).

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have would be in the hands of Robert Fleetwood, his attorney.[1] As to the charges against Mohun and Mainwaring, which the Company had sent out (p. 57), their replies were sent home by the ships that left Masulipatam in August, but are not themselves on the India Office records.[2]

MASULIPATAM, 1674

THERE are no Masulipatam records for this year and what little information there is regarding proceedings and persons there has to be gleaned from other sources. These are few, particularly as the Fort copies of letters sent from Madras to Masulipatam are not extant.

It would seem that the affairs of the factory were in confusion, Mohun being ill and at loggerheads with Mainwaring, who was next in seniority to him. About the end of August they both sent to the Fort charges against one another; and Langhorn and his Council issued a commission to Fleetwood, Hatton, Chamberlain, and Arnold, the other Councillors at Masulipatam, to examine and report on them.[3] One of the Commissioners, Hatton, had himself cause to complain of 'ill offices' done to him, presumably by Mohun, and wrote to the Fort vindicating himself. The Agent and Council took his side and commended him for 'the unblameableness of his conversation and great punctuallity in all his dealings', as well as for his attempts in 'the late discomposures at Metchlepatam . . . to reconcile and make up breaches', and for being 'faithfull and usefull' to the Company, 'and no less to Mr. Mohun in his sickness and all others needing it'.[4] An illustration of this is afforded by what Langhorn says as to the correspondence at this time between the Fort and Masulipatam. The Fort directed that, in spite of differences between its members, letters from the latter place should be signed by the whole Council; but Hatton, while complying, excused himself from full responsibility for their contents saying he had to sign letters which were not altogether to his mind, to avoid exasperating Mohun's distemper.[5]

[1] Fort let. to Mas. 27 July, 9 Mas. 36; Mas. let. to Fort, 6 Aug., 6 Mas. 61.

[2] O.C. 3838, f. 3.

[3] Fort let. to Co. 22 Sept., O.C. 3992, f. 12. Joseph Arnold was 'settled of Councell' at Masulipatam this year, as ordered by the Company (O.C. 4044, f. 8; desp. 13 March, 5 L.B. 98). He appears to have been dismissed the service later on, as he sailed for England in Jan. 1675 (p. 254). After his arrival the Company held an inquiry into his conduct and then reinstated him (*Ct. Min.*, 1674–6, 30, 239, 242).

[4] Fort let. to Co. 1 Dec., O.C. 4044, f. 12.

[5] Ibid, f. 2. Hatton especially wished to exclude himself from Mohun's 'rudeness and incivillities' towards the Agent and Council; see his let. 30 Jan. attached to F.S.G. con. of 14 June 1675, cited at p. 255 *post*.

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The Commissioners made reports to the Agent and Council on 7 October and 8 December, which are not on the records, but are referred to in proceedings before the Council at Madras in May 1675 (pp. 254–5).[1] According to statements there made the execution of the Commission was incomplete, partly because the Commissioners considered they had no power to administer an oath to the witnesses. They, however, seem to have cleared Mainwaring of the main charge brought against him by Mohun.[2] Later records reveal only one other material item relating to the personnel of the factory. John Field appears to have resigned the Company's service in this year, because of Arnold's promotion to the Council over his head, and he became a freeman at Masulipatam.[3]

The disordered state of affairs at Masulipatam, the complaints against Mohun, and the late arrival of the ships and shortness of stock at the Fort, led the Agent and Council to refrain from sending any money or goods to Masulipatam. They wrote to the Company that they lacked stock, shipping, or orders,[4] for supplying Masulipatam, and that the reports that reached them about Mohun confirmed the action they had taken in the previous year, withdrawing funds from his hands.[5] The Company's business there was consequently suspended for the year[6] and the factory at Petapoli was closed down.[7]

The two Company's ships, *Phoenix* and *Lancaster*, left Madras on 4 September with orders to go straight to the Bay (p. 121): presumably, therefore, they did not touch at Masulipatam. On their return from the Bay in December they were, however, sent from Balasore to that port on their way to Madras (p. 369). Consultations and letters of Langhorn and his Council in 1675 show that they had ordered some of the factors

[1] Fort con. 7 May 1675, 1 F.S.G. 21–37 (*M.R.* 52–63).

[2] Fort con. 15 June 1675, 1 F.S.G. 14 (*M.R.* 46–7).

[3] 12 Mas. 62. Field had entered the Company's service in 1662, whereas Arnold was appointed a factor in 1667 (*S.M.* ii. 104 *n.*). In 1675 Field went on Fleetwood's ship the *Recovery* for a private trading venture to Persia, which brought him into conflict with Rolt, the Agent at Gombroon (Sur. let. 20 Jan. 1676, 28 F.S.G. 32).

[4] In its desp. of 24 Dec. 1673, 5 L.B. 146, the Company said it did not think fit to commit a large stock 'to such a loose management' as existed at Masulipatam.

[5] Fort let. 22 Sept. & 20 Nov., O.C. 3992, f. 12, & 4044, f. 2. I have not found any record at the Fort order withdrawing funds from Mohun's hands in 1673, except Fort con. 20 Sept. 1673 (*M.R.* 17) which ordered the transfer of five chests of rials of eight from Masulipatam to Madras. Fort con. 29 Sept. 1673 (ibid. 18) confirmed the acceptance by the Bay Council of a remittance of Rs. 20,000 by Mohun, and this seems to have been connected with the alleged deficit of Rs. 22,500 in the cash account, which (according to Mainwaring) Mohun was allowed to pay to the Bay (p. 261).

[6] Cf. Fort con. 24 Oct., *M.R.* 33, mentioning 'the vacation of business' at Masulipatam 'for this year'.

[7] Fort let. to Co. 20 Nov., O.C. 4044, f. 2.

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and English residents at Masulipatam to come to Madras on the ships to enable full inquiry to be made by the Agent and Council into the dissensions at that place, but that Mohun, who had also been asked to come with his witnesses, disregarded the invitation.[1]

Another event of interest on which the records afford information was the attempt to get a farman from Golconda for removing impediments to the Company's trade at Masulipatam. This has been dealt with in the Madras section (pp. 129–30). Mohun in a previous year had suggested that he should himself go to Golconda for the redress of the factory's grievances; but the Company in its despatch of 13 March to the Fort disapproved of this, saying it preferred to have the money, which would be spent in sending envoys to Agra or Golconda, dispensed in presents. On the other hand, it approved of another proposal made by Mohun that one Nathaniel Cholmley should be allowed to settle at Golconda; it said that 'by reason of his skill in dyamonds' he might reside there and transact business for the Company, especially in selling broadcloth, but it prohibited his acting as agent, 'for that would be to[o] chargeable'.[2] Langhorn and his Council, however, objected to this permission, holding that it offered no advantage to the Company or the diamond business.[3] As regards the complaints against Mohun, the Company in the same despatch left it to the Agent and Council to manage affairs at Masulipatam in the way they thought most conducive to its advantage.[4] This general discretion was, however, superseded by more specific instructions that it issued in December (p. 257).

There is very little information as to the relations between the factory and the Governor of Masulipatam during the year. On 20 November the Fort informed the Company that they did not consider it to be to the Company's interest 'to stand it out with them' (i.e. the native authorities at Masulipatam), but that they proposed to compose things by discretion, reasonable compliances, and in case of necessity, recourse to the King, and hoped to protect the factory through their Brahman at court.[3] In pursuance of this policy and the Company's instruction to lay out money in presents rather than in embassies for redress, Langhorn and his Council advised the factors to yield to the demand of

[1] Fort con. 21 Jan. & 15 June 1675, 1 F.S.G. 1, 13 (*M.R.* 37, 46); O.C. 4044, Cf. 13. f. p. 254 *post.*

[2] 5 L.B. 96. The Company in 1667 permitted Cholmley to trade in diamonds and jewels at Golconda (*E.F.*, 1668–9, 131), but in 1670 ordered his return to England if he persisted in carrying on private trade (4 L.B. 394). Cf. *S.M.* ii. 128 *n.*

[3] O.C. 4044, f. 2.

[4] 5 L.B. 96.

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a new Governor, Mirza Ibrahim, for payment of the present he expected rather than expose the Company and its servants to the 'insults and exorbitancys' inflicted on them in 1672 (pp. 228–30).[1]

MASULIPATAM, 1675

For the first half of the year the records of the Masulipatam factory are still lacking, evidently owing to the continuance of disorder and disorganization there under Mohun's chiefship.[2] The Fort records supply some information. A consultation of 21 January records a report from Hatton that Mohun refused to borrow money for the needs of the factory, as the Agent and Council had ordered him to do on the 28th of the preceding month, Mohun saying that every one should shift for himself; it also shows that he had refused to obey their order to come to Madras by the ships, so that he might be heard in his own vindication.[3] In a letter of 30 January Hatton dissociated himself from the disrespectful tone and expressions of a general letter to the Fort, which Mohun had drafted, but to which he refused to subscribe as 'inconsistent with our subordinate relations'.[4] A more important thing was the personal inquiry which Langhorn and his Council now made into the charges against Mohun.

As already mentioned (p. 252), the ships *Phoenix* and *Lancaster*, on their way back from the Bay, called at Masulipatam; and the latter brought Mainwaring, Arnold (who was bound for England), Freeman, Wynn, and Ayloffe to Madras on 11 January.[5] A consultation of that date shows that Freeman and Wynn were then put on oath for subsequent examination by the Agent and Council at the instance of Mainwaring who represented that they would otherwise be afraid to testify against Mohun.[6] In the same month Mainwaring gave his deposition on oath,[7] as also did Fleetwood and Arnold.[8] After this evidence had been taken, Langhorn and his Council appear to have adjourned

[1] Fort con. 24 Oct., *M.R.* 33.

[2] Thus William Ayloffe deposed in May 1675 that he never knew of any secretary at Masulipatam till about Nov. or Dec. 1674, when Mohun said Crawley was secretary (ibid. 63, 160). The Agent and Council surmised that no secretary had in fact been appointed since Walcot vacated the post in 1671 (ibid. 60; cf. p. 216 *ante*). This partly explains the neglect to keep proper records.

[3] 1 F.S.G. 1 (*M.R.* 37, 39).

[4] 1 F.S.G. 48 (*M.R.* 67).

[5] O.C. 4044, f. 15. Ayloffe had come out in 1673 as a writer (*S.M.* i. 285).

[6] *M.R.* 36–7.

[7] 1 F.S.G. 22 (*M.R.* 53); Fort con. 15 June, 1 F.S.G. 14 (*M.R.* 47).

[8] *M.R.* 53, 58, 144–5; 1 F.S.G. 14 (*M.R.* 47).

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the matter till 7 and 9 May when they considered a précis of the case (including attestations made at Masulipatam by Chamberlain and Hatton towards the end of December 1674)[1] on each of the charges against Mohun, and took Ayloffe's deposition.[2] On 5 June Mainwaring asked for the further examination of Fleetwood who was still a hesitant witness, and for the examination of others who could testify against Mohun; he detailed the points on which he expected they could give evidence. The principal of these were John Tivill and Samuel Wales,[3] who were said to be in Mohun's pay and privy to his secrets; Hatton, alleged to have been his chief adviser and 'manager of his designes';[4] Chamberlain, Cholmley, Peter Large,[5] Henry Colborne, and John Scattergood, some of whom, it was stated, would divulge what they knew, if put on oath, while others would do so 'if the awe of Mohun were taken from them'.[6]

The expected arrival of the ships from Europe and the need to make preparations for carrying on the year's investment at Masulipatam, however, prevented further inquiry at the moment. A consultation of 14 June mentions the evidence which satisfied them that Mohun had been 'much to blame in many undue and untrue entries of cash, and more especially in misapplying of the same to other uses', the prejudice the Company suffered thereby, and the danger of its having to pay his great debts under compulsion 'by the justice of the country'. It goes on to record that, after having 'long and seriously deliberated whether they may either with a good conscience or in prudence entrust the said Mr. Richard Mohun with any of the Honourable Companies estate on arrivall of their ships expected from Europe for this yeares investments', they had 'resolved that they cannot in any wise consent thereunto, being fully convinced of his absolute unfittness for the same'.[7] The next day they went further and suspended Mohun from his chiefship for failure to obey some specified orders and for other contempt of the Honourable Company's authority vested in the Agency.[8]

[1] 1 F.S.G. 22, 23 (*M.R.* 53–4).

[2] 1 F.S.G. 21–37 (*M.R.* 52–67); *M.R.* 159–60.

[3] Tivill had come out in 1671 as a 'factor', and Wales in 1672 as a writer (*S.M.* i. 267, 285).

[4] This, however, was denied on oath by Hatton in May 1676 (*M.R.* 149).

[5] Large was a freeman at Masulipatam, who lived at Navarajpuram, see p. 277 *post*, and *S.M.* ii. 107.

[6] 1 F.S.G. 41–4 (*M.R.* 67–70); cf. Fort con. 15 June, 1 F.S.G. 13 (*M.R.* 46).

[7] 1 F.S.G. 11–13 (*M.R.* 45–6).

[8] 1 F.S.G. 13–14 (*M.R.* 46–7). Another reason given for Mohun's suspension was the need for some other person to be chief, who could administer an oath and complete the inquiry into the charges against him.

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In the same resolution they decided to send Mainwaring as the fittest person available, with some English soldiers from the garrison, to take possession of the chiefship of the factory, finish the examinations, dispose of goods, and prepare for the arrival of the ships.[1] They were evidently somewhat uneasy, for on 16 June they re-debated the matter at great length, and it was emphasized that the appointment of Mainwaring was only *pro tempore* till the ships arrived from England.[2] Again on 17 June, Mainwaring, who was about to proceed to Masulipatam in the *Adventure*, was warned to refrain from using the ten English soldiers sent with him except to vindicate the Honourable Company's authority,[3] and from taking possession by force of arms for fear of bloodshed. In case of opposition he was to retire with his people to the town, where he was to require his colleagues on the Council to join him and carry on the examinations that had been ordered, if they thought fit.[4] He arrived at Masulipatam on 23 June.[5]

The records of the Masulipatam factory recommence with a letter of 16 June from Langhorn and his Council, suspending Mohun from his position as Chief and member of the Council till further orders and conferring the place on Mainwaring, whom the letter accompanied. It stated that they had found important parts of the charges against Mohun 'verified', and ordered Mainwaring and the Council at Masulipatam to proceed to a full examination of all needful matters and to a speedy report thereon. At the same time they were enjoined not to do any injury to Mohun and to treat him with the civility due to one who had lately been Chief; no force, violence, or restraint was to be used so long as he behaved peacefully and quietly. The orders were stated to be 'preparatory and provisionall', pending the arrival of the ships and of orders from the Company; and things were to be carried on with all moderation and inoffensiveness, in case these orders proved to be different from those that were expected.[6]

Mohun did not surrender without a struggle. He asked that the opinion of the Masulipatam Council should be taken; and, though this was to the effect that the orders should be obeyed, he refused to do so. He said he would resign his charge only on the positive orders of the

[1] 1 F.S.G. 15 (*M.R.* 47).

[2] 1 F.S.G. 15–19 (*M.R.* 47–50); Fort let. to Co. 16 July, O.C. 4100, f. 1.

[3] Mohun subsequently charged Mainwaring with improperly using the soldiers to confine him to his chamber and prevent all access to him (Fort con. 25 Feb. 1678, *M.R.*, 1678–9, 47–50).

[4] 1 F.S.G. 20 (*M.R.* 51–2).

[5] Mohun's let. 26 July, 10 Mas. 7. The month is there given wrongly as 'July' instead of June.

[6] 10 Mas. 1.

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Company, and when shown attested copies of those in its despatches of 24 December 1673 and 13 March 1674 about him he demanded the originals. The matter was referred to the Fort for further orders; Mainwaring meanwhile remained in his usual quarters and refrained from going into the charges against Mohun till he had got possession of the factory and Mohun had removed himself from it.[1]

By the time this reference reached the Agent and Council, most of the ships from England had arrived at Madras, together with Major Puckle and the Company's despatch of 23 December 1674 (pp. 144–5). The latter contained a lengthy passage dealing with Masulipatam affairs. In it Sir William Langhorn was rebuked for his failure to keep the Company properly informed, and told that, though on 3 December 1672 they had given directions for the examination of alleged misconduct by Mohun and Mainwaring and for proceedings to be taken, he had sent them only a 'very slender account', yet he 'writes more of that affair to particular persons', i.e. private individuals. He was warned that he was responsible for reporting the true state of the Company's affairs, not only at the Fort but at all their factories under it, and was required to do so fully in future. Directions formerly issued had left it to the authorities at the Fort to deal, as they saw cause, with the management of affairs at Masulipatam; but now, as the former complaints had been renewed and a considerable stock was being sent for that factory, the Company

require you upon receipt hereof that you settle the management of our business in that factory (for the present till our further direction) by way of Commission in such hands as you shall find most fitt and able for the carrying on of our affairs there, without appointing any one to be Chief more than the rest only as they shall be first named by you in the Commission for order sake.

The Commissioners were to consult and advise together for the management of all the concerns of the Company at Masulipatam and its dependencies, and were to examine the charges against Mohun and Mainwaring, or against others therein concerned, with the exception that the accusations against Mohun of taking goods of the Company from their warehouses and disposing of them for his own benefit, and of trading to the South Seas contrary to the orders of the Company, were reserved for further consideration.[2] Fleetwood, too, was in trouble; the Company wrote that they had heard that he had rented places near

[1] Mas. let. to F.S.G., 25 June, 6 Mas. 1, 2.
[2] 5 L.B. 146–7.

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Madapollam and Viravasaram from the King of Golconda, and it instructed the Agent and Council that, if this were true, they should use their utmost endeavours to have him discountenanced by the King and should send him to England.[1] In accordance with these orders Langhorn and his Council in a letter of 1 July[2] appointed Mainwaring, Fleetwood, Hatton, and Chamberlain to be, along with Puckle, the Commissioners without

any superiority of either over the other, only as they are here first named, and as the necessity of administring the oath and appeareance in publick occasions require for order sake: as for the rest in all things equall.

They repeated other orders of the Company regarding the factory and asked them to assist Puckle in his inquiries.[3] On 5 July they sent further directions requiring a due and full compliance from Mohun and others, and directing that, if any of them stood out and refused to comply, the Commission was to use the authority vested in it and enforce the Company's orders by taking full possession of the factory and its stock.[4] On 7 July Puckle left Madras by the *Success* and proceeded to Masulipatam, joining the other Commissioners there on the 10th. He took the place and accommodation of the 'second' at Masulipatam, in accordance with the orders of the Company, while Mainwaring was allowed the nominal rank of Chief, on the ground that no one under a Chief had authority to examine on oath.[5]

On Puckle's arrival Mohun sent a letter of welcome and waited on him, offering to vacate his quarters for him, an offer which Puckle refused as it was late at night.[6] On 12 July Puckle asked Mohun to deliver over the books and Company's seals, but without success.[7] The late Chief questioned the power of the Agent and Council to suspend him, but agreed to leave the factory, if the Commission ordered him to do so in writing.[8] In the course of conversation with Puckle, as recorded in the latter's diary, Mohun stated

that not onely himselfe but every person of the Honourable Companys factors did trade in course cloaths . . . such as the Honourable Company doe not trade in . . . and that, if they did not, they should gitt nothing

[1] 5 L.B. 148.
[2] 10 Mas. 2.
[3] Ibid. 3.
[4] Ibid. 4.
[5] Fort let. 1 & 16 July, ibid. 2, O.C. 4100, f. 1; Mas. let. 10 July, 6 Mas. 2; Puckle's Diary (cited henceforth as 'P.D.') 6, 7, & 10 July, 12 Mas. 4.
[6] P.D., ibid. 5.
[7] Ibid. 6.
[8] Ibid. 6, 7.

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by living in this country, in regard they are necessitated to keep up a grandeur both in habit, entertainment, and also in attendance.[1]

On 14 July Mainwaring and his colleagues formally required Mohun, under the order of the Company and in obedience to the commands of the Agent and Council, to hand over all books, papers, seals, and other effects belonging to the Company, and to remove himself out of the factory. This peremptory order, or rather the persuasion of Puckle, was effective;[2] and on 16 July the Commissioners reported to the Fort that they now had full possession of the factory and were examining the 'remaines', but that Mohun had not balanced the accounts, nor handed over to them as much as one pagoda, so that they had been forced to borrow for its expenses.[3]

On 26 July Mohun handed in to the Commission a lengthy remonstrance, addressed to the Agent and Council and vindicating himself. This set forth how he had served at Masulipatam for five years, from 4 July 1670 to the date of Mainwaring's arrival in the factory with soldiers from the Fort to dispossess him by order of the Agent and Council of 16 June. He supposed this power was deduced from the clauses about him in the Company's despatches of 24 December 1673 and 13 March 1674, and argued that these were not so adverse to him as a literal construction of them would involve, since he was then under a great indisposition of health and impaired in his rational faculties, and the Company's object was to prevent injury to their interests by referring the management of the factory to the Agent and Council, while at the same time it expressed the confidence and almost affection it had reposed in him. The books of the last two years showed that full returns had been made from Masulipatam and that he was at credit in them for 1,616 pagodas, while 879 pagodas more had been omitted by Mainwaring either by oversight or design.[4] In 1673, during the war with Holland, the treasure landed from the ships, except that required for necessary factory charges, had been ordered to be sent to the Fort or paid over to Kasi Viranna, so that he had been left without funds for investment for the next year's shipping. In 1674 neither ships nor stock had come, and the expenses of the factory had for some time been defrayed out of his own money. There was no reason to displace him, when there was neither cash nor saleable commodities in the

[1] Ibid. 7.

[2] Cf. p. 260. It was left to the discretion of Puckle whether he should use the order, and as he did not, it was subsequently cancelled (Mas. con. 2 Aug., 1 Mas. 5; P.D. July 14, 12 Mas. 11).

[3] 6 Mas. 4; 12 Mas. 11–12.

[4] 10 Mas. 7–8.

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factory. His suspension was mysterious, considering the orders had been in the possession of the Agent and Council for thirteen or fifteen months, and the delay in their execution was a paradox, as part of that time he had a considerable quantity of goods under his care and management.[1] Unprejudiced persons would conclude that envy and ill will had dictated their action. He would leave the decision to the sagacity and prudence of the Company, and he would consider himself in its service till he saw its order to the contrary. Out of respect to it he had been passive under affronts and injury, though he had been deprived of all authority from the date of Mainwaring's arrival, and only his accustomed lodging left to him, which he had quitted on 14 July. The letter goes on to recount the course of events after Puckle's arrival on the 10th of the month. Mohun states that he offered to give over possession, if Puckle could show him any order from the Fort, but Puckle desired him to remain, as he could not turn out any gentleman at the unreasonable time it then was. The next day was Sunday and on Monday, the 12th, Puckle saw him again. In the course of their conversation, Mohun repeated his request for a sight of the Company's last letter as far as it concerned him, as he thought he had grounds to hope that they might have annulled their orders. Puckle answered that the orders held good, having been confirmed by the ships, and produced a transcript of them, but refused leave to Mohun to take a copy of it. This Mohun now demanded, as well as all other orders and instructions from the Company or the Agent and Council relating to him, so that he might be able to make his defence. On 14 July Puckle again came to his chamber and notified him of the resolution for his removal (p. 259). Mohun made another demand for a view of the Company's orders, whereupon Puckle explained that they had by mistake been omitted from the packet of papers intended for Masulipatam, but assured him that to his certain knowledge the factory was to be managed by Commissioners, and the choice of these had been left to the Agent and Council, who had appointed Mainwaring, Fleetwood, Hatton, and Chamberlain. On this assurance and in obedience to the Company, Mohun immediately resigned, but asked for 'coppys of all instructions concerning my being outed', including those of the Company, the Agent and Council, and the consultation of the Commissioners. He also demanded that the charges against him should forthwith be examined in a full council by Puckle and the other Commissioners, 'that I may not have just cause to complayn of partiall or underhand

[1] 10 Mas. 9-10.

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dealing'.[1] This paper was read by the Commission on 27 July, when it was ordered that any additional witnesses or evidence on behalf of Mohun, Mainwaring, or the Company should be recorded and transmitted to the Fort, and Mohun and Mainwaring were called on to deliver to the Commission whatever charges they had to make on behalf of the Company.[2]

The next day Mainwaring accordingly drew up a detailed list of sixteen charges against Mohun. These were: (1) that 4,800 or 5,000 pagodas, which were owing to the Company at Madapollam and elsewhere by its merchants, had been entered as paid in the cash account; (2) that diet money and the salaries of several of the Company's servants had been shown as paid, though still unpaid; (3) that 1,200 pagodas for cloth sold had not been brought into account, so as to lessen the balance in his hands; (4) that he had detained 'dustor money' (customary commission) due to the chief Brahman, and also owed him twelve months' wages; (5) that 200 pagodas received had not been brought to account till Mainwaring charged him with it; (6) that he had used 6,726 out of 11,353 pagodas sent to him at Madapollam in January 1673 for his own purposes; (7) that he was 'out of cash' by Rs. 22,500 which Sir William Langhorn, 'not to make him desperate', let him pay to the Bay, which money should have been invested at Masulipatam; (8) that he thrust on the Company a parcel of goods received from Salisbury, of the value of 1,058 pagodas, without the consent of his Council; (9) that he undervalued rials of eight delivered to merchants; (10) that broadcloth sold at 25 pagodas a half piece had been entered as sold at 24 pagodas; (11) that on 6 March 1673 he had received 1,023 pagodas and had debited himself with only 600 pagodas, and that not till 18 July 1674; (12) that he had omitted to enter various sums received for broadcloth; (13) that in disbursing a sum of 1,816 pagodas he had included the building of a new house at Madapollam without the orders of the Company, and the wages of more peons than its affairs required; (14) that money and lead were sent by him to Naglewanch[3] to provide longcloth for his own use, as shown by his doing it without the consent of any of the Members of Council; (15) that he took from one of the merchants in the Company's name 2,000 pagodas' worth of salampores and longcloth; (16) that he had borrowed at interest 6,000 pagodas, which it was believed the Company would be

[1] Ibid. 11-15.

[2] Mas. con. 27 July, 1 Mas. 3; P.D. 27 July, 12 Mas. 16.

[3] As to the situation of Naglewanch and the Dutch factory there, see *S.M.* i. 266 *n.*

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forced to pay.[1] On 6 August the Commission after perusing them ordered a true copy to be given to Mohun, who was called on to answer them in writing forthwith.[2]

Mohun on 14 July had left the factory[3] and gone to a house he had previously hired, viz. the former French factory. In the course of the next few days he delivered up various property,[4] and on 4 August an acquittance in his favour from the merchants of all demands in regard to cloth delivered up to 4 December 1674, which was ordered to be registered.[5] On 7 August the Commissioners supplied him with a copy of the paragraph of the Company's despatch of 23 December 1674 relating to him, and on the 9th he submitted to the Commission a reply to the charges denying the whole of them, and asking the Commission to proceed with their inquiries.[6] Scruples now arose as to whether Mainwaring had power to administer an oath in their proceedings. The matter was debated at length, Fleetwood, Hatton, and Chamberlain holding that he had, as he had been appointed Chief by the Agent and Council. Mainwaring himself was doubtful, as he was not absolutely Chief, and a Chief of a factory was the lowest officer authorized by the Company's charter to administer the oath. Consequently he and Puckle held that the question should be submitted to the Fort for its further advice and directions. This was accordingly done in a letter of 13 August, in which orders for the appointment of a quorum in the absence of some of the Commissioners were also asked for. In this it was stated that, though Mohun had handed over the seals of the factory, he still had not surrendered all its books and papers.[7] This involved delay in the inquiry, and on 16 August Mohun pressed for a settlement at any rate of a dispute relating to the accounts between him and Mainwaring, asking them to examine and settle the matter or report on it to the Agent and Council. He claimed that, by an account delivered to Mainwaring in April 1674, there was due to him a balance of 2,766 pagodas with interest. He offered to refer the question to arbitration, as, he asserted, he had repeatedly done before, though the offer had been evaded by Mainwaring.[8]

[1] 1 Mas. 10–12; 6 Mas. 7–10.
[2] Mas. con. 6 Aug. (signed by Puckle, Hatton, and Fleetwood only), 1 Mas. 12–13, & 6 Mas. 10.
[3] P.D. 14 July, 12 Mas. 11.
[4] P.D. 12, 19, & 25 July, ibid. 12, 16.
[5] Mas. con. 4 Aug., 1 Mas. 6; P.D. 4 Aug., 12 Mas. 20.
[6] 1 Mas. 14, 15; 10 Mas. 19; 12 Mas. 22.
[7] Mas. con. 10 Aug., 1 Mas. 16; Mas. let. 13 Aug., 6 Mas. 13–14; P.D. 9, 12 Aug., 12 Mas. 23–5.
[8] 10 Mas. 21–2.

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On 24 August the Agent and Council replied to the letter of 13 August. They appointed Mainwaring and Puckle as a quorum to act in the absence of the others, except in an inquiry where one of them was himself involved, in which case his place was to be taken by all the rest of the Commissioners. They had reconsidered the terms of the despatch from the Company and revoked the title of Chief conferred by them on Mainwaring for the purpose of administering oaths. They advised that, if the Commission felt any doubt as to the authority of Mainwaring to administer the oath as a former Chief, this could be done by the Commission or the quorum as a whole; but if they doubted their authority to do this, they were instructed, as a last resort, to send all the witnesses to Madras by the ships from the Bay, together with Puckle as well as Mainwaring, if he could leave without injury to the Company's affairs.[1]

This reply was not received at Masulipatam till 3 September. Meanwhile Mohun complained to Puckle about the delay of the Commissioners in examining the witnesses against him, and asked the reason for it. Puckle in his diary noted that Mohun was well aware of this, as some of the Commissioners, whose interests in private trade interfered with the due discharge of the trust committed to them, informed the latter of all their debates. He also records a statement by Mohun that it was the practice of all the Chiefs before him to make use of the Company's money for their 'private occasions' and to pay the merchants with commodities of their own and at their own prices.[2] Here for the present we may leave the proceedings against Mohun.

Of the Company's ships, the *Success* and the *Unity* were the first to arrive from Madras on 10 July, and they were followed by the *Samuel and Henry* on the 14th.[3] The first two ships left for the Bay on 17 July and the third on 19 July.[4] The *Success* brought goods of the value of £5,138, the others only small amounts worth £375. The remainder of the substantial stock of £35,000 allotted to Masulipatam was promised from Madras on the arrival of the *Loyal Subject*, by which time it was expected the gold would have been coined in the mint.[5] The crew of this ship had suffered losses and was sickly (p. 141), so when she left Madras on 27 July for Masulipatam, the Agent and Council expressed the hope that she would there be able to recruit some English sailors or lascars.[6]

[1] Fort let. 24 Aug., ibid. 25-6; Fort let. to Co. 1 Oct., O.C. 4100, f. 4; P.D. 1 Sept., 12 Mas. 31-3.
[2] P.D. 1 Sept., ibid. 31.
[3] Mas. let. 10 & 16 July, 6 Mas. 2, 4; 12 Mas. 10.
[4] Mas. let. 16 & 19 July, 6 Mas. 5, 6, 7; 12 Mas. 12.
[5] Fort let. 1 July, 10 Mas. 2.
[6] Fort let. 9, 26, & 28 July, ibid. 4, 6, 15.

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She brought with her treasure to the value of 33,490 pagodas or £13,396.[1] The date of her arrival is not stated, but was presumably about 31 July. On 6 August she was ready to go, and sailing orders were issued to her commander, Captain Goodlad; but on his representation that he was sick and over thirty of his men were in a weak condition, he was allowed to stay till the 10th, during which period he was able to supplement his crew with lascars and some Englishmen.[2] The remainder of the treasure was dispatched from Madras by the *Bombay Merchant* as soon as it was received from the mint, in the form of 36,630 pagodas valued at £15,784, which completed the £35,000 sent for the Masulipatam factory.[3] She arrived on 18 August and the treasure was then put ashore.[4] The factors at Masulipatam had been asked to get some red calicoes for shipment by the *Bombay Merchant* to Bantam: for this purpose she was to wait at Masulipatam up to 10 September but not longer; and if they were not procurable, she was to return to Madras by the end of August or earlier.[5] The latter seems to have been the case, for her commander was given his sailing orders about 28 August, and the ship reached Madras on 7 September.[6]

After the arrival of the ships little time was lost before arranging for the supply of goods procurable at Masulipatam, and by 4 August contracts had been made with merchants there to the amount of 35,293 pagodas for goods to be delivered by the end of November. Half their cost was advanced and the other half was to be paid on delivery in silver dollars at the rate of 5 pagodas 14 fanams a seer.[7] As there were certain descriptions of goods which the local merchants would not undertake to provide, it was determined to send Fleetwood and Hatton with two of the young men, Samuel Wales and John Scattergood, to Madapollam, and Chamberlain and Wynn with two others, George Ramsden and Thomas Mayo,[8] to Naglewanch, to endeavour to procure these. It was feared, however, that the scanty time available and the setting in of the rains would make it impossible to procure the full quantity required, especially as the Dutch were

[1] Fort let. 20 July, 10 Mas. 6.

[2] Mas. let. 6, 7, & 13 Aug., 6 Mas. 10, 11, 12; let. from Goodlad 6 Aug., 10 Mas. 18; P.D. 6 & 10 Aug., 12 Mas. 21, 23.

[3] Fort let. 20 July & 9 Aug., 10 Mas. 6, 17.

[4] 6 Mas. 14.

[5] Fort let. 28 July & 9 Aug., 10 Mas. 15, 17.

[6] 6 Mas. 16; 12 Mas. 29; PS. 7 Sept., 10 Mas. 33.

[7] Mas. con. 4 Aug., 1 Mas. 7–9, 10; Mas. let. 13 Aug., 6 Mas. 12–13; P.D. 28–30 July & 3 Aug., 12 Mas. 18, 20.

[8] Mayo fell ill and returned to Masulipatam early in Sept. (10 Mas. 32; 6 Mas. 18).

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investing largely in these goods.[1] Details were settled and instructions given by the Commission on 17 August. Each party had 3,000 pagodas to start with, and was provided with presents for Governors to be used, if necessary. The chief items in these were scarlet and ordinary broadcloth, looking glasses, knives, and rose-water. The value of those delivered to Fleetwood and Hatton amounted to over £40; Chamberlain and Wynn had rather less.[2] Both parties were instructed that all things were to be done jointly, and full diaries kept of purchases, names of sellers, towns, and 'all other circumstances necessary', according to the Company's orders in their printed rules. Fleetwood and Hatton were furnished with lists of persons indebted to the Company for money advanced to them by Field and Fleetwood in 1672 for goods which they had not delivered, and of other debtors from Jearsey's time, and told to endeavour to recover these amounts; in the first case 930 pagodas were due from sixteen merchants, the largest sum being 260 pagodas, and in the second 2,004 pagodas from six persons, one of whom owed 1,043 pagodas.[3] On 18 August documents were passed by which the Commissioners who went up-country and those who remained at Masulipatam were respectively indemnified as regards the acts of the others.[4] This followed a long discussion as to responsibilities of individual Commissioners for action on the part of some of them in the absence of others, in which Puckle records they 'spent much of the day in discours and sometimes loud speaking'.[5]

Fleetwood and Hatton were dispatched on 19 August and Chamberlain and Wynn the next day.[6] But before Fleetwood left there was further controversy, as he attempted to take a chest out of the factory against the orders of the Chief, and when stopped by the porter beat him and forcibly took away the chest. Fleetwood argued that he was as much a Commissioner as Mainwaring, and Hatton supported him. After much discussion the matters raised were settled by a consultation of 21 August (p. 279), which forbade the beating of peons and the removal of goods without the permission of the Commission, and prescribed majority decisions.[7]

On 10 August Salisbury was called in from Petapoli to receive

[1] Mas. con. 23 July & 9 Aug., 1 Mas. 2, 15; Mas. let. 13 & 27 Aug., 6 Mas. 13, 15; P.D. 23 July, 12 Mas. 13. The Company strongly disapproved of three of the five Commissioners being sent away from Masulipatam at this inconvenient time, and ordered that at least three members of the Council should always reside there (desp. 15 Dec. 1676, 5 L.B. 367).

[2] Mas. con. 17 Aug., 1 Mas. 19–24.

[3] Ibid. 21–2.

[4] Mas. con. 18 Aug., ibid. 25–6.

[5] P.D. 17 & 18 Aug., 12 Mas. 26.

[6] Ibid. 26–7.

[7] 1 Mas. 27; 12 Mas. 27–9.

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instructions for providing goods from there.[1] He arrived on 25 August and reported that he could procure none of the red sallampores or morees required, as all had been bought up by the Dutch.[2] On 28 August he protested against no portion of the investment having been ordered through him, and asked to be made a partaker in it to the extent of 5,000 pagodas. He followed this up on 2 September with a letter engaging to provide in good time 10,000 pagodas' worth of sallampores at five per cent. less than the prices of the merchants, who had contracted for their supply. To this a reply was sent on 7 September that, if he sent in any goods of the dimensions and quality he specified, they would be paid for, but that his offer was contrary to his report that he could not procure any.[3] On receipt of this, Salisbury asked for pardon and stated that he did not question the advisability of contracting with the merchants, but that (should occasion require it) he could procure 10,000 pagodas' worth of fine goods, though not any others.[4] On 28 August he had put in a claim for twelve years' salary, two years' allowances for servants, diet, &c., 70 pagodas for repairs to the factory, and the expenses of two journeys to the factory at Masulipatam. This he renewed in September, and again repeated his request for money for investment, complaining that they had sent for him and put him to expense and then sent him back in dishonour. He made similar complaints also to the Fort authorities.[5]

The journeys and transactions of the two trading parties occupy a large part of the factory records from this time to the end of the year. Chamberlain and Wynn gave very full reports of their doings and progress, but Fleetwood and Hatton on 22 October had to be reproved for the lack of news from them.[6] The first letter from the former was addressed from Makkapet[7] on 3 September, and reported various sums given out to weavers or to peons to be handed over to them as occasion required, as also that certain merchants there—'monyed men'—had undertaken to have cloth made at their charge, to be sold afterwards to the Company. They further stated that they had secured several

[1] 6 Mas. 12; 12 Mas. 23.

[2] Salisbury's let. 16 Aug., 10 Mas. 21; Mas. let. 27 Aug., 6 Mas. 16; P.D. 25 Aug., 12 Mas. 29.

[3] 10 Mas. 29, 30; 6 Mas. 17.

[4] Let. 12 Sept., 10 Mas. 34.

[5] Salisbury's let., ibid. 29, 34–5; Fort let. 8 Oct., ibid. 42. Cf. *Ind. Antiquary*, xxxvii. 319–22. As Miss Anstey points out (p. 332), Salisbury seems to have been badly treated by the Masulipatam commissioners. His letter of 13 Sept. (10 Mas. 34) mentions he had caught a cold, and this probably led to his subsequent death (p. 305 *post*).

[6] 6 Mas. 21–2.

[7] As to the situation of Makkapet, see *S.M.* i. 268 *n.*

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'musters' (samples) of Dutch cloth, but did not find any advantage in buying it at the prices reported. They had invited several of the merchants of the Dutch from Naglewanch, but these had replied that they were fully occupied with business for the factory there; better things were hoped for when the party proceeded to that town.[1] Mainwaring, Puckle, and Fleetwood encouraged them in these efforts to encroach on the Dutch trade, writing on 7 September that, if they could buy any of the cloth intended for the factory, they would do the Company good service.[2] The Dutch, however, were not caught napping, for on arrival at Naglewanch on 15 September Chamberlain and Wynn found that they could do no business there, as the factors had secured all those 'persons of Committees' that were trustworthy and had warned them to have no dealings with the English.[3] Possibly making the best of the situation, Chamberlain and Wynn reported adversely on the Dutch cloth and prices, saying that 'tis either their imbecillity or knavery that occasions such to be brought in to them'.[4] Elsewhere they had better fortune, and at Nawabpet were able to contract with two 'reputed eminent Committees' for 2,000 pieces of longcloth, and at Biarum (Buyyavaram) to arrange for 3,000 pieces of sallampores, for which they advanced 1,500 pagodas to the weavers on the security of one Nall Mullipaupa.[5]

Both parties speedily got through the 3,000 pagodas with which they had started, and by 19 September Fleetwood and Hatton wanted 5,000 more and Chamberlain and Wynn another sum of 2,000.[6] The first amount was sent with Puckle to Madapollam, whither he proceeded for his health, having for some weeks been very much indisposed.[7]

Each of the parties was much hindered by heavy rains and floods. Hatton, who arrived at Madapollam on 23 August, found a great inundation and overflow of the rivers between that town and Masulipatam.[8] Again, he and Fleetwood on 15 September wrote from Narsapur of their difficulties in trade arising from the 'strange intemperatures of the weather and great inundation of waters'. Similarly Chamberlain and Wynn on 16 September had to leave their money at Makkapet owing to the danger of getting it across a river; on 1 October they reported a dangerous passage of the River Kistna on their way from

[1] 10 Mas. 31–32.
[2] 6 Mas. 18.
[3] 10 Mas. 37.
[4] Let. 16 Sept., ibid. 38.
[5] Let. 1 Oct., ibid. 39, 40. Cf. *S.M.* i. 268 n.
[6] Mas. let. 19 Sept., 6 Mas. 18–19.
[7] Ibid. 19.
[8] 10 Mas. 23.

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Makkapet to Biarum, and on 3 November that 'the raines have proved very prejudiciall to our business'.[1] On 1 October they asked for another advance of 1,000 pagodas, though their transactions were being much hindered by lack of time.[2] This request was renewed on 15 November.[3]

From Narsapur Fleetwood on 26 October reported that, before the arrival of Puckle with the 5,000 pagodas, the floods had so increased that travelling had been impossible: Hatton had got away on 11 October, but he himself had had to stay at Madapollam to get in the cloth arranged for there.[4] On 30 October Hatton was at Aurangee and, in an account of his trading there, said he had had to travel through 'mudd and water, such a continued inundation not having been knowne of many yeares in these parts'.[5] He had been unfortunate in finding at Dasheroon (Dracharam) Hosan (Husain) Beg, the governor of that region, with a numerous retinue, making it difficult to secure quarters. Owing to this, and fearing that a present would be required, he pushed on to Carango (Coringa) and Aurangee, where (finding that cloth was procurable) he asked by letter for a permit to trade there from Husain Beg; this he secured with difficulty after two days' negotiation.[6] Wynn on 12 October went off towards Golconda to try to procure dungarees, but failed to do so and rejoined Chamberlain on the 29th. On 3 November they started out to visit Nawabpet, Jujur, Gotherer,[7] and Biarum, to hurry up the dispatch of cloth from those places.[8] Goods now began to come in to both parties.[9] Fleetwood and Hatton on 17 November wrote in for half a piece of scarlet, half a piece of green cloth, some rose-water and sandalwood, which they proposed to give to Husain Beg to avoid trouble with him in the passage of goods by boat.[10] They were supplied with the scarlet and three maunds of sandalwood, which were duly sent to the Governor about 25 November.[11] Chamberlain and Wynn on 22 and 26 November, in letters written from the 'banks of river Kitna [Kistna]' and from Makkapet, sent in details of their journeys and of the cloth procured and its prices;[12] and on 25 November Fleetwood and Hatton asked for washermen to assist those at Madapollam in the whitening of their cloth which had been delayed owing to the rainy weather. Earlier in the month Hatton had

[1] 10 Mas. 35, 37, 39. [2] Ibid. 40. [3] Ibid. 54.
[4] Ibid. 46. [5] Ibid. 49. [6] Ibid. 49, 50.
[7] Sir Richard Temple deciphers this name as Goshevere, and suggests its standing for Goshavidu (*S.M.* i. 268 *n.*). [8] 10 Mas. 45, 52.
[9] Let. from Fleetwood, 3 Nov., from Chamberlain and Wynn, 15 Nov., from Fleetwood and Hatton, 17 Nov., 10 Mas. 51, 53, 54. [10] Ibid. 55.
[11] Ibid. 56. [12] Ibid. 56, 57.

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gone towards Gingerlee (i.e. the country above the mouths of the Godavari River) to see what goods could be found in those parts. He was now back, but the results of his journey are not recorded.[1] During November there were numerous letters from Masulipatam to both parties, giving instructions regarding the timely dispatch of the cloth secured, its baling and marking, and other such matters.[2]

By 8 December Chamberlain and Wynn had sent off 963 pieces of longcloth, and five days later had a large quantity ready to load on seventy oxen.[3] On the former date Mainwaring wrote that one of them should return to help in sorting the cloth brought in by merchants; but at the time the order was received Chamberlain was ill with fever and so Wynn could not be spared, though both hoped to be able to leave by 20 December.[4] Similarly on 14 December orders were sent to Fleetwood and Hatton that one of them should return to headquarters and bring Samuel Wales with him.[5] They replied on 16 December, excusing compliance on the grounds that they had to settle the prices of the cloth and that they could ill spare Wales, who was keeping their books.[6] The orders were repeated on 17 December, as Mainwaring, who had started sorting the cloth on the 9th, was otherwise fully employed, and Puckle himself went out to Madapollam to hurry them up;[7] but in spite of everything it was only on 28 December, after the receipt of peremptory orders and strictures, which were resented by Fleetwood and Hatton, that Hatton started and Fleetwood promised to follow in three or four days.[8] Chamberlain and Wynn, as well as Puckle, were back at Masulipatam on the 22nd.[9] There was special urgency for an early sorting of the cloth, as the merchants wanted to leave the place. They wished to get away before the King of Golconda, who was on tour, arrived for a visit he was proposing to pay to Masulipatam, from fear that otherwise they would be deprived of all they had. Puckle considered that Fleetwood and Hatton had no sufficient reason for not returning earlier, and believed that there was a conspiracy to leave all the responsibility to Mainwaring at this important time.[10]

[1] 10 Mas. 56; Mas. let. 5 & 20 Nov., 6 Mas. 23, 29.
[2] Mas. let. 6, 16, 20, 27, 30 Nov., ibid. 26, 27, 29.
[3] Mas. let. 10 Dec., ibid. 36; 10 Mas. 62, 64; 12 Mas. 55.
[4] 6 Mas. 36; 10 Mas. 64.
[5] 6 Mas. 37.
[6] 10 Mas. 65.
[7] 6 Mas. 38; P.D. 9, 17, 18, 19 Dec., 12 Mas. 56; Puckle's let. to Langhorn, 27 Dec., 28 F.S.G. 30.
[8] 10 Mas. 69, 70; 6 Mas. 39, 41–2.
[9] 12 Mas. 57.
[10] P.D. 24 & 26 Dec., ibid. 58; Puckle's let. to Langhorn, 27 Dec., 28 F.S.G. 30, 31. As to the constant rapacity and extortion which made the merchants desire to absent themselves during the King's visit, see Bowrey, 126, 127, 152–6, and p. 289 *post*.

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These incidents are typical of the spirit of indiscipline and disagreement which prevailed in the factory. Part of this was due to quarrels about seniority and duties. The Agent and Council in their letter of 1 July named Hatton as third in the factory, and Chamberlain as fourth. Chamberlain contended he was senior to Hatton. The Company had previously ordered that the third member of Council should be the warehouse-keeper; and Chamberlain said he had held this post since 1672 with the approval of the Agent and Council. The dispute was referred to the Fort authorities, who on 26 July confirmed their previous order on the ground that Hatton had for three years past been placed by the Company next to Fleetwood after weighing the claims of both, and that this decision had since been acquiesced in by Chamberlain.[1] Meanwhile there had been a dispute as to the one who should take over the warehouse; and on 12 July there was a similar quarrel as to which of them should take charge of the treasure then brought to the factory.[2] The chaplain, Thomas Whitehead, 'being a minister and Master of Art of the University of Oxford', also raised the question of his precedence, claiming that he was 'agrieved that he hath not preheminence of place at the table etc. next the Second in Council'. Puckle promised to put the matter before the Commissioners but feared trouble, writing: 'What this little sparke may enkindle, especially should it break out in the pulpit, I cannot foresee further then the inflaming of our dyning room which sometimes is made almost intollerable hot upon other accounts.'[3] It was ordered by the Commission that he should lay his case before them in writing. This being done, they decided that his place should be next to and after the Commission, as the Commissioners like the Chief and Council were 'one entire body'. They expressed the hope that he would take this decision in good part, and (possibly to assist in this desirable attitude) granted him an allowance of six pagodas a month for diet, house-rent, candles, oil, &c., similar to that given to the minister at the Fort.[4]

On 23 July Robert Crawley was appointed secretary to the factory and Henry Colborne became its steward in place of Robert Freeman, who was allowed to resign the Company's service.[5] Colborne the next day sought permission to sell paddy to peons and deduct the charge for it from their pay (as his predecessor had done), by which he expected

[1] 6 Mas. 5; 10 Mas. 2, 5, 6; 12 Mas. 8–10.
[2] 6 Mas. 5; 12 Mas. 8.
[3] P.D. 23 July, ibid. 14.
[4] Mas. con. 28 July & 2 Aug., 1 Mas. 4, 5; 12 Mas. 17, 19. The Company subsequently gave chaplains the same precedence, viz. next to Members of Council (desp. 15 Dec. 1676, 5 L.B. 365).
[5] 1 Mas. 1–2; 12 Mas. 14.

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to make £20 a year. In doing so, he made the serious accusation against Sir William Langhorn that he had sent damaged paddy to Masulipatam, where it was imposed on the factory peons at high rates. This Puckle inquired into, but he found the evidence conflicting and recorded no conclusion.[1] At the end of the following month Freeman explained the reason for his resignation to Puckle, saying that he had left the Company's service after employment for seven years because Tivill, who had joined it three years after him, had been put by Mohun above him. Puckle offered to take him back again, as he held 'there is not his fellow left in the factory for sobriety and ability in business of his degree or standing'. Freeman had, however, already entered into an engagement to go to Achin and elsewhere, so nothing came of the offer.[2] It may be noted that Crandon, the dismissed Secretary at the Fort, died at Masulipatam about 1 August; his goods, which were sold on 4 August, fetched £60.[3]

How prejudicial such squabbles were to the Company's business is shown by the difficulties that Mainwaring and Puckle experienced in finishing the sorting of cloth, which was urgent for the reason already given (p. 269). Chamberlain refused to assist Wynn in sorting on the ground that he was busy with his accounts and that, as Hatton had been put above him, it was the latter's duty. He told Puckle that his indentures had ended on the 16th of the month and that he would not stay in the Company's service unless he were reinstated in the place he claimed.[4] Tivill was similarly recalcitrant in refusing to sort or, when summoned to the council, to give an opinion about making a present to the King.[5] The young writers were also refractory when called on to assist in sorting; Puckle's diary says, 'some did so, others refused'.[6] Hatton, however, after his return on 27 December, took part in the sorting of cloth, and by the 29th, when the King was within five leagues of the town, the sallampores had been gone through, and agreements made with the merchants as to deductions for those that were not up to sample. On the 30th their embaling began, and by the beginning of next year all hands were employed in sorting and baling the rest of the cloth.[7]

[1] Ibid. 15.

[2] P.D. 30 Aug., ibid. 31; Mas. let. 19 Sept., 6 Mas. 19. The Company held that Freeman had no good ground for objecting to Tivill's seniority, but authorized his being taken back into its service (desp. 15 Dec. 1676, 5 L.B. 368).

[3] P.D. 1 & 4 Aug., 12 Mas. 19, 21.

[4] P.D. 23 Dec., ibid. 57.

[5] Puckle's let. to Langhorn, 27 Dec., 28 F.S.G. 31; P.D. 27 & 29 Dec., 12 Mas. 58, 59.

[6] P.D. 27 Dec., ibid. 58.

[7] Ibid. 58, 59, 60. The Company severely censured Chamberlain and the others concerned

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A full investment was not, however, obtained, and at the end of the year a considerable sum out of that sent to Masulipatam remained unutilized. When the *Bombay Merchant* arrived in August, she had brought two chests of treasure (p. 264). This addition to the cash of the factory even then led to doubts as to whether so much could be invested and to an inquiry to the Fort whether, in case goods of the sorts required could not all be procured, the surplus money should be returned or be spent on other goods which the merchants could supply.[1] On the return of the ship to Madras on 4 September, the Agent and Council sent instructions that any balance should be sent back in the ships from the Bay to Madras for investment there, if possible. On 5 November it was reported to the Fort that some 20,000 pagodas would remain unspent.[2] The Agent and Council replied expressing their sorrow that the investments would be so short, and saying that they would only require the transfer of the amount, if necessary for its greater security, as they could not undertake to supply the deficiency of goods in time.[3] It was therefore decided at Masulipatam that, as there was no danger to be apprehended, the money should be kept there, if the Fort approved, and given out to merchants for goods for the next year.[4] This arrangement was confirmed in a letter from Madras towards the end of the year.[5] The amount so available was about 15,560 pagodas.[6]

Returning to the proceedings against Mohun, by 19 September the Commission had received some more books and letters from him, but not the balance of the cash nor some other necessary particulars.[7] No further progress was, however, made with the inquiries, and on 8 October the Agent and Council suggested that it would be well if the Commission, or its quorum, could settle the question of the administering of the oath and finish the inquiry before the arrival of the ships from the Bay; but, if this failed, all material witnesses were to be sent to the Fort, though they were ill at leisure for such work. At the same time, with reference to Mohun's letter relating to his differences with Mainwaring, they ordered the Commission to decide this matter according to justice and equity, either themselves or by arbitrators. Mohun, they wrote, said that he had settled his differences with Chamberlain, who could now be a witness as he was no longer a party.[8] On 5 Novem-

for refusing to take part in sorting cloth because of personal grievances, and told them in future they were to serve properly and not 'stand on punctillioes' (desp. 15 Dec. 1676, 5 L.B. 367–8).

[1] Mas. let. 27 Aug., 6 Mas. 16.
[2] Mas. let. 5 Nov., ibid. 23.
[3] Fort let. 19 Nov., 10 Mas. 58.
[4] Mas. let. 3 Dec., 6 Mas. 33–4.
[5] Fort let. without date, 10 Mas. 68.
[6] Mas. con. 26 Feb. 1676, 1 Mas. 6.
[7] 6 Mas. 19.
[8] 10 Mas. 41.

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ber the Commission replied that it had decided to follow the last orders received and to bring all witnesses to the Fort; while Mainwaring stated his readiness to refer his account-differences with Mohun to any two persons at the Fort, one to be chosen by each party, and they to choose a third in case of disagreement. Mohun was still at this time daily promising papers to the Commission.[1] On 19 November the Agent and Council again ordered the witnesses to be sent to Madras, if they could not be examined at Masulipatam; but they objected to the differences as to accounts between Mohun and Mainwaring being tried at Madras, and Langhorn (as before) desired to be excused from having any hand in the matter.[2]

Accordingly, on 1 December Mainwaring and Puckle ordered the issue of a summons to Mohun for him and his witnesses, either in his defence or to make good his charges against others, to proceed to Madras by the Bay ships, and to be ready to embark by the 24th of that month.[3] Mohun replied impertinently, saying that no authority for the orders had been cited and that, if they were issued by the 'single act' of Mainwaring and Puckle, he might as well 'cite either or both of you to appear at Hockle in the Hole their [*sic*] to treat of an affaire relateing to John a Nokes'. He asked for information as to the source of their authority and demanded an inspection of the original orders, if any, and the Company's commission for their examination of the charges against him, and of all orders and instructions from the Agent and Council; adding finally that he would no longer be led by the nose with concealed orders.[4] On the 3rd the two officers forming the quorum retorted by pointing out that he had already acknowledged their authority by answering the charges, and was well aware of the Commissioners' authority in the matter, while he could, if he wished, see the original orders at the Fort where they were. At the same time they replied in kind to his references to 'Hockle in the Hole' and 'John a Nokes'.[5] On the same day they reported to the Fort that he and his witnesses had been summoned, but that he was despising the orders and directions of the Agent and Council; they suggested that summonses should be sent from Madras, as they feared that many at Masulipatam would be unwilling to comply with those issued there. They were still without various letters and papers, and Mainwaring

[1] 6 Mas. 23.
[2] Fort let. 19 Nov., 10 Mas. 58.
[3] Mas. con. 1 Dec., 1 Mas. 47; Mas. let. 1 & 3 Dec., 6 Mas. 30, 34; P.D. 1 Dec., 12 Mas. 54.
[4] Mohun's undated let. 10 Mas. 60; Mas. let. 3 Dec., 6 Mas. 34; P.D. 3 Dec., 12 Mas. 54.
[5] 6 Mas. 32–3; 12 Mas. 54.

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asserted that the cash-book delivered to them was false in many particulars.[1] Mohun replied on the same day to the Commissioners' letter of 3 December. He argued that the orders were to inquire into the charges at Masulipatam, demanded copies of any orders contradicting this, and declined to comply till this had been done. He professed to 'rather pitty then censure your uncharitable expression (to wit) that being accused I would avoid a faire tryall', and said he would have been prepared to stand the test of examination, had it proceeded as it ought. He protested against the delay and against orders affecting him not being communicated to him.[2] To satisfy the scruples of Mohun, on 9 December it was resolved to send him copies of the clauses in the letters from the Fort, whereby the Agent and Council appointed Mainwaring and Puckle as a quorum and ordered him and the witnesses to go to Madras.[3] Towards the end of the year the Fort also wrote supporting the authority of the Commission to summon witnesses to Madras by orders which were founded on those of the Company and the authority given by His Majesty to the Company to exercise over their servants and freemen through their governors, agents, and chiefs. It also stated that if any persons considered themselves aggrieved they might appeal, but must obey.[4]

Fleetwood was also on 1 December ordered to take his passage to Madras, both to give evidence on the charges against Mohun and to answer that against himself. Others summoned at the same time were Christopher Hatton, Peter Large, Samuel Wales, and John Scattergood. Summonses for these were sent through Fleetwood, with peremptory orders against failure to comply with them.[5]

The charge against Fleetwood was one which the Company had ordered to be investigated. This was that, without permission, he had rented some towns and lands from the King of Golconda.[6] On 28 July the Commission had called on him to answer this and state what his contract was and what rent he paid.[7] He replied on 12 August wholly denying the charge and asking that it should be examined and determined by the Commission.[8] He sent in a more detailed answer on about

[1] 6 Mas. 34.

[2] Let. 3 Dec., 10 Mas. 61–2; P.D. 4 Dec., 12 Mas. 55.

[3] 1 Mas. 47.

[4] Fort let., undated, 10 Mas. 68.

[5] 6 Mas. 30, 31, 32. Fleetwood doubted his ability to obey the summons, owing to his being busy over the investment, and remained at Navarazpuram for the rest of the year (10 Mas. 63, 71). In December he was ill with 'his old disease the strangury' (12 Mas. 56: cf. 28 F.S.G. 28), and in Jan. 1676 he was excused from coming to Madras (ibid. 6).

[6] Desp. 23 Dec. 1674, 5 L.B. 148. Cf. pp. 257–8 *ante*.

[7] 1 Mas. 3; 12 Mas. 17.

[8] 10 Mas. 20; 12 Mas. 25.

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13 December, denying that he had entered into any contract with the King, but admitting that he had taken three or four towns from a governor. He pleaded that in doing this he rendered service to the Company by freeing them from the insolences of these governors; but on learning that this had offended the Company, he gave them all up, except Navarazpuram, a suburb of Madapollam, where his house was and where he could ship goods without the leave of any governor. His numerous family also made it difficult for him to remove from Navarazpuram, but he told Puckle that rather than offend the Company he would surrender this also.[1]

Correspondence also took place with the Fort regarding Jearsey's account, the furnishing of which the Company had expedited.[2] In regard to the proposal that he should send home 2,000 pagodas in goods to cover his liabilities (p. 144), he asserted that he had a greater sum than this to his credit with the Company on account of goods of his that were seized in Mohun's time. The Agent and Council instructed the Commissioners to peruse the books of 1670–1 and report the amount of his balance;[3] but the examination of the matter was held up for some time owing to books being wanting, and the Fort was asked to send copies, if available.[4] On 5 November, however, the matter had been cleared up, and it was reported that Jearsey had at his credit in the books of the Masulipatam factory the substantial sum of 7,881 pagodas.[5] Langhorn, however, made only a 'slight answer' about the matter, which displeased the Company.[6]

A point of jurisdiction arose in November in connexion with two Frenchmen who were accused of the murder of an Englishman at Navarazpuram. Fleetwood sent them in irons to the Commissioners, but without any statement of the charge against them or of what he wanted done with them.[7] Asked as to this, he replied that one of them had confessed that he was the murderer and the other that he was an instigator and accessory, but that, if so desired, he would obtain the testimony of eye-witnesses and send it in. He hoped that they would be sent to the Fort and thence to Porto Novo, as Sir William Langhorn

[1] P.D. 13 Dec., 12 Mas. 56; cf. *S.M.* i. 273–4, 294 *n.*

[2] Desp. 23 Dec. 1674, 5 L.B. 148.

[3] Fort let. 8 Oct. & 19 Nov., 10 Mas. 42, 57.

[4] Mas. let. 19 Sept., 6 Mas. 19.

[5] 6 Mas. 23; Fort let. 19 Nov., 10 Mas. 58. On the other hand, in Jan. 1678 the Agent and Council reported that the Masulipatam books showed only 1,550 pagodas to Jearsey's credit (3A. Misc. 20(2), para. 107).

[6] Desp. 15 Dec. 1676, 5 L.B. 360.

[7] Mas. let. 6 Nov., 6 Mas. 26.

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had advised him that he had no power to pass judgement on them.[1] The two accused escaped on the night of 17 November, but had been recaptured by 3 December,[2] on which date the Fort authorities wrote that, if retaken, they would have to be sent to the French Chief at Pondicherry, as the matter fell within his jurisdiction, the English factory at Madras having none in a foreign country.[3] At the end of the year they were still in custody at Masulipatam, awaiting dispatch by the Bay ships to the Fort.[4]

An interesting fact noted by Puckle in his diary was that the Danes had re-established a factory there and had three ships in the roads, one for Pegu, the second for Mokha, and the third for Bantam, which they were loading with cloth.[5]

Puckle was not idle when the three Commissioners were away buying cloth, and in September he filled many pages of his diary in compiling lists of articles in which the servants of the Company traded to Pegu, the Maldives, Achin, Mokha, the Philippines, and Siam, and in recording such information as he could collect from merchants and others as to the conditions and trade possibilities of those places.[6] He also made lists of the peons at the factory, 48 in number, whose total pay was 38 pagodas 8 fanams a month; of 55 Indian writers and house servants who were paid 49 pagodas 18 fanams; and of the servants of the Company then at Masulipatam. The latter comprised, in addition to the members of the Commission, the minister (Rev. Thomas Whitehead), the surgeon (John Heathfield), two factors (Wynn and Tivill), one steward (Henry Colborne), and nine writers.[7] He also recorded lists of the books (mostly theological) in the factory and of the plate and furniture belonging to it.[8]

[1] Fleetwood's let. 9 Nov., 10 Mas. 53.

[2] Mas. let. 19 Nov., 6 Mas. 28; P.D. 17 & 20 Nov., 12 Mas. 53, 54.

[3] Mas. let. 3 Dec., 6 Mas. 33; Fort let. 3 Dec., 10 Mas. 64.

[4] Mas. let. 28–9 Dec., 6 Mas. 43. One of the two Frenchmen, however, subsequently escaped at Masulipatam (Mas. let. 12 Jan. 1676, ibid. 7), and the other, who was sent in the *Samuel and Henry* to the Fort, also managed to escape from that ship (12 Mas. 70). The Company wondered that Langhorn sent no report about this to it, 'considering there was blood in the case' (desp. 15 Dec. 1676, 5 L.B. 370).

[5] P.D. 5 Aug., 12 Mas. 21. The Danes had founded a factory at Masulipatam in 1626 (*E.F.*, 1624–9, 119), and it appears to have continued to 1639 (*E.F.*, 1630–3, 181; 1637–9, 44, 65, 181, 221); but it seems not to be mentioned again till 1669, when the French, who were starting a factory there, considered the house that used to be the Danes' factory too small for them (*E.F.*, 1667–9, 286; cf. Bowrey, 64 *n.*).

[6] 12 Mas. 33–7.

[7] Ibid. 37–9 Heathfield, who had been taken prisoner by the Dutch in the ship *President*, after his release arrived in India on 25 Sept. 1673, and became surgeon at Masulipatam soon afterwards (his letter in *M.R.*, 1685, 79; *S.M.* i. 286 *n.*).

[8] 12 Mas. 40–1.

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On 4 September Puckle had fallen sick, and he records that about the same time Nathaniel Cholmley in a delirium tried to kill himself 'by leaning his breast on the point of a sword'.[1] Puckle found Masulipatam (as he wrote to Langhorn) 'the most unwholesomest place I ever lived in', and, after suffering for about three weeks first from 'wind [and] collick' and later from want of 'stomack to meate', on 20 September he went for recovery of his health to Madapollam, where he lodged at Fleetwood's house at Navarazpuram, about half a mile from the factory.[2] In his diary he describes the latter as 'a very large fair building in good repair', with 'a lodging sufficient for all the Honourable Company's servants; very good and handsome godowns, with all necessary offices but a kitchin is lately fallen down'. In the second courtyard he found that Mohun had unnecessarily built a new pile of buildings in the English fashion. A number of English and their families lived in Navarazpuram, including those of Fleetwood, Hatton, and Sir Edward Winter; also Peter Large who had been about twenty years in India, a Mr. Alley, master of Mohun's ship which had lately come from Persia, Mr. Dod, who 'goes to sea', John Johnson, a purser, and Everett, master of a ship.[3] Puckle ends his list of English inhabitants with 'Mrs. Mingham widdow, her husband was cannoneir to the King of Golconda'.[4]

Puckle found Madapollam well seated for trade in piece-goods, &c. Both it and Navarazpuram were good places for the building of ships, as they were on a big river and timbers could be floated down it to them from the woodlands.[5] The change did him good, and on 24 September he wrote to Langhorn that 'this air hath refreshed me very much'.[6] He was rather depressed, however, and thanked Langhorn for advice, of which he was in need, 'being often clouded which way to steer or governe myselfe . . . I am in a stew where cannot finde a man that will

[1] Ibid. 42.

[2] Puckle's let. 20 Sept., 28 F.S.G. 21; 12 Mas. 42. As to Fleetwood's and other houses there, see Master's description of them (*S.M.* ii. 161).

[3] 'Mr. Alley' was William Alley, the commander of the *Adventure*, which arrived at Madras from Persia in June 1675 (*M.R.*, 1672–8, 43–4), and proposed commander of the *Indulgence*, which was about to sail to Persia in October (ibid. 83; p. 287 *post*). He afterwards became the well-known interloper of that name. As to Peter Dod being mate on the *Recovery* and a freeman at Masulipatam, see *S.M.* ii. 106 *n.* Everett was probably the same as George Everard, entered in Master's list of freemen there (ibid. 106).

[4] Puckle's diary mentions a report that Christopher Wilkins had succeeded Mingham as the King's gunner (12 Mas. 55); but a later statement by Puckle was that Richard Cogan had been so appointed (ibid. 61). P.D. 22 Sept., 12 Mas. 42. As to Mohun being a part-owner of the *Indulgence*, see p. 287 *post*.

[5] 12 Mas. 42–3.

[6] 28 F.S.G. 21.

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informe me of doings here'.[1] On 28 September he proceeded to Viravasaram, whose neighbourhood he described as 'a pleasant country well watered with tanks'. The factory there was (he said) so ruinous as to be ready to drop down, and people had fled through the oppression of the governor, consequently there was no trade, though there would be good prospects of it, if the Company regularly sent a stock there.[2]

On his return he visited Palakollu, the neighbouring Dutch station, and dined with its Chief. He described it as 'a very large and populous town', to which people had fled for Dutch protection from the tyranny of the governors, who were mostly Persians. Its gate was guarded by five or six great guns mounted on carriages, and the factory had three courts, all surrounded with brick walls.[3]

He returned to Masulipatam on 2 October, passing Mohun on his way; and on 9 October again reported to Langhorn that he was 'much refreshed' by his stay at Madapollam. He sent him a long legal disquisition on the law and procedure which would apply in England to a suit to recover money on a bond which Mohun had executed, in his and Mainwaring's presence, and gave him an account of various events, including his visit to Madapollam and Viravasaram.[4] He had, however, some return of his illness at Masulipatam.[5]

Puckle met Cholmley at Navarazpuram before he left it and says he was then quite recovered. His illness had given Langhorn some anxiety, as large sums amounting to £26,401 had been sent to him for investment in diamonds by various important members of 'the Honourable Committee' of the Company. In October the Agent ordered that the treasure which had been consigned to him should be held up, and sent one John Carpenter, 'a person of very good repute and ability', to take charge of it and of any diamonds purchased with it, so that those in charge of the Masulipatam factory were to deliver the treasure to Carpenter, who on his return would hand over the diamonds to be forwarded in the ships from the Bay.[6] A letter from the Agent to Cholmley about this was delivered, but he refused to pay over the

[1] 28 F.S.G. 22. [2] 12 Mas. 43.

[3] Ibid. Streynsham Master gives seven miles as the distance of Palakollu from Madapollam (*S.M.* ii. 164). [4] 12 Mas. 43; 28 F.S.G. 22–4. [5] Ibid. 25.

[6] Fort let. 13 Oct., 10 Mas. 45–6. John Carpenter had come out to India in 1670 as purser in the *Experiment*, and had since done a large trade between the Coromandel Coast and Bantam (desp. 15 Dec. 1677, 5 L.B. 493; *Ct. Min.*, 1668–70, 252, 313). He owned the ship *Triplicane*, which was launched on 30 Sept. 1675 and went on her first voyage to Bantam in 1676 (Mar. R. LXXIII, Capt. John Stead's journal). Later in that year he sold her to Kasi Viranna, but was prevailed on to take her to Bantam in 1677 (Fort let. 24 Jan. 1677, 18 F.S.G. 1; 36 F.S.G. 92; *S.M.* ii. 94, where 'Henry' is a mistake for 'John').

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money as directed, on the ground that the orders were provisional and applied only if he were dead or incapacitated from making the investment.[1] On 5 November he was reported to be at the diamond mines, and the Commissioners gave their opinion that at his departure he was as well as he had ever been. They said he had refused to deliver up the treasure as ordered, 'not doubting but to satisfie all concerned in the diamond investment';[2] and at the end of the year Puckle wrote to Langhorn that Cholmley had returned to Masulipatam in good health, after completing his business.[3]

Puckle gave attention to the lack of proper accommodation in the factory. On 20 July he recorded the great need there was of upper rooms for lodging the staff of the factory, there being only seven rooms, all on the ground level and most unhealthy, while the 'padre' had to be provided with a house which cost Rs. 12 a month: he suggested that all could be accommodated if rooms were built over the godown, as the Company had ordered Mohun to do As a provisional measure, Chamberlain was ordered to give up his two rooms so that two of the young men could be accommodated in them, and was allowed 3 pagodas a month to provide quarters for himself and two of the factory servants.[4] On 23 July at Puckle's instance a writing office was provided for the writers and accountants, who up to then had been working in their chambers with the result that, owing to negligence, books and papers had been lost.[5] He also dealt with matters relating to the internal management and discipline in the factory. In a consultation, dated 21 August, it was laid down that all goods belonging to the Company or to any Englishman that were landed from the Company's, or other English, ships were to be brought direct to the factory and not removed or carried away without the leave of the Commissioners, or a majority of them; it was also resolved that all the Company's business should be done by the approbation and consent of the Commissioners or of a majority of those present; and thirdly it was ordered that none of the peons of the Company should be beaten by the Company's servants, unless upon a complaint made to, and an order passed by, the Commissioners.[6]

Various incidents showed that discipline badly needed enforcement, especially amongst the junior servants of the Company. After Puckle

[1] Mas. let. 12 Oct., 6 Mas. 20; P.D. 8, 9, & 13 Oct., 12 Mas. 44, 45; Puckle's let. to Langhorn, 12 Oct., 28 F.S.G. 23–4.

[2] Mas. let. 5 Nov., 6 Mas. 23; Puckle's let. to Langhorn, 4 Nov., 28 F.S.G. 25.

[3] Let. 28 Dec., ibid. 31.

[4] 1 Mas. 1; 12 Mas. 12–13, 14; cf. *S.M.* i. 294 n.

[5] 12 Mas. 14.

[6] 1 Mas. 27; 12 Mas. 27–8.

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returned from Madapollam he and Mainwaring had to take action against Robert Crawley and Thomas Harris for breaking bounds and damaging trees in the English and Dutch gardens. They were confined in the factory till the Dutch owner of the garden came and pardoned them. Crawley and three others of the young men were also accused of disorderly conduct in their chambers, viz. 'drinking bowls of punch till they exceeded the bounds of sobriety', disrespecting the Commissioners, and swearing and blaspheming.[1] Puckle described them to Langhorn as 'swearing God dam and cursing Mr. Mainwaring and the Major [i.e. Puckle], for whom they praied when he was sick that he might never come downe stairs againe'. They were admonished and preached to by the padre.[2] The Agent and Council on 27 October wrote that they heard that the young men in the factory at Masulipatam did not carry themselves with due sobriety and respect to the Commissioners, and that they would be glad if fair means amended this, but otherwise the Commissioners should use the authority vested in them, it being for the young men 'neither to dispute or interpret but obey'.[3] In reply to this the two members of the Commission then at headquarters—Mainwaring and Puckle—reported on 19 November to the Fort that the young men had been admonished without result for swearing, drunkenness, fighting, and lying out of the factory; and that they had taken exemplary proceedings against two of the most notorious of them, viz. Robert Crawley for drunkenness and swearing, and Timothy Harris for drunkenness, fighting, lying out of the factory, and disturbing his neighbours by crying 'murder' in the streets at night, when he found himself shut out of the factory. Proceedings had also been taken against one Thomas Davis, the keeper of a punch-house, who was in disgrace.[4]

In the case against Harris, the accused and two witnesses against him, Mayo and Colborne, were examined by Mainwaring and Puckle, in the presence of the chaplain and the surgeon, on 16 November. From the statement of Harris it appeared that he, Mayo, and Colborne, after drinking punch at the House of one Andrew Gill, went to Chamberlain's house. At that time he (Harris) was 'merry in drink (but not drunk)' and words between himself and Mayo led to their coming to blows. Mayo got the better of it and 'did beat him, pulled him by the

[1] P.D. 6 Oct., 12 Mas. 44.
[2] Let. 12 Oct., 28 F.S.G. 24; 12 Mas. 44.
[3] 10 Mas. 48.
[4] Mas. let. 19 Nov., 6 Mas. 27.

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haire, and thrust his thumb in his eye'. Colborne parted them and received blows himself.[1]

Mayo's account was that Harris called him 'severall ill names (as shabby rouge [rogue] and puppy)', and that he told him to desist or he would beat him; this led to a fight with Harris, in the course of which the latter bit him on the leg, and in the scuffle Mayo accidentally ran his finger into Harris's eye, and also caught him by the hair for 'his conveniency' in striking him. Harris (Mayo alleged) was drunk and drew his sword and made passes with it at Mayo and Colborne.[2] The latter corroborated Mayo, adding that Harris after the affair 'went before the factory and cryed out to Mr. Mainwaring and said he should be murthered'.[3] The Commission found against Harris and ordered that he should be sent to the Fort for drunkenness and other misdemeanours.[4]

The same order was made against Robert Crawley.[5] On 25 October he had, by his own admission, gone to the Dutch garden on leave given by Mainwaring to go shooting; meeting with friends there, he had a bowl of punch and some drams, and got drunk. In extenuation he alleged 'that every one in the factory had been drunk; particularly he had seen Mr. Arnold, Mr. Tivill and Mr. Colborne, come drunk from the Dutch factory'.[6] William Cullen, who also had been given permission to go shooting, deposed as to the accused being drunk and his having unsuccessfully tried to get Crawley to leave the Dutch garden.[7]

The proceedings against Davis, which were initiated by a petition of the chaplain, Thomas Whitehead, gave further proof of the state of disorder that prevailed amongst the English colony in Masulipatam. His petition against Davis alleged:

That he himself is an abominable prophaner of the name of God and that keeping a punch house he giveth entertainment to persons of the like notorious conversation, insomuch that they have not only by their prophaness disturbed the devotions of Mr. Mohun, but made him fear their cursings might bring some dreadfull judgments of God, not only on the house of the said Davis but on the neighbourhood also.

That on the Lord's Day was seavennight or fortnight [ago] all the

[1] 1 Mas. 42–3; 12 Mas. 52. Davis and Gill were freemen at Masulipatam (*S.M.* ii. 105).

[2] 1 Mas. 43–4; 12 Mas. 52–3.

[3] 1 Mas. 45; 12 Mas. 53.

[4] Mas. con. 26 Oct., 1 Mas. 42.

[5] Ibid.; Mas. let. 28–9 Dec., 6 Mas. 43.

[6] Mas. con. 26 Oct., 1 Mas. 46. The Dutch garden was about half a mile from the English garden (*S.M.* ii. 158).

[7] 1 Mas. 46–7. It may be noted that Cullen, Harris, and Mayo had been sent out as new 'writers' for Masulipatam this year and had joined the factory only in July (desp. 23 Dec. 1674, 5 L.B.. 149: cf. *S.M.* i. 285).

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afternoon were severall Dutch men in his house with musick and playing at tables and drinking, himself present, to the great disturbance of the peace of Mr. Mohun, to the dishonour of the Christian religion and the English nation, among whome the said practice before this time was utterly unknowne.

The Rev. gentleman further stated that Davis had not been within the church doors for the last six months and not four times a year; that he was 'the corrupter of all the young men in the Company's service'; that by drinking in his house Terrett, a dyer sent out for the Bay two years before, had got his death, while Cole, another dyer, had similarly contracted a bad fever; and that Davis 'offered me severall late affronts in the Dutch house yesterday'.[1]

Examined by Mainwaring and Puckle, Whitehead gave details of the incidents at the Dutch factory:

That he being upon invitation at the Dutch factory the 19th instant, as he was standing nigh and discoursing with the Cheifs lady (leaning one of his hands upon his loynes), the said Davis came up to him and locked his arme within Mr. Whiteheads, and in a rude manner whirled the Padree round about; being asked by the Padree what he, the said Davis, meant, Davis answered he came to have him dance and that he indeed was intended to take the Padree out to dance. To whome the Padree replyed and said, how durst you be so sawcy and impudent, goe to your companions.

Whitehead's narrative continued in a similar strain, with Davis threatening to give the padre 'a good doust in the ear', and, soon afterwards, while the padre was still discoursing with the Chief's lady, his coming up and saying that 'the Padre will cheat the Divell', a phrase which apparently pleased him, as he repeated it to the Dutch 'second'. Davis, when called on by Mainwaring and Puckle to answer this charge, said that 'he meant no harme and that he intended only to be merry'.[2]

The next witness was Thomas Morris, former physician at the factory,[3] who related that Davis kept a punch-house for selling wine, punch, strong beer, &c., and

hath oftentimes encouraged and persuaded such as have been there to play at truck-tables, dice, cards, etc., for drinks and to continue their

[1] Petition 20 Oct., 1 Mas. 28–9; P.D. 20 Oct., 12 Mas. 45.
[2] 1 Mas. 29–30.
[3] He died shortly after, on 21 Dec. (12 Mas. 57: cf. *S.M.* i. 289).

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drinking whole dayes and nights, committing disorders to the disturbance of the neighbourhood by swearing, wrangling, fireing pistolls, fiddlers, etc.

The doctor also affirmed that Terrett's death was due to his excessive drinking at Davis's house.[1]

Davis stated that he came from England in 1661 as cooper on the *Royal Charles*, and that he also served on the *Royal James and Henry*, but the ship was cast away. From the place where this happened, he went to Madras, where he served as cooper in the Fort for eighteen months. From there he came to Masulipatam, where he had now been for twelve years. He had kept the punch-house without permission, as he did not apprehend that any was required. His guests usually played for a cup of drink and to pass the time. Several of the Company's servants did this, but he never knew any of them to be drunk, though 'sometimes they would be merry in drink'.[2]

On 23 October John Tivell gave evidence against Davis, saying that one day when he was in a gallery at Mohun's house, Davis came by and saluted him in these words: 'You Tivell, you dog, you rouge [rogue], why do you not come to my house and drink a bowle of punch?' This Davis admitted, but stated that it was in jest and that he meant no harm'.[3]

On 21 October the Commissioners ordered Davis to be confined in the factory till he was sent to the Fort, unless he gave security to surrender himself when called on to do so, and not to sell strong drink or misbehave himself meanwhile. He was consequently released four days later on his furnishing the requisite bond.[4]

In November Mainwaring and Puckle informed the Agent and Council of the case and that they proposed to send Harris, Crawley, and Davis to the Fort by the ships from the Bay.[5] Langhorn replied on 19 November that they did not desire to have Davis there, 'haveing enough of such already', and on 3 December he further wrote that Davis was not to be sent to the Fort and that they would decide as regards Harris and Crawley, when Puckle arrived at the Fort.[6] The Commission explained that their intention was that the authorities at Madras should be troubled with Davis only until the ships sailed for

[1] Deposition 21 Oct., 1 Mas. 30–1; 12 Mas. 46.
[2] 1 Mas. 32–3. Cf. *S.M.* ii. 105 *n.*
[3] 1 Mas. 34.
[4] Ibid. 35–7; 12 Mas. 46, 47.
[5] Mas. let. 5 & 19 Nov., 6 Mas. 24, 27.
[6] 10 Mas. 59, 64. Harris was transferred to Madras in July 1677 (Fort let. 19 July, 18 F.S.G. 34).

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Europe, so that their proposal evidently was that he should be deported to England.[1]

The Commissioners had also temporarily closed another punch-house kept by Andrew Gill, on his conviction for having suffered two of the Company's servants to drink punch one evening to such excess that one of them was brought home drunk.[2] On 21 October they laid down rules for the selling of liquor. These provided that no Englishman should sell it retail, except with a licence from the Commission or the Chief and Council, and after giving security 'to keep good order, not permitting swearing, tipling to excess, fighting, quarelling in his house; not to suffer any of the Hon. Companys [employees] to play or continue above one hour at a time in his house' and not to sell drink on the Sabbath day, nor after nine at night on week-days. The drink also was to be sold at reasonable rates.[3] They recognized, however, that a 'house of entertainment' was necessary, and on 1 November considered the petition of Gill who, according to them, had lived for fifteen years at Masulipatam, was of good reputation, and by reason of failing eyesight and his age (about seventy) was incapacitated from marine affairs in which he was formerly employed.[4] Whitehead, Heathfield, and Tivill testified to his 'good life and conversation', and a licence was granted for one year on terms of a bond in the sum of 1,000 pagodas, which embodied the conditions prescribed in the rules and added that the neighbours were not to be disturbed by 'singing, whooping, hollowing, musick, or such like noyses'.[5]

In August Heathfield petitioned to be reimbursed money he had spent on country doctors when he was ill at Madapollam, and for a month's diet-money when he attended Wales at the same place. He was accordingly granted 20 pagodas for the first claim and 4 pagodas for the second. He was also given a dubash 'to help him in his chamber or elsewhere in preparing and applying his medicaments to sick persons'; and he was allowed three candles a week to be used in his chamber.[6] Previously the surgeon had proved refractory by refusing to dress some of the Company's soldiers who had been wounded, on the ground that he had no 'medicaments' belonging to the Company. He was only persuaded to do this duty on Puckle's undertaking to pay for the medicines; and when he was asked to go on board ship to buy

[1] 6 Mas. 35, 43.
[2] Mas. con. 21 Oct., 1 Mas. 33; Mas. let. 5 Nov., 6 Mas. 24; P.D. 22 Oct., 12 Mas. 46–7.
[3] 1 Mas. 33; 12 Mas. 47.
[4] 1 Mas. 38; cf. *S.M.* ii. 105 *n.*
[5] 1 Mas. 39, 40–1; 6 Mas. 24; 12 Mas. 47–8.
[6] Mas. con. 17 Aug., 1 Mas. 18–19; 12 Mas. 26.

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medical stores, he refused to receive the money for them from the factory, intending to buy them himself and 'make the most of them'.[1] Mainwaring and Puckle suggested that a 'physitian' would be more proper and useful in 'this soe unhealthfull a place'.[2]

Relations with Golconda and with local officials seem to have been good until the closing months of the year. On 18 August it was resolved to give 100 pagodas as a peshkash to 'Augare Gellol' (Agha Jalal), the Governor of Masulipatam, who 'hath been very civill unto us . . . for continuance of his favour and help';[3] and on 25 August the Governor of Madapollam visited the factory there and was given a present of scarlet cloth and rose-water.[4] On 26 August Mainwaring received a tashrif from the King and a farman acknowledging him as Chief and ordering all his governors and other officers not to hinder or molest the English at Masulipatam, but to assist them in all their affairs.[5] A translation of the farman is given in Puckle's diary[6] and runs as follows:

The translation of the King of Golconda's Phirmaund dated in the month July 1675.

The King's Chopp.

All Governors, Great Governors and little Governors, and all people, all Accomptants of towns, Captains of Gentu souldiers, and all people in the Kingdome, they must take notice of this order that Matt. Mainwaring is Chiefe for the English at Metchlepatam, upon whose petition presented by the Seir Keill that he and the English people might trade and bringe from all places to the town of Metchlepatam out of the country all such goods as they shall buy without hindrance or obstruction in the roads and towns, but may pass free to their content, And what goods they send from this country aboard the shipps or bring from the ships to this place: nobody must speake a word or hinder. And that if any of the Company's merchants who are their Debitors shall run away and take protection in any towne, that none must protect him, but the Governors of all places must make him pay the money to the content of the English: that the Company's merchants and servants and all others that belong to the English Company shall stay in all places according to their pleasure and all people must help the Company's business.

All which is the Kings order. That as soon as they shall se[e] this Phirmaund, whether in the towns or country where they shall trade,

[1] P.D. 19 July, 12 Mas. 12; Mas. let. 19 Sept., 6 Mas. 19–20.
[2] Ibid. 19–20. [3] 1 Mas. 26. [4] 12 Mas. 29.
[5] 6 Mas. 15, 16. A tashrif was also sent to Mohun, 12 Mas. 29.
[6] Ibid. 30.

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they must not be stop'd by the Juncaneirs nor any body elce, but that according to our former custome everything must go free.[1] It is further ordered that, when the English carry goods to their ships or bring goods ashoar, they shall not be hindred or stop'd, but pass free as it use[d] to be.

And that, if any merchant shall owe any money to the English, the Governors shall make them pay to the content of the English.

The Governors must not molest or hinder the Companys merchants and servants, but must assist them in their business. And if any of the Governors or people shall not observe these orders, having knowledge thereof, he will punish them.

Recieved the 26th August 1675.

Subscribed
Madona Bramini

This Phirmaund was procured by Mr. Mainwaring upon his sending to Meizza Abraim [Mirza Ibrahim], the Seir Kiel, a chest of wine and some other small presents to a small value as per account.

These orders[2] received scant respect, for on 5 November the Commissioners reported to the Fort that they were meeting with daily obstructions from the Governor of Masulipatam and from petty governors who were stopping merchants from bringing in cloth. The local Governor had also caused washermen to run away by his demands of unusual customs from them, and was forcing the Company's boatmen to fetch timber for the building of a small town for the King.[3] This, presumably, was for his accommodation on the visit which he intended to pay to Masulipatam. Agha Jalal had also stopped some silver on its way to Golconda for coining money to be paid to merchants for cloth delivered by them. The Governor wanted to take the silver over at a rate less than the merchants paid, and it had to be brought back.[4] The Agent and Council were asked to advise what should be done in the matter. It was pointed out that the Masulipatam factory had no agent to appear for them at court, and they did not trust the Sarkhel, whom the Governor represented; it was in his interest that

[1] Originally in 1611 a customs-duty of 4 per cent. on goods coming in and going out had to be paid at Masulipatam (*Letters Received*, i. 136); but under the 'golden farman' of 1634 the English were allowed to be free of duties throughout the Golconda kingdom (*E.F.*, 1634–6, 14, & 1665–7, 254 *n.*).

[2] It is noteworthy that this farman does not contain the additions that had been desired and were reported to have been obtained by Venkatapati in Dec. 1674 (p. 129 *ante*). It was, however, soon superseded by the one of Feb. 1676 (pp. 293–4 *post*).

[3] 6 Mas. 24; P.D. 6 Nov., 12 Mas. 49.

[4] 6 Mas. 24; P.D. 29–30 Oct., & 2 Nov., 12 Mas. 48, 49.

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the Governor was acting so rigorously, his design being to engross the whole trade of the town and country under the countenance of the Sarkhel. Another difficulty arose from the fact that the King had been given no recent peshkash by the English,[1] while the Dutch were reported to have given him one of 30,000 pagodas. The Commissioners went on to represent the defenceless state of the Masulipatam factory, which they described as 'naked', there being in it not one musket or any other kind of offensive weapon, nor any means of defence, with the consequence that they 'like sheep must ly down' under any insolence or violence. They contrasted this state of affairs with that of the Dutch, who had twenty-four great guns and thirty soldiers, while every man had in his chamber a musket and a pair of pistols; also they had hand grenades, kept a store of provisions in their factory, had made a large moat about their garden, and were building a strong house in it. The Commissioners said they had, in pursuance of the Company's directions, endeavoured to keep a fair correspondence with the Governor and had made a present to him of 100 pagodas, as well as given small presents of cloth to his principal servants. They had also given several small peshkashes to the Sarkhel, and had on an occasion of some interference by the Governor received a friendly letter from him, which stated that he had ordered the latter to help the English.[2]

In a letter of 4 November to Langhorn, Puckle accused Mohun of intriguing with the Governor and encouraging him to hinder the Company's trade, saying they were partners in a ship, the *Indulgence*, which was about to go on a voyage to Persia.[3] His accusation coupled Fleetwood and Hatton with these intrigues and encouragement, and he wrote that 'by their doings they have sett a mad man a horseback that will not faile to ride them that were so forward to hold his stirrop'.[4] The Governor was trying to engross the whole trade of the place, stopping the goods of the merchants and buying them at his own price, holding up goods which they wanted to send overland to Persia, because his own ship was 'intended thither upon fraight', and buying up paddy at one-third less than the market price and selling it at what he pleased.[5] He had also put forward a demand for 800 pagodas a year for customs, which he claimed had been formerly paid but was now in arrears for

[1] This assumption was wrong, as presents had been given in the early part of 1675 (p. 134 *ante*).

[2] 6 Mas. 24–6; P.D. 15 Nov., 12 Mas. 50.

[3] P.D. 13 Oct., 12 Mas. 45. Puckle there says he was informed that Langhorn, Harris, Mainwaring, and Fleetwood formerly had a two-thirds share in the ship, which they had lately sold to the Governor.

[4] 28 F.S.G. 25–6.

[5] Ibid. 27.

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many years. Puckle obtained and recorded in his diary a copy of the old farman on which the claim was based; it seems to show clearly that there was no good ground for the demand.[1] Puckle was at his wit's end and wrote that he could only propose to keep a record of the damage done, and on arrival of the ships from the Bay to put on board all that he could and depart with the whole company, taking with them such of the chief officers of the town as could make good the damage.[2] This counsel of despair did not commend itself to the Fort, and Puckle later explained that he did not intend it to be further mentioned, much less put in force, without the special direction of the Agent and Council.[3]

The Dutch also suffered from interference by the Governor, but on their applying to Golconda, they got orders from there, remedying a grievance about the stopping of their supply of oxen.[4] They also took more direct action, and when the Governor refused to permit them to land wood, they did so forcibly, with the moral support of three or four ships which they brought to lie before Masulipatam.[5] Puckle on 3 December hoped that the Dutch would shortly deal with the Governor;[6] and on the next day the Dutch fiscal defied him with satisfactory results. On his refusal to allow carpenters to work in the Dutch garden, that official went to see him about it, and after some contest on the subject was offered betel-nut; but the latter replied by throwing it on the ground, 'wishing that the Divell would take him and his beetle nutt too'. Soon after he had left, the Governor sent the required permission.[7]

The harassment of the English continued, as shown by a statement on 16 November that 'our Governor playes prancks with us'.[8] They, however, got the better of him over the ingots of silver which he had stopped on their way to Golconda. They had these cut into small portable pieces and sent off with peons; and, though the Governor endeavoured to stop them again and sent 'four several ways' to seize them, the convoy managed to avoid capture by leaving the highway. The disappointed Governor then tried to seize the smith who had cut up the ingots, but he took refuge in the factory. Several boatmen and washermen, on whom the Governor made unusual demands (p. 286), had also fled to the factory 'in sanctuarie'.[9]

[1] P.D. 1 & 16 Nov., 12 Mas. 49, 50, 51; 28 F.S.G. 26, 29.
[2] Ibid. 26–7. [3] Let. to Langhorn, 3 Dec., ibid. 29.
[4] Puckle's let. 17 Nov., ibid.; P.D. 8 Nov., 12 Mas. 49.
[5] P.D. 4 Dec., ibid. 54; Puckle's let. 3 Dec., 28 F.S.G. 29.
[6] Ibid. [7] P.D. 4 Dec., 12 Mas. 54–5. [8] Mas. let. 16 Nov., 6 Mas. 27.
[9] P.D. 9–13 Nov., 12 Mas. 49–50; Puckle's let. to Langhorn, 17 Nov., 28 F.S.G. 29.

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On 19 November they reported that the Governor was 'still continuing to put obstructions upon us in imprisoning our servants and abusing us in whatsoever hee can'; and the Agent and Council were asked to advise.[1] This they did in a letter of about the same date, which referred them to the Company's orders to comply with these people as far as reasonable, and when it was unreasonable, to appeal. They added that they found the Company not at all inclined to contend with Governors, and told them that Venkatapati's son, Viraji, was now the English egyb (agent) at Golconda and should be written to in case of trouble. The request for arms, it was stated, would be considered when Puckle arrived at Madras.[2] They also commented on the confusion and corruption which prevailed in Golconda, writing: 'the truth is the very frame of government throughout this Kingdome is in extreame disorder, the whole drift being nothing but to robb and spoyle in their severall places from the highest to the lowest, so that wee must have patience and doe as well as wee cann.'[2] This can have given little help; and on 3 December it was reported to the Fort that the Governor continued his abuses, stopping and seizing the washermen and boatmen belonging to the factory.[3]

In the latter part of December the factory was thrown into perturbation by news of an impending visit from the King of Golconda. Mainwaring was informed of this by the Governor of Masulipatam and other officials on 19 December and told to meet him with a present. He summoned Puckle, then absent at Madapollam, and the other members of the Commission to return for consultation, bringing with them 100 peons so that they might appear with as much splendour as the Dutch, who were making great preparations. They were also to bring as many sets of palanquin boys as necessary, as all in the town had been engaged.[4] Two days later the Commissioners wrote to the Fort, desiring immediate orders as to their conduct and the amounts of the presents they should give to the King and his great men. They reported that they were to meet the King at Bezwar [Bezvada], two days' journey away, and that as the Dutch intended 'to present the King considerably', they must do so also or they might lose the privileges granted to them under their farman.[5] To Fleetwood and Hatton they wrote on 22 December, 'wee are strongly allaramed with the Kings approach which

[1] 6 Mas. 28.
[2] 10 Mas. 59.
[3] 6 Mas. 35.
[4] Mas. let. 19 Dec., ibid. 39. Cf. p. 269.
[5] Mas. let. 21 Dec., ibid. 39–40. Streynsham Master gives forty-five miles as the distance of Bezvada from Masulipatam (ii. 176).

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putts the whole towne into a hurry for his reception', and that their attendance was required for counsel and advice. They were asked to bring with them flags or silk to make them, staffs, blunderbusses, drums, trumpets, and anything else that would make for the honour of the Company; also 100 peons, two sets of palanquin boys, drummers, trumpeters, and curiosities that might be acceptable as presents to the King.[1] Fleetwood and Hatton replied the next day that they were sending in the two sets of boys, at 6¼ pagodas per month a set plus batty, and whatever peons they could procure, but that they had no presents suitable for the King.[2] On 24 December they further reported that they had sent the two sets of boys and sixteen peons, but that they themselves were detained by the business of receiving and sorting cloth, which they hoped to dispatch speedily, whereupon they would hasten to Masulipatam. They had people out to give notice of the King's progress and had no doubt that they would arrive at Masulipatam before him.[3] This reply was not acceptable to the other members of the Commission, and Fleetwood and Hatton were peremptorily ordered by Mainwaring and Puckle, as well as Chamberlain and Wynn who had returned and joined them, to return at once to Masulipatam on receipt of the letter; otherwise they would be forced to proceed against them for refusing their advice and counsel.[4] On 28–9 December a letter to the Fort gave news that the King had arrived the previous night at Condapelle [Kondapalli], about six leagues from Masulipatam. It added that 'he is reported to march with so numerous a traine that he devours all the country up where he comes'.[5] By 29 December he had arrived at Bezvada, and the Commissioners prepared to meet him either the next or the following day.[6] They now resolved to make a present to the King of 'a barr of silver clean washed [of a value] not exceeding £150 sterling'.[7]

On 31 December they sent a dubash to the Sarkhel and Madana to say that they were ready to wait on the King, but claimed the 'right hand' of the Dutch, and asked for advice as to when to start and what they should present to the King. In reply their claim to precedence was admitted, and they were told that they should not give more than 50 or 60 pagodas at their first meeting with the King, while the Governor would tell them when to march.[8]

[1] 6 Mas. 40–1.
[2] 10 Mas. 66.
[3] Ibid. 67–8.
[4] Mas. let. 24 Dec., 6 Mas. 42; P.D. 24 Dec., 12 Mas. 58.
[5] 6 Mas. 43; P.D. 29 Dec., 12 Mas. 59. Streynsham Master gives seven miles as the distance between Bezvada and Kondapalli (ii. 175).
[6] Mas. let. 29 Dec., 6 Mas. 44.
[7] P.D. 29 Dec., 12 Mas. 59.
[8] P.D. 31 Dec., ibid. 60.

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At the close of the year none of the ships from the Bay had arrived, and news from Dutch sources reached the factory at Masulipatam that one Dutch and three English ships had been 'cast away'. This, combined with the non-arrival of the English ships, raised fears, expressed in a letter to Madras, that it might be true.[1]

MASULIPATAM, 1676

At the beginning of the year Mainwaring was in charge of the factory with Fleetwood, Hatton, and Chamberlain, as his fellow commissioners. The prospective visit of the King of Golconda was imminent; and on 1 January some of his soldiers, including eighty Frenchmen, and eight Englishmen under the command of Christopher Wilkins, arrived in the town. The latter came to the factory for lodging and were entertained there.[2]

On 6 January the five ships from the Bay reached the roads, but for two days a light wind prevented boats getting to them.[3] Later, however, progress was made with their lading, and the *Ann* left about 12 January.[4] The *Success* and the *Samuel and Henry* followed her three or four days later.[5] In them, as passengers to Madras, went Major Puckle, Mohun, and some of the latter's witnesses, in obedience to the summons issued by the Commissioners for their attendance at the Fort.[6] Mohun left the shore secretly to avoid his creditors; and the shahbundar and kotwal paid a visit to the factory about 2 a.m., in order to get his departure stopped till after the King's visit. They wanted him to be brought back by force, but were told that, as he was aboard ship, this was beyond the Commissioners' powers.[7] It had been hoped to dispatch the *Loyal Subject* and *Unity* a day or two later, after their lading had been completed, but this was interfered with by the King's visit.[8] It also prevented compliance with the Fort's orders that Mainwaring, Hatton, and Chamberlain should come to Madras in the ships, leaving

[1] Mas. let. 28–9 Dec., 6 Mas. 44; P.D. 23 Dec., 12 Mas. 58; Puckle's let. to Langhorn, 27 Dec., 28 F.S.G. 31.

[2] P.D. 12 Mas. 60. According to Puckle, they were weary of their service and had difficulty in getting their pay. Five of them were men who had served as garrison soldiers at Bombay or Madras, and two were seamen who had deserted the Company's ships (ibid. 61). Wilkins had formerly been gunner of Fort St. George (*E.F.*, 1665–7, 133).

[3] Mas. let. 12 Jan., 28 F.S.G. 7; 12 Mas. 64.

[4] 28 F.S.G. 7; 12 Mas. 66.

[5] Mas. let. 19 Jan., 28 F.S.G. 8; 12 Mas. 67.

[6] 28 F.S.G. 8; 12 Mas. 64, 65, 67; Mas. let. 7 & 8 Jan., 6 Mas. 4, 5; Mas. con. 11 Jan., 1 Mas. 1.

[7] Mainwaring's let. 16 Jan., 28 F.S.G. 8; 12 Mas. 66; Mainwaring's let. to Co. 15 Jan O.C. 4162, f. 4.

[8] 28 F.S.G. 8; 12 Mas. 66.

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Fleetwood in charge of the factory (p. 274 *n.*). The Governor of Masulipatam strongly objected to this proposal on the ground that Mainwaring was the Head of the factory, in whose name all letters went to Golconda officials, and the King would resent the Chief and his colleagues not being present to wait on him at his visit. As this might put the English privileges in danger and benefit the Dutch, 'who want to engross the whole trade of this country', the Commissioners decided on 11 January that it was essential they should stay till this visit was over.[1]

On 15 January the English and Dutch factors marched out of the town to meet the King.[2] Both of them had received orders to have their factories left open for the King's accommodation or inspection during his stay, so all the Englishwomen were sent to Madapollam, a tent was put up 'beyond the bar-towne' for the accommodation of the 'young men', and the treasure was sent to the 'English garden'.[3] There was some friction between the English and the Dutch over the visit. Before it the former had sent their dubash to the Sarkhel and Madana to represent that the English 'ever had the right hand of the Dutch', and received an answer that this was recognized and would be observed (p. 290). On 18 January the King went on board the Dutch ship, which they

fitted for his reception: amongst other their gallantry they had the impudence to putt ours and the French Kings Flag under theirs in the fore and mizzen top, thereby to render us low and contemptible in the Kings eyes, whereat we were all highly concerned, and thereupon we repaired on board our ships and ordered their commanders to salute his Majestie with their trumpetts, and from thence went with the trumpetts to (illegible ? waite on) his Majestie on his own ship the *Indulgence*, where we acquainted him with the indignitie offered to our King, who [viz. the King of Golconda] thereupon ordered it to be taken downe, which was immediately performed,[4] and afterwards upon our invitation was pleased to come on board the *Loyall Subject* (notwithstanding the Dutch did all they could to oppose it), where he continued two houres and did express much satisfaction, ordering us to fire severall gunns for his delight, which he would not permit on board

[1] Mas. con. 11 Jan. & 8 Feb., 1 Mas. 1–2, 5; Mas. let. 12 Jan., 28 F.S.G. 6–7; O.C. 4162, f. 25. Puckle was excepted from this resolution. [2] 12 Mas. 66.

[3] Mas. con. 15 Jan., 1 Mas. 3; Puckle's let. 27 Dec., 28 F.S.G. 30; 12 Mas. 58, 59. The 'English garden' was two miles out of the town (*S.M.* i. 293).

[4] The Dutch Commandore responsible for this affront afterwards sent his apologies to Langhorn (Fort let. 11 July, 18 F.S.G. 18). As to the Company's complaint about it to the Dutch East India Co., see Bowrey, 90 *n.*, and *S.M.* i. 298.

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the Dutch ship, and at his departure declared that he would this morning visit them againe early, and commanded us to be readye to attend him, whereupon we last night sent an order to the commanders for the fitting their ships in a better equipage for this reception; and this morning we were early off the banksall to attend his Majesties motion. But being by some other pastime diverted, he came not to the barr (where we waited for him) till the ebb was too far spent that it was too late to pas[s] the barr, and thereupon [we] returned againe to towne, whither we attended him with a noise of trumpets.[1]

The King, however, went aboard the ship again on 20 January, and about 800 lb. of gunpowder were fired from some 250 pieces of ordnance during his two visits to it.[2] It was not till about 22 January that they were able to dispatch the two ships, with their cargo; and the Commissioners complained they could do no business, nor anything else but 'thoughts on their serimonious attendances' till he left.[3] They, however, undoubtedly pleased him, for they succeeded, with the assistance of his principal officers, in getting a new farman, confirming their former privileges, omitting some prejudicial expressions, and containing some beneficial additions.[4] They also got permission to take in the lane which divided the factory and the 'mansion house', so as to have 'our compound entire'.[5] On the other hand, this entailed the gift of presents to the King, the Sarkhel, Madana, the Governors of Masulipatam and their servants, to the value of 6,149 pagodas.[6]

A translation of the farman, which is dated 4 February, is contained in the Fort St. George records and is reproduced below.[7] A comparison of its contents with those of the one granted in July 1675 (p. 285) leaves no doubt as to the improvements claimed by Mainwaring.[8] Thus it allowed free export or import of all kinds of goods, wherever taken for sale, without any limiting words, whereas the previous farman qualified the grant of freedom from taxation by the words 'according to our former custome', which (said Mainwaring) 'was the occasion of the

[1] Mas. let. 19 Jan., 28 F.S.G. 8.

[2] Capt. Goodlad's let. 24 Jan., ibid. 11–12.

[3] Mas. let. 19 Jan. & Capt. Goodlad's let. 24 Jan., ibid. 9, 11, 12 (reproduced in Bowrey, 91 *n.*). Cf. Bowrey, 88: 'The King came on progress to Mechlepatam with a very large retinue. He adventured his person on board two English ships (that lay in the roade) which, if I mistake not, was accompted a great piece of lightnesse in him.'

[4] Mas. let. 25 Feb., 28 F.S.G. 16 (reproduced in Bowrey, 93 *n.*); Fort let. to Surat, 7 Feb., 18 Mas. 2; Mas. let. to Co. 19 Jan. 1677, 3A Misc. 8.

[5] 28 F.S.G. 16–17.

[6] Mas. con. 8 Feb., 1 Mas. 5 & 28 F.S.G. 17–18; for details of the expense, see Bowrey, 90 *n.*

[7] 27 F.S.G. 2–3. Another translation, which seems a better one and is taken from Streynsham Master's diary, is reproduced in Bowrey, 93–4 *n.* A third translation will be found in O.C. 4193.

[8] Mas. let. 25 Feb., 28 Mas. 16.

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Governours frequently abuseing us'. The last clause also abated the charge for transporting goods from Masulipatam to Golconda by one-third.[1]

Coppy of a Generall Phirmawnd granted By his Highnes the King of Golcondah to the Honble. Company for Metchepatam etc. dated 4 February 1675/6.

A Generall Phirmawnd of his Highnesses the Ollompanha King of Golcondah to all officers high and low, to all Governors and their Councell Registers and Captaines and to all highway watchmen that are or shall hereafter be employed, Be it known that in consideration of the great fidellity of the English Nation towards us we have and doe hereby grant this our Phirmawnd in the behalfe of the Honble. English East India Company unto Mr. Mathew Mainwaring Cheif for Metchlepatam,[2] Pettepole, Nursapore, Maddapolliam, Corango [Coringa], Waterso [Waltair], Connaro [Conar], Vizagapatam, Bibliapatam [Bimlipatam], or any other port or ports in this our Kingdome and Dominion for the free exporting or importing, either by sea or land, all sorts of comodities, gold and silver, etc., whether they sell them in Metchlepatam or send them for any other port, that no person shall presume to controle or hinder them; also for all sorts of graine as wheate, rice, etc., which [*sic*, ? whether] brought by them from abroad to sell in this place, or from hence they transport or send it to sell in any other place or port, that no watchmen on the highway, junkanners [customs-officers], or any belonging to the Devan, neither weighers nor gatekeepers, custome receivers by sea or any others, shall in the least question any that belong to the English Nation; and likewise that all the persons that belong to the English, as merchants, painters, servants, shall in no wise be molested, disturbed, or hindred by any who belong to the Divan or to any others; moreover whatsoever merchants or others that are or may hereafter be indebted to the English and [from whom they] do or shall demand satisfaction, no person shall protest or encourage these debtors thereby to baffle the Honble. Company, but shall assist them to recover the same; and likewise whatsoever goods the English shall have occation to send to Golcondah, they shall pay but four pagodas new for ox hire per candy weight [and for] customes, and therefore we enorder the above said officers to assist them therein. We require all of them punctually to observe the contents of this our generall Phirmawnd.

Phirmawnd granted by Brameny Madana[s] means.

[1] 28 Mas. 16.

[2] It seems clear that this place, as well as the others that follow, should not come here, but should qualify the Golconda officers mentioned at the beginning of the farman, as in the other two translations.

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The new investment was taken in hand at the end of February. Mainwaring and his colleagues tried to get the merchants to lower their usual prices, but they obstinately refused to do this; so Fleetwood, Hatton, and Wynn were commissioned to get supplies of cloth at Madapollam and elsewhere, while the rest of the stock available for purchases was allotted to a merchant who agreed to make a 12 per cent. abatement.[1]

In January Mainwaring wrote to Langhorn objecting to any examination of Mohun's witnesses at Madras in his absence,[2] and this was one of the main reasons for their returning to Masulipatam without their statements being taken (p. 152).[3] They arrived on the two sloops, *Arrival* and *Ganges*, with Clavell and Major Puckle on 13 March,[4] while Mohun, who travelled overland, returned on 10 March.[5] Langhorn proposed that Mainwaring's witnesses, as well as those for Mohun (if the Commissioners thought their attendance necessary), should come to Madras on the *Ganges* and return on it, as soon as their examination before the Agent and Council was over.[6] The *Arrival* was to proceed to Balasore with Clavell and Puckle; and though Puckle was doubtful whether he ought not to attend the inquiry in Madras, he agreed to go to Bengal.[7] Mainwaring, Hatton, and Chamberlain, however, decided not to detain the *Ganges* and to travel overland to Madras, leaving Fleetwood and Wynn in joint charge of the factory.[8] The two sloops, therefore, left Masulipatam on 17 March, but did not sail from Madapollam to the Bay till nine days later.[9]

Langhorn's orders required the investment to be well started before the departure of Mainwaring and his witnesses, and it was not till the beginning of April that the four Commissioners were all together again at Masulipatam.[10] On 1 April Chamberlain left for Madras stealthily at night to avoid being stopped by his creditors, and Hatton followed him on 6 April. Mainwaring's departure was delayed by illness, and he did not leave till 19 April.[11] Mohun was informed by Mainwaring of his

[1] Mas. con. 26 Feb., 1 Mas. 6, 7; Mas. let. 25 Feb., 28 F.S.G. 17.
[2] Mainwaring's let. 15 Jan., ibid. 8.
[3] Cf. Fort let. 6 March, 18 F.S.G. 7.
[4] Puckle's let. 17 March, 28 F.S.G. 31; Mohun's diary, 36 F.S.G. 11.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Fort let. 18 Feb. & 6 March, 18 F.S.G. 3, 7.
[7] Ibid.; 28 F.S.G. 31.
[8] Mas. con. 16 March, 1 Mas. 7–9; Mas. let. 17 March, 28 F.S.G. 19.
[9] 36 F.S.G. 11; Yale's let. 25 May, 28 F.S.G. 40.
[10] 18 F.S.G. 7; 36 F.S.G. 13.
[11] Ibid. 13, 14; Fort let. 15 & 21 April, 18 F.S.G. 9, 12; Mas. let. 8 May, 28 F.S.G. 35.

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intended departure, so that he might (if he thought good) go there also; but Mohun declined to do this unless his expenses were paid, saying his indebtedness prevented such 'monthly' journeys.[1] Langhorn and his Council had refused Mohun's request to be paid his expenses on the previous journey (p. 152), and on 19 April he formally protested against all the Commissioners as liable to pay him 350 pagodas on that account.[2] The proceedings at Madras are dealt with in the Fort St. George section (pp. 152, 156).

Two attacks by European ships on native vessels that occurred about this time affected the factory. On 22 March a new ship of about 500 tons, belonging to the King of Golconda, and laden for Achin, was surprised at night as she rode at anchor off Masulipatam, and carried off by a sloop belonging to the French at Pondicherry. The Nawab of Golconda sent a letter to Mainwaring about it, through Langhorn, but the two latter agreed that it was not a case with which they could intermeddle.[3] In April the Dutch Governor at Pulicat wrote to Langhorn that a ship with English colours had fired six guns at a vessel belonging to the Governor of Balasore and Hugli, off Point de Galle, and Fleetwood was asked to make inquiries at Masulipatam about it, as his ship, the *Recovery*, which had just returned from a voyage to Persia, was suspected to be the culprit. Her officers, crew, and passengers, however, all denied that any such incident had taken place; and the 'pirate' turned out to be a Danish ship from Tranquebar.[4]

Mainwaring and Hatton returned from Madras on 2 June. Chamberlain 'and his bride' remained there, as they were intending to leave for England by the homeward ships;[5] but he came back in July to Masulipatam, probably in the *Johanna*, as he was there on the 26th.[6]

The *Johanna*, which was the first of the Company's ships to call

[1] Mas. let. 17 March, 28 F.S.G. 19; Mohun's let. 22 March, 36 F.S.G. 12.

[2] Fort let. 6 & 27 March, 18 F.S.G. 7, 8; 36 F.S.G. 15.

[3] Ibid. 11; Fort let. to Mas. 21 & 24 April, 18 F.S.G. 12; Mas. let. 30 June, 28 F.S.G. 45. The ship seized was not the *Indulgence*, a two-thirds share in which had been sold to the King by Mohun, and which had gone on a voyage to Persia with an English crew (12 Mas. 63; Fort let. to Surat, 18 April, 18 F.S.G. 9, cited in *S.M.* ii. 36 *n.*; Puckle's let. 27 Dec., 28 Mas. 30; O.C. 4162, f. 4). The French raider had been sent out by M. Martin, the chief at Pondicherry, as he had made an alliance with Nasir Khan, the Governor of Gingee, and therefore regarded the King of Golconda as an enemy (see Kaeppelin, 153–4, 156–8). Both the French sloop and the ship were subsequently wrecked off Arakan, and all their crews except the French commander and two others lost their lives (*S.M.* ii. 36).

[4] Fort let. 19 & 20 April, – May and 2 June, 18 F.S.G. 10, 11, 13, 14; Pulicat let. 27 April & 8 May, 27 F.S.G. 4–5; Mas. let. 8 May & 30 June, 28 F.S.G. 35.

[5] Fort let. – May & 2 June, 18 F.S.G. 14; 36 F.S.G. 16.

[6] He signed Mas. let. of that date (28 F.S.G. 45–6).

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there, arrived on 21 July and left for Balasore five days later.[1] She brought the factory no stock, as this was to follow on the later ships. The Company had sent out £30,000 in treasure for it, and this required minting.[2] On 3 August the *Eagle* and the *Falcon* brought about half of it in pagodas, and the rest came ten days after in the *Surat Merchant*, which also brought up nineteen bales of broadcloth for sale.[3]

Streynsham Master, who had been sent out by the Company to inspect and settle the factories subordinate to the Fort (p. 157), arrived on the *Eagle*, and lost no time in starting his work at Masulipatam, as his diary and the factory consultation-book show. He sat with the Commissioners daily from Monday the 7th to Saturday the 12th, and again on Wednesday the 16th. The next day he embarked on the *Eagle*, which, together with the *Falcon* and *Surat Merchant*, set sail for the Bay of Bengal on the 18th.[4]

A full account of Master's activities during this ten days' visit to Masulipatam is included in Sir Richard Temple's *The Diaries of Streynsham Master*, most of which are reproduced verbatim, and contain in full the consultations, at which he presided.[5] Only a brief summary, therefore, is necessary here. An important item was the alteration he made in the system of keeping the factory accounts, so as to bring it into accord with that adopted at Surat, as directed by the Company.[6] To help in this, a copy of the proposals made by Master in 1670 for improving the accounts at Surat was given to the Commissioners.[7] Subsidiary directions included one to change the date for balancing the books to 30 April in each year, and another for valuing the pagoda at 9*s*., the rupee at 2*s*. 3*d*., and the fanam at 3*d*., in accordance with the Company's orders.[8] At its direction and in consultation with the Commissioners, he (1) drew up a detailed list of the Company's servants at the factory, showing their seniority and salaries;[9] (2) took steps for the better protection of the estates of those who died in the Company's service, and (3) prescribed rules for the more regular

[1] Mas. let. 26 July, 28 F.S.G. 45, 46; instrns. to Capt. Bendall, 18 F.S.G. 20; 36 F.S.G. 18.

[2] Fort let. 18 July, 18 F.S.G. 21.

[3] Fort let. 31 July, 2 & 9 Aug., ibid. 25, 28, 30; Mas. let. 26 July, 5, 12, & 22 Aug., 28 F.S.G., 46, 47, 51; 36 F.S.G., 18, 19; *S.M.* i. 244, 293.

[4] 1 Mas. 11–35; *S.M.* i. 8–12, 244–98; 36 F.S.G. 19.

[5] pp. 244–6, 265–8, 271–98, summarized in the introduction at pp. 8–12.

[6] 1 Mas. 19–25; *S.M.* i. 276–82; desp. 24 Dec. 1675, 5 L.B. 223–4 (*S.M.* i. 261); Master's commn., 5 L.B. 28 (*S.M.* i. 203–4).

[7] Ibid. 276, 279–82. Cf. *E.F.* i. 192.

[8] 1 Mas. 20; *S.M.* i. 277; 5 L.B. 217. The Company said it found some inconvenience in the previous valuation of the pagoda at 8*s*. and the rupee at 2*s*. 6*d*.

[9] 1 Mas. 21, 26; *S.M.* i. 208, 283–6; O.C. 4219; 5 L.B. 290.

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conduct of the factory's business.[1] The Company's requirement that all its servants should live in the factory-house could not be carried out owing to the latter being too small to accommodate them; and its enlargement for this purpose was ordered.[2]

The investment for the three ships received full attention. Prior to Master's arrival, Mainwaring and his colleagues had considered the orders from the Company and the Fort for the provision of large quantities of longcloth, sallampores, and rumals; and 1,000 pagodas had been issued to Fleetwood to forestall Dutch competition at Madapollam.[3] On 8 August the council-meeting held by Master allotted 7,000 more pagodas to Fleetwood to continue the investment in longcloth, sallampores, and ginghams at Madapollam, and appointed John Tivill to assist him as 'second' there, with Timothy Harris as a writer. Chamberlain and Wynn were again put in charge of the investment at Naglewanch and Makkapet, with George Ramsden as their writer; and 5,000 pagodas were allotted to Chamberlain for the provision for longcloth and sallampores.[4] On the same day the merchants who usually contracted for the fine goods required were called before the Council, and 'with much adoe' were induced to supply these at the previous year's rates.[5]

Many other matters were considered or investigated. Among them was the dispute between Mohun and Mainwaring about their private accounts. On 10 August this was referred to the arbitration of Hatton and Chamberlain, and five days later they stated the award they had agreed on.[6] Some disputes between Hatton and Mainwaring had already been adjusted in Madras, Langhorn having effected a reconciliation between them.[7] On the other hand, signs of dissension appear in Chamberlain's refusal to subscribe to the record of a consultation in which he took part, until it was amended by Master,[8] and by Arnold's objection to co-operate in the administration of two intestate estates, with which others had intermeddled before his arrival on the coast.[9]

[1] 1 Mas. 31–2; *S.M.* i. 208–9, 288–90.

[2] 1 Mas. 34; *S.M.* i. 294–5; 5 L.B. 224–5 (*S.M.* i. 209–10, 263).

[3] Fort let. 7 June & 18 July, 18 F.S.G. 15, 21; Mas. let. 30 June & 26 July, 28 F.S.G. 45; Mas. con. 31 July, 1 Mas. 10.

[4] Ibid. 13–15 (*S.M.* i. 265–8); instrns. to Fleetwood and Chamberlain, 22 & 31 Aug., 1 Mas. 36–41 (*S.M.* i. 268–71).

[5] 1 Mas. 16–17; *S.M.* i. 271–3.

[6] Ibid. i. 287, 293.

[7] Fort let. 31 July, 18 F.S.G. 24. According to Hatton, as reported by Mohun (36 F.S.G. 16–17), this was after he had been 'entertained with six bottles of wine' at the house of Herries.

[8] Ibid. 18. This statement rests only on Mohun's authority, but seems reliable.

[9] Mas. con. 11 & 12 Aug., 1 Mas. 27, 34 (*S.M.* i. 287, 293).

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Arnold had returned by the ships to India in July, after being reinstated by the Company, and had accompanied Master to Masulipatam.[1] The number of the Commissioners was thus raised to five (excluding Puckle, who was in Bengal). It was intended to supersede them by a Chief and Council, for the Company's despatch of 24 December 1675 discharged Mohun from its service and appointed Puckle to be Chief at Masulipatam. It coupled this, however, with a provision that his son was not to serve there with him; and for this and other reasons Puckle refused to accept the post.[2] Mainwaring accordingly remained as first of the Commissioners for the rest of the year.

In August two deaths took place in the factory. One was that of the Council Secretary, Robert Crawley, on the 2nd,[3] and the other that of its chaplain, Rev. Thomas Whitehead, on the 12th.[4] They were followed by that of Robert Fleetwood on 3 September at Navarazpuram, the village near Madapollam that he rented from the King of Golconda.[5] He died deep in debt;[6] and on 5 September the Governor of Masulipatam, who claimed 3,100 pagodas from his estate, seized his son-in-law, John Field, while on his way to the factory, and kept him as a prisoner at Gudur for twelve days. He also put Fleetwood's widow and Dr. John Heathfield, the factory-surgeon, who had been sent to treat the deceased, under the surveillance of peons at Navarazpuram; furthermore, he took away her plate, jewellery, and household goods, and auctioned them at Masulipatam for 1,568 pagodas. Besides this, he arrested two eminent merchants of Madapollam, who had received a large sum of money for supplying cloth to the Company, in an effort to extort from them enough to satisfy Fleetwood's indebtedness to

[1] Desp. 24 Dec. 1675, 5 L.B. 213; *S.M.* i. 244, 250; Fort let. 31 July, 18 F.S.G. 26; Mas. let. 5 Aug., 28 F.S.G. 46.

[2] 5 L.B. 216; *S.M.* i. 247, 253; Puckle's let. 19 Aug., 28 F.S.G. 61.

[3] 36 F.S.G. 18; *S.M.* i. 287, 293. Crawley's father accused Mainwaring of having caused his son's death in a fit of passion (*Ct. Min.*, 1677–9, 325–6; *S.M.* i. 283 *n.*, 287 *n.*). In desp. 15 Dec. 1677 (5 L.B. 504) the Company ordered inquiry to be made into the circumstances of his death.

[4] 1 Mas. 33; 36 F.S.G. 19; *S.M.* ii. 290. The Company in its desp. of 24 Dec. 1675 (5 L.B. 209) had inquired about 'some intimations' against his behaviour as unbecoming a chaplain, but Langhorn and his Council replied that they had not heard of 'any just cause of blame' and attributed the charge to malevolence (O.C. 4215, f. 1). Major Puckle also gave him a good character, at which the Company on 15 Dec. 1676 said it was 'well pleased' (5 L.B. 369). For a full account of his life, see Penny, *The Church in Madras*, p. 664.

[5] Mas. let. 6 Sept., 28 F.S.G. 52; 36 F.S.G. 19.

[6] This indebtedness had added much worry to Fleetwood's ill health (p. 274 *n.*). Thus Mohun subsequently deposed that in Aug. 1676 he came to Mohun's house 'and did there with teares in his eyes lament his condition . . . by reason of his great debts, saying he was hagged and dunned or wearyed out of his life, having nothing [wherewith] to satisfie them, or words to that effect' (Fort con. 22 Feb. 1678, *M.R.*, 1678–9, 39).

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'some other Moors in the town'. The Commissioners thought the deceased's estate would not be sufficient to pay a quarter of what he owed, and up to 15 September all their efforts to get the Governor to release the merchants were ineffectual.[1] On 19 September, however, the Governor declared himself satisfied with what he had recovered, and a proposed appeal to the King of Golconda was dropped.[2]

Fleetwood owed money also to the Company. Hatton, who was sent to Madapollam soon after his death, found that there was a deficit of 5,164 pagodas, which he ought to have paid out to merchants for the cloth investment.[3] Langhorn's comment that, if the Commissioners had entrusted money to persons whose competence or integrity was open to doubt, they should get it back at once, was resented by Mainwaring and his colleagues;[4] but (as will be seen, pp. 301–2) the hint it contained against another of the Commissioners was justified. As to Fleetwood, the Company's claim was to some extent secured by the Commissioners obtaining possession of his house at Navarazpuram in October;[5] and in December his widow collaborated by handing over his rental dues at Viravasaram[6] for collection. This accorded with Langhorn's desire that she should resign Fleetwood's remaining estate to the Company, to avoid further seizures of it by native creditors.[7] The ship *Recovery*, of which Fleetwood and Jearsey were co-owners, sailed for Pegu on 18 September: earlier in the month the Commissioners had issued orders to attach Fleetwood's half-share in her, but these were withdrawn on finding that the Governor had taken similar action towards satisfaction of his claim against Fleetwood's estate, as it would have been dangerous to oppose him.[8]

The progress of the cloth investment was impeded by the Governor's action in harassing two of the principal merchants at Madapollam; and

[1] Mas. let. 7 Sept., 28 F.S.G. 53; Mas. let. 15 Sept., 6 Mas. 25; Mrs. Fleetwood's let. 30 Sept., 28 F.S.G. 60; 36 F.S.G. 20, 21–2; let. 3 to 16 Sept., 10 Mas. 29–35; Mas. con. 4 to 14 Sept., 1 Mas. 47–52.

[2] Ibid. 53.

[3] Mas. let. 6 & 15 Sept., 28 F.S.G. 52 & 6 Mas. 25; 3A Misc. 8; 2 Mad. 1; 3 Mad. 1.

[4] Fort let. 18 Sept., 18 F.S.G. 34; Mas. let. 8 Nov., 28 F.S.G. 63.

[5] Mas. con. 19 Sept., 1 Mas. 54–5; Hatton's let. 14 Oct., 10 Mas. 39 & 2 Mad. 6; Mas. let. 8 Nov., 28 F.S.G. 63.

[6] According to the information given by Fleetwood to Streynsham Master (*S.M.* i. 274), the rent of Viravasaram then produced 1,200 pagodas a year. This conversation and the present mention of the town's rent conflict with Fleetwood's statement to Puckle that he had 'quitted all the townes but Nourasporam' (p. 275 & *S.M.* i. 294 *n.*).

[7] Fort let. 4 & 21 Oct., 18 F.S.G. 35, 38; Mas. let. 10 & 15 Dec., 6 Mas. 31 & 3 Mad. 3; Hatton's let. 16 Dec., 10 Mas. 45 & 2 Mad. 10.

[8] Mas. con. 4 & 5 Sept., 1 Mas. 45–8; 36 F.S.G. 20.

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it was not till 14 October that Hatton (who had been appointed to succeed Fleetwood as chief of the factory there)[1] reported that its merchants again wanted money to complete their contracts.[2] Thereafter the Madapollam investment seems to have gone on smoothly, except for a hurricane on 13 November, which caused much damage in the neighbourhood; rain soaked thirteen bales of fine longcloth, which had therefore to be sent to the washers again.[3] On 29 December Hatton had 150 bales ready to be shipped at Madapollam and had sent other cloth previously to Masulipatam.[4]

The history of the investment that had been entrusted to Chamberlain was very different. On 4 October he and Wynn left for Makkapet, but Wynn returned on the 16th because of his serious illness, and Chamberlain followed him back a few days later.[5] His 'short term there amazed' his fellow commissioners. His excuse was that he had 'no encouragement' to stay there, as the cloth that had been woven was not fit for the Company's use, and it was too late to contract for any considerable quantity to be ready by the time the ships returned from the Bay. He returned 2,750 pagodas out of the 5,000 that had been advanced to him (p. 298). When the balance was demanded, he replied that he had left 2,000 pagodas in the hands of a broker at Makkapet and that he had kept the remaining 250 pagodas to cover his expenses. Mainwaring, Hatton, and Arnold considered this answer to be unsatisfactory and doubted the truth of his story about the 2,000 pagodas, holding it to be 'a mere shift' to avoid immediate payment. Accordingly they called upon him to pay up the amount, but he said he had no cash wherewith to do so. On 8 November they recorded their great dissatisfaction with the position and decided to report the matter to the Agent and Council.[6] The next day they attached a quantity of tutty that was believed to belong to Chamberlain, as security for the repayment of the 2,250 pagodas.[7] Ramsden, who had assisted Chamberlain, was recalled from Makkapet; and Wynn, who took over charge there on 19 November, reported that the broker Paupah, with whom Chamberlain said he had left 2,000 pagodas, denied receipt of any such

[1] Fort let. 8 Sept., 18 F.S.G. 34.

[2] 10 Mas. 39.

[3] 36 F.S.G. 25; Hatton's let. 8 Dec., 10 Mas. 43 & 2 Mad. 7. Master's diary also mentions this 'very great storme' which blew down houses and trees (ii. 116).

[4] 10 Mas. 44–5; 46 cf. *S.M.* ii. 97–8.

[5] 36 F.S.G. 23; Mas. let. 8 Nov., 28 F.S.G. 63.

[6] Mas. con. 8 Nov., 1 Mas. 55–7 & 28 F.S.G. 65–6; Mas. let. 8 Nov., 28 F.S.G. 63–4.

[7] 1 Mas. 58 & 28 F.S.G. 66; 36 F.S.G. 23.

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payment.[1] The attached tutty appears to have been pawned to Mainwaring by Chamberlain on 4 October, when the former lent him 2,000 pagodas to enable him to proceed with the Makkapet investment, as he had misappropriated a considerable part of the 5,000 pagodas advanced to him in August.[2] The property, however, really belonged to two Dutch factors, and Chamberlain subsequently confessed 'with blushes' that his action in pawning it to Mainwaring was unwarrantable.[3] The Dutch claim to the tutty put Mainwaring and Arnold in a difficulty; they thought it could not be resisted 'in law or equity'; but towards the end of the year, on the advice of Hatton, who was at Madapollam, its restoration was refused.[4]

Meanwhile Chamberlain had retorted by attacking Mainwaring. John Scattergood, a writer at the factory, had been sent to Golconda to sell copper, tin, and tutty, and returned about 20 December bringing with him a large sum in pagodas. Chamberlain suspected that these had been paid into the Company's cash, which was in Mainwaring's custody, to replace money that the latter had illicitly withdrawn for private trade; and on 22 December he called on Mainwaring to produce the cash-book and the cash in hand, saying the balance could not be made up without the Golconda money. Mainwaring said he must first make up the cash-book and promised to produce it and the money next day. Accordingly on 23 December the cash was counted in the presence of Chamberlain and some ten others and found to agree with the book-balance. Mainwaring also produced another bag of about 1,000 pagodas, which he had available, and denied Chamberlain's accusation that he had used the money brought by Scattergood to make up the balance. On the other hand, the cash included a large number of Pulicat and other inland pagodas, which had not come from the Madras mint but which were (Scattergood said) of equal value. Chamberlain next demanded a sight of the silver ingots and cruzados, which the Company had sent out. Mainwaring agreed to this, but Chamberlain then refused to look at them, as his demand to be given a key of the Company's cash-chest was declined on the ground that this had been entrusted to Mainwaring

[1] 1 Mas. 58; Ramsden's let. 12 Nov. & Wynn's let. 19 Nov., 10 Mas. 39–41; 36 F.S.G. 25. Earlier in the year Paupah had been imprisoned by the Governor of Kondapalli because a weaver employed by the Company had set fire to some houses (Ramsden's let. 24 June, 10 Mas. 19).

[2] 36 F.S.G. 23.

[3] Ibid. 26, 37–8, 41–2, 43, 64–7.

[4] Ibid. 44, 67–8; Mas. let. 20 Dec., 3 Mad. 3; Hatton's let. 21 Dec., 2 Mad. 11–12. Cf. Mas. con. 22 Dec., 1 Mas. 61.

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alone by Streynsham Master.[1] On 28 December Chamberlain 'protested' against Mainwaring and Arnold for their conduct in the matter, the latter being joined in it because he had backed up Mainwaring in his refusal to comply with Chamberlain's demands.[2] On the same day he sent the Commissioners a letter accusing Mainwaring of various 'evil practices', and asked them to examine him and his witnesses on oath.[3]

The papers strongly suggest that several of the factors and writers, including Wynn, Wales, and Colborne, sided with Chamberlain in the dispute. Serious dissension had thus again broken out, and though Arnold supported Mainwaring in the matter, they were not always on harmonious terms, judging from an incident on 11 December which Mohun relates at considerable length in his diary.[4] According to this, Mainwaring asked Mohun to draft a reply to a letter from Hatton, which he did. Subsequently he showed the reply to Arnold who lost his temper, threw the paper to the ground, and stamped on it. Later at the factory he behaved like a madman, raving at Mainwaring for the letter having been written without his knowledge and consent, and saying that he had among other things got Langhorn turned out and could do the same to hundreds like Mainwaring. The latter remained calm, showing extraordinary patience, so that the interview ended in him and his wife going off with Arnold for the usual evening recreation in the English garden outside the town; but Mohun refused an invitation to accompany them, as he did not want to be mixed up in 'any accident'. Mohun's diary reveals the cross-currents of mutual recriminations between the Commissioners, for he seems to have been on friendly terms with all of them and was a confidant of Chamberlain and Hatton, as well as of Wynn and other factors. In the latter part of the year he was living in Hatton's house, and apparently communicated to him information of events at Masulipatam, when he was absent from it.[5] Hatton had resumed friendly relations with Mainwaring; and Chamberlain evidently regarded him as an enemy, both on this account and because Hatton had been promoted over his head.[6]

[1] Mas. con. 22 Dec., 1 Mas. 60–1; attestations of Wynn, &c., 28 F.S.G. 74–82; 1 Mas. 60–4, 74–80; 36 F.S.G. 45–6, 49–61.
[2] Ibid. 46–7.
[3] 28 F.S.G. 72–3.
[4] 36 F.S.G. 39–41.
[5] Ibid. 23, 39. This perhaps explains why Mainwaring should get Mohun to send a reply to a letter from Hatton.
[6] Cf. p. 270 *ante*. It is clear that Chamberlain was annoyed at this (12 Mas. 57; desp. 15 Dec., 5 L.B. 368). Chamberlain had entered the Company's service about eighteen months before Hatton (*S.M.* i. 284).

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In one respect, viz. Mainwaring's sole possession of the treasure-chest, Chamberlain had a legitimate basis for his attack on Mainwaring. As already mentioned (p. 257), the Company in its despatch of 23 December 1674 ordered its affairs at Masulipatam to be managed 'by way of Commission . . . without appointing anyone to be Chief more than the rest', and Langhorn and his Council, therefore, held that no one of the Commissioners had any superiority over the rest.[1] Streynsham Master had, however, commented on the difficulty of observing this theory in practice, 'the cash being all in one mans hands and all the goods in anothers'.[2] And though the Company had sent out a chest with 'three locks and keyes' for the safe custody of its seal,[3] it had not done the same for its cash, which Master, therefore, left under Mainwaring's control. As the latter admittedly had a considerable estate,[4] he was undoubtedly a safer custodian than Chamberlain, who was deeply in debt and had misappropriated money entrusted to him for the investment.

The friction with Chamberlain interfered with the progress of the investment, not only at Makkapet, but also at Masulipatam. Chamberlain gave trouble over the provision of the rumals required by the Company, owing to his not carrying out inquiries that he promised to make about the prices at which they were available; and this delayed the completion of contracts for their purchase.[5] He also again refused to take part in the sorting of the cloth received in December for the ships. This created a difficulty, as the Company's orders required that three of the Council should be present when it was done,[6] and Hatton was away at Madapollam. On 9 December Wynn was summoned from Makkapet to assist in receiving and sorting the cloth;[7] and he and others of the factory servants helped Mainwaring and Arnold to start the work. According to Arnold, it soon stopped because of 'some implicit misinterpretations' by Chamberlain of their intermeddling in what was primarily the latter's duty as warehouse-keeper.[8] The result was that very little cloth had been sorted before the arrival of the ships for the Bay.[9]

[1] 5 L.B. 146; Mainwaring's let. 15 Jan., O.C. 4162, f. 1; Fort let. 6 Jan. 1677, 10 Mas. 40.
[2] *S.M.* i. 273.
[3] Desp. 24 Dec. 1675, 5 L.B. 212 (*S.M.* i. 245); cf. 36 F.S.G. 41.
[4] Chamberlain's let. 28 Dec., 28 F.S.G. 72; 36 F.S.G. 38. Mainwaring himself put it at 10,000 pagodas (28 F.S.G. 75).
[5] Mas. con. 4 & 19 Sept., 1 Mas. 42, 44, 53–4.
[6] Master's commission, para. 37 (*S.M.* i. 211).
[7] Mas. let. 9 Dec., 6 Mas. 30.
[8] *S.M.* ii. 98–9.
[9] *S.M.* ii. 95: Mas. con. 1 Jan., 1 Mas. 61–2; 36 F.S.G. 72–3.

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The *Eagle* and the *Johanna* were the first of the four to come. This was on 29 December; but a fresh wind prevented boats from getting to them, and it was the morning of the 31st before Mainwaring, Chamberlain, and Arnold were able to go on board to welcome Master who had come on the *Eagle*.[1] He landed the same morning, but there is no record of what he did that day, and his proceedings at Masulipatam belong to the following year.

The omission of the Agent and Council to send any stock to the factory in 1674 met with censure from the Company, which held the excuse for it to be 'very slight and . . . much to our prejudice', especially as goods from the Fort were nearly 20 per cent. dearer than those from Masulipatam. Langhorn took this as an accusation that they had tried to annihilate the factory there, and said they were 'very much wronged in these causeless aspersions'.[2]

No mention is made of any business at Petapoli, and Ambrose Salisbury's death at Masulipatam on 3 January[3] put an end to his long agency in procuring gunnies and other packing materials for the Fort. These were indented for, as usual, this year,[4] but the records contain nothing to show where the goods were obtained. According to Puckle, steps were taken to secure Salisbury's estate at Petapoli by sending Heathfield and Crawley there to make an inventory of his effects and bring them to Masulipatam; but subsequently the Commissioners refrained from administering it owing to heavy claims of creditors upon it.[5]

The Company's despatch at the end of the year complained that it got scarcely any information about its business at Masulipatam except from 'little hints' in Puckle's diary and letter.[6] His visit to the factory produced some good results. Thus a chest of medicines that he asked for was sent out by the Company on the ships leaving England at the end of the year; also the Company sanctioned the provision of better accommodation for its servants there, and took more notice of the complaints about the misbehaviour of some of the 'young men' in the factory than either the Commissioners or the Agent and Council.[7] For instance, the Commissioners had refused to send Thomas Davis, Robert Crawley, and Timothy Harris to the Fort, as proposed by Puckle (p. 283), on the ground that Langhorn and his Council had

[1] *S.M.* ii. 94; 36 F.S.G. 68; Mas. let. 1 Jan. 1677, 28 F.S.G. 70.
[2] Desp. 24 Dec. 1675, 5 L.B. 209; Fort let. to Co. 23 July, O.C. 4215, f. 2.
[3] P.D. 12 Mas. 61. [4] Fort let. 9 Aug., 18 F.S.G. 31.
[5] 12 Mas. 61; Mas. con. 12 Aug., 1 Mas. 31, 32 (*S.M.* i. 289).
[6] Desp. 15 Dec., 5 L.B. 366–7. Cf. p. 257 *ante*. [7] 5 L.B. 367.

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objected to this; but the Company ordered Davis and the writers accused of being profane and debauched persons to be heard in their defence and to be sent home, if they did not behave themselves better.[1] And it expressed its surprise at the omission to punish Samuel Wales and William Cullen for gross insubordination. The story of this, as told by Puckle in his diary entries for 6 January, follows:

A great brickbatt was throwne out of the factory at Mr. Mainwarings lodging in the gallery. Three of the peons affirmed it was throwne by Samuell Wales (one of the young men) and that he presently went out of the factory with two or three more. Samuel Wales, examined about it, bid Mr. Mainwaring prove it. The witnesses affirmed to his face he did throw it. He said they were black men and their testimonyes were not to be taken. Being pressed from circumstances that it was his act, [he] said, I confirme that I did it, do me what mischeife you can, swearing by God oftimes. Mr. Mainwaring told him he was drunk. He answered, By God it is [the case], with passion. Being reproved for going out of the factory (after supper) to a punch-house, his carriage and expressions were in such a huffing manner that the Commissioners wished him to consider and give satisfaction about his behaviour; but contemning their advice, [he] withdrew himselfe. Mr. Cullen was one of his companions when the stone was throwne and went with him to the punch-house. He would not know [? admit knowing] who did throw the stone.

Puckle also showed courage in bringing to notice a 'tyrannical practice' of the Chief of the factory, whereby he required Company's servants and English freemen there to give him a share in their ships and merchandise 'upon his own terms and at his will and pleasure' under penalty of his restraining the movements of their ships or disposal of their goods, as well as of their becoming subject to his displeasure and having their salaries or allowances of candles, oil, peons, &c., stopped. He gave instances of such action by Jearsey and Mohun, which had in some cases resulted in the sufferers going to the Governor of Masulipatam for relief and preferring to pay 'juncan'[2] rather than submit. Langhorn and his Council contented themselves with saying that 'the best remedy' was to choose well, as a good Chief would never abuse his authority.[3] His proposals for reforming the 'young men' of the factory from idleness, drunkenness, swearing, &c., included one for

[1] 5 L.B. 367; Mas. con. 11 Jan., 1 Mas. 2; 12 Mas. 56.

[2] i.e. *changam*, customs-duty.

[3] 12 Mas. 67–8; O.C. 4718, f. 2 (*M.R.* 81). This was one of the charges against Mohun, cf. *M.R.* 148. The Company forbade the practice (desp. 15 Dec., 5 L.B. 370).

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abolishing their use of 'roundells' (umbrellas carried by peons over their heads, when outside the factory), which was followed in August by Streynsham Master and his Council, who restricted their use to Members of Council and the Chaplain.[1]

MASULIPATAM, 1677

STREYNSHAM MASTER'S arrival on the *Eagle* (p. 305) was opportune. If he could not compose the differences between the Commissioners, he was at any rate in a position to expedite the dispatch of goods to Madras and to secure payment of the money due from Chamberlain. The latter had already submitted proposals for a settlement, which Mainwaring considered insufficient.[2] Master was at once advised of the state of affairs, and on 1 January an offer by Chamberlain to repay the 2,250 pagodas in longcloth and sallampores was accepted by him, Mainwaring, and Arnold.[3] On the same day Mohun petitioned Master and his Council to take up Mainwaring's charges against him, and his against Mainwaring, saying he was ready to appear before them. This was refused on the ground that such an inquiry would take up more time than could be spared from urgent work required for the dispatch of the ships.[4] Arrangements were made for the speedy sorting of the cloth that had come to the factory, and the delay that had taken place in this work was discussed: Mainwaring and Arnold said it was due to Chamberlain's neglect, while the latter laid the blame on Mainwaring's excessive demands upon his time.[5]

On 2 January Hatton, who was at Madapollam, was instructed to distribute the 150 bales of cloth that he had ready among his boats, so as to provide proper proportions for the four ships according to their tonnage; after seeing to this he was to come to Masulipatam, leaving Tivill in charge at Madapollam. Hatton promptly complied, and arrived on 6 January.[6]

On the previous day the Council had been able to agree with the merchants on the prices for the cloth that had been sorted; and the pricing of the remaining cloth was completed on the 8th.[7] On the latter

[1] O.C. 4718, f. 3 (*M.R.* 82); Mas. con. 16 Aug., 1 Mas. 35 (*S.M.* i. 295).
[2] Chamberlain's let. 28 Dec. 1676, & note thereon, 28 F.S.G. 71.
[3] Mas. let. to Fort, 1 Jan., ibid. 70; 1 Mas. 62 (*S.M.* ii. 95).
[4] 1 Mas. 62–3 (*S.M.* ii. 96–7); 36 F.S.G. 70–1.
[5] 1 Mas. 61, 63–4 (*S.M.* ii. 97–9); 36 F.S.G. 72–6.
[6] Mas. let. 2 Jan., 3 Mad. 4; Mad. let. 4 Jan., 2 Mad. 15; *S.M.* ii. 97–8, 102. Altogether 172 bales were provided by Hatton (*S.M.* ii. 102).
[7] 1 Mas. 65, 66, 69 (*S.M.* ii. 101–2, 108).

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date the Council, which included Hatton, passed further orders for a more regular keeping of the accounts at Masulipatam and Madapollam and the safeguarding of estates of deceased Englishmen. The purser-general was also instructed to keep a register of marriages, births, christenings, and burials, as well as one of wills and inventories of each deceased's property. Duplicates of the cash-account, diary, and consultation-book, kept at Masulipatam and Madapollam, were also ordered to be sent monthly to the Fort.[1] Minor matters included a warning to the English freemen at Masulipatam and in its neighbourhood to obey the Company's orders that they should reside at Madras and not buy or build houses elsewhere, nor enter the service of the King of Golconda or any other Indian prince.[2] On 8 January the ships *Falcon* and *Surat Merchant* from the Bay anchored in Masulipatam roads, and the next day the Council decided to dispatch the *Eagle* and the *Johanna*, which had taken in most of the ready goods, to the Fort that evening. Master, after laying down strict injunctions for the speedy sorting of the remaining goods, about which there had been 'some misunderstandings', left Masulipatam on the night of the 9th and embarked on the *Eagle*.[3] A strong breeze and delay in shipping cargo, however, prevented the two ships from sailing till the early morning of the 11th.[4]

Prior to Master's departure Chamberlain had brought to the factory 241 corge of sallampores, which were accepted on the 9th by the Council in part-payment of his debt to the Company, on his declaring that they were his own exclusive property.[5] On the same day Hatton gave Master an account of the trade at Masulipatam, which is among the collected papers at the end of Master's diary.[6] Arnold, on the other hand, made a very unpleasant contribution. On 5 January he charged Master with having received a bribe from Mohun, and consequently not acting impartially in some matter, the nature of which is not revealed by the extant records. The fact that Master allowed Arnold's charge to be recorded in the Masulipatam consultation-book, and also recorded it himself in his official diary,[7] favours a supposition of inno-

[1] 1 Mas. 66–7 (*S.M.* ii. 102–4). [2] 1 Mas. 67–8 (*S.M.* ii. 104–8).

[3] 1 Mas. 71–2 (*S.M.* ii. 111–12); 36 F.S.G. 76, 80.

[4] *S.M.* ii. 114–15; 36 F.S.G. 80.

[5] Mas. let. to Co. 19 Jan., 3A Misc. 8; 1 Mas. 70 (*S.M.* ii. 109–10); 36 F.S.G. 76. According to Chamberlain's valuation, which the Council accepted, they were worth Rs. 2,048; but Mohun valued them at about Rs. 400 less (ibid.). [6] It is reproduced in *S.M.* ii. 112–14.

[7] 1 Mas. 65 (*S.M.* 102). Mohun also entered the fact of Arnold making the charge in his diary, adding that Master had informed him of it (36 F.S.G. 76). Master probably wrote about this charge in his letter of 30 Jan. 1677 to the Company, the extant abstract of which merely mentions

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cence; but Arnold may perhaps have entertained a real suspicion that a bribe had been given by Mohun, because of words or conduct indicating a conclusion by Master that Mohun had been wronged by Mainwaring and those of the Commissioners who sided with him. At any rate he allowed Mohun to sail on the *Johanna* for Madras.[1] Prior to this, Mohun, on 9 January, in the presence of Master and Wynn, 'protested' against the Commissioners for the sum of 2,615 pagodas, claimed as due to him on account of expenses and loss caused by his obeying the Commissioners' summons to go to Madras in 1675 (pp. 152, 296).[2] Chamberlain also wrote to the Fort on the same day, exculpating himself and charging Mainwaring with taking commission from the Company's merchants on their profits.[3]

The material for ascertaining events becomes considerably less after the departure of Master and Mohun. The consultation-book for the year is the main source of information.[4] This shows that on 13 and 17 January prices for the rest of the cloth forming the year's investment were agreed on with the merchants. On the 17th Chamberlain did not himself attend the Council meeting, but Wynn on his behalf concurred in the settlement.[5] The goods had presumably been laden on the *Falcon* and the *Surat Merchant* by the 19th, the date of a letter from the Commissioners to the Company;[6] and the two ships probably sailed about 20 January, as they reached Madras on the 27th.[7] In a letter to the Company, with which Mohun forwarded a copy of his diary, he told it that the calicoes they carried were the worst that had ever been sent from Masulipatam.[8] The reliability of this statement is, however, open to suspicion, as Mohun was clearly biased against the Commissioners. Thus he said that no advantage had accrued to the

'some reflection on Mr. Master' (3A Misc. 18). A letter of 12 Jan. 1678 which his cousin, Sir James Oxinden, wrote to him from England characterized the charge as 'impertinent, nonsensicall, and malicious', and said the Court of Committees looked on it as 'very idle and the effect of an overheated braine' (*S.M.* i. 67–8). The same letter suggests that the two men shared a mutual dislike of each other. Apparently Arnold complained that during their voyage to India on the *Eagle* in 1676 Master had 'kept him [Arnold] at the greatest distance imaginable, tho' hee used you [Master] with all the respect that could be, never putting on his hatt before you, and you never desiring him to bee covered, tho' he was a good gentleman and a stout man'; while Master looked on Arnold as a treacherous 'informer' (ibid. 68).

[1] *S.M.* ii. 117; 36 F.S.G. 80.
[2] Ibid. 77–8.
[3] Ibid. 72, 78–9. The letter was handed to the Agent and Council by Master (*S.M.* ii. 117).
[4] There are no extant copies of correspondence during the year in the Masulipatam records, but the Madapollam factory records, vols. 2 & 3, contain letters relating to both factories. The Fort St. George records, vols. 1 & 18, also give useful information.
[5] 1 Mas. 73–4.
[6] 3A Misc. 8.
[7] *S.M.* ii. 120; 36 F.S.G. 91
[8] Ibid. 89.

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Company from the costly visit of the King of Golconda to the town in 1676, except an 'ally' laid to the factory (i.e. the lane mentioned at p. 293), and the reduction of the ox-hire to Golconda from 6 to 2 pagodas a candy, which (he suggested) would no doubt benefit Mainwaring's private trade with that place, but not the Company, which had no inland trade of that kind.[1] The Company took a somewhat similar view in its despatch of 15 December 1676;[2] but Langhorn and his Council had substantial grounds (see p. 293) for pointing out that a good farman had been obtained from the King as a result of his visit.[3]

Mainwaring and Ayloffe left for Madras on the *Falcon*. According to Mohun, Mainwaring had been 'drawn' there by a desire to get the chiefship of Masulipatam, which was vacant owing to Puckle's death.[4] This is supported by the fact that on 15 January Langhorn and his Council told the Company that they would not fill the vacancy till Master had reached Madras and the ships had been dispatched,[5] as also by the reply of Hatton and Arnold to a query by Chamberlain, saying they believed that Mainwaring had gone to the Fort chiefly 'for a regulation and settlement' of the factory.[6] The details of what occurred at the Fort are not on record, except to the following extent. On 30 January Mohun, in a letter to the Agent and Council, said intelligence that he had received led him to think that Mainwaring's expectations might be baffled.[7] Master seems to have been the main obstacle. He had formed the opinion (to put it mildly) that Mainwaring was not as trustworthy as Hatton for carrying on the Company's business;[8] and his recent inspection of the factories subordinate to the Fort, and the supervisory powers the Company had given him, necessarily lent great weight to his views as to their management. On 10 February the Agent and Council decided that the balance of the treasure available for beginning the new investment at Masulipatam should be taken out of Mainwaring's hands and entrusted to Hatton and Tivill, as chief and 'second' of the Madapollam factory. Only 1,000 pagodas were to be reserved to the Commissioners for the expenses of the factory at

[1] 36 F.S.G. 89.

[2] 5 L.B. 365. Cf. Bowrey, 93 *n.*, where the relevant passage in the despatch is cited.

[3] Fort let. 1 Sept., 3A Misc. 19.

[4] 36 F.S.G. 91, 92. Ayloffe is shown in the Masulipatam list of 1676 as a writer 'under Mr. Mainwaring' (*S.M.* i. 285), and he probably accompanied Mainwaring in that capacity.

[5] O.C. 4215, f. 27.

[6] 1 Mas. 5.

[7] 36 F.S.G. 92.

[8] Cf. *S.M.* i. 64, reproducing Master's statement that 'by his proposing and interposing in [the Fort] Councill the business of Metchlepatam was kept out of Matthew Mainwarings hands and put into Christopher Hattons, who did it to content, and the other would have ruined it'.

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Masulipatam. The same consultation settled that Hatton, Arnold, and Wynn should be ordered to inquire into the charges of Chamberlain and Mainwaring against each other, and to report thereon 'without loss of time'.[1] On 13 February letters were written to the two factories accordingly, that for Masulipatam being brought by Mainwaring himself, who arrived back on the 21st.[2]

Meanwhile there had been friction between Chamberlain and the two other Commissioners, Hatton and Arnold, who sided with Mainwaring.[3] On 25 January they decided that, in view of Chamberlain's payment of most of his debt, half of the attached tutty (pp. 301–2) should be restored to the Dutch factors who were its owners (Mainwaring having assented to this before his departure), but that the other half should remain in pawn till the owners or Chamberlain had repaid the money he had borrowed from Mainwaring with interest.[4] On 1 February Chamberlain wrote to Hatton and Arnold, asking for an account of the cash, bullion, and other stock in Mainwaring's charge, and for information as to the directions that had been agreed on for the management of the factory's business during his absence. They replied the next day, saying that Mainwaring was 'ever carefull' to keep Chamberlain acquainted with the factory business, and had left full instructions, for ignorance of which Chamberlain had only himself to blame because of his frequent absence from council-meetings, though summoned to attend. They suggested that Chamberlain should join with them in taking an account of 'the remaines' of the factory that afternoon. This was done, and the consequent account was signed by all three, subject to Chamberlain's reservation that he did not know what was left by Mainwaring at his departure.[5] This shows a large stock of silver in the form of bars and ingots, as well as over 22,000 rials of eight, remaining out of the treasure that had reached the factory.[6]

The ship *Recovery*, in which Fleetwood had a half-share (p. 300), arrived from Pegu on 11 February. The Agent and Council had forwarded a letter to her commander from Jearsey, the owner of the other

[1] 1 F.S.G. 2 (*M.R.* 108); Fort let. to Co. 17 Feb., O.C. 4266, f. 1.

[2] 18 F.S.G. 4; 1 Mas. 11. The letter to Masulipatam ordered Arnold to lodge in the factory, as the rooms reserved for the Chief were not required (18 F.S.G. 5).

[3] Cf. their letter 15 Jan., O.C. 4255, saying that Mainwaring had treated Chamberlain generously and that the latter was giving unnecessary trouble.

[4] 1 Mas. 1. Chamberlain, though not present, assented to the transaction (ibid.). The Fort in January referred the question of the removal of the attachment to the Commissioners (18 F.S.G. 40).

[5] 1 Mas. 2–8.

[6] Ibid. 7.

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half-share, to bring her to Madras, as they feared 'pretences' upon the vessel might be made by Mughal creditors at Masulipatam;[1] and the letter was accordingly sent on board. There were difficulties, however, about her speedy dispatch to the Fort; the freight goods had to be unladen at Masulipatam, and the lascars (native sailors), being time-expired, objected to this further voyage. On 15 February it was, however, ascertained that a crew might be obtained to take her to Madras, and that the Governor was not proposing to seize the vessel, though incited to do this by the Dutch on behalf of a Frenchman, Jean de St. Jacques, who had a claim against Fleetwood's estate.[2] On 28 February the Commander was consequently ordered to expedite her unlading, but she remained at Masulipatam throughout the month of March.[3]

On Mainwaring's return steps were taken to sell the silver, in order to provide money for starting the investment at Madapollam, as ordered by the Fort (p. 310). On 23 February Chamberlain was asked to attend a council-meeting the next day for the purpose of valuing it and arranging its sale. He pleaded illness, and promised to attend on the 26th, if better. On that day he said he hoped to get a higher price for it than that offered by the shroffs who had been called to value it; but having failed in this, on the 28th he assented to its sale at the rate proposed.[4] This enabled Hatton and Tivill to leave for Madapollam in the first part of March with 5,000 pagodas, which they delivered to merchants there, on their agreeing to supply longcloth and sallampores. By the end of March a further sum of 6,000 pagodas had been remitted to them.[5]

Before Hatton's departure an attempt was made to start the inquiry into the recriminations between Mainwaring and Chamberlain, which Hatton, Arnold, and Wynn had been ordered to make (p. 311). The commission to them from Langhorn and his Council was produced, but Chamberlain demurred to Hatton and Arnold conducting the inquiry on the ground that they had already expressed an opinion unfavourable to his charge against Mainwaring.[6] Upon this they appear to have submitted a report on the matter to the Agent and Council, who on

[1] Fort let. 11 Jan., 18 F.S.G. 40. The creditors claimed 10,000 pagodas and had had stormy interviews with Master on 4 & 8 Jan. (*S.M.* ii. 99–101, 108–9).

[2] Mas. con. 12 & 15 Feb., 1 Mas. 8–10. Jean de St. Jacques had married the widow of Mingham, to whom Fleetwood had owed money, and had instigated the action against Mrs. Fleetwood which the Governor took in 1676 (Hatton's let. 10 Sept., 10 Mas. 34; cf. p. 299 *ante*).

[3] Mas. con. 28 Feb. & 6 April, 1 Mas. 15–16, 18–19.

[4] Mas. con. & let. 23, 24, 26, & 27 Feb., ibid. 11–15.

[5] Mad. let. 16, 29, & 30 March, 2 Mad. 15–17; Mas. let. 27 & 28 March, 3 Mad. 5.

[6] Mas. con. 26 Feb., 1 Mas. 14.

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21 March disallowed Chamberlain's objection, as an unjustifiable attempt 'to prescribe to [them] whom to employ'. He was also blamed for attempting to 'discredit persons so eminent in the service . . . without either grounds or intentions to make good his undertaking'.[1] This, however, had no effect on Chamberlain, who not only persisted in his objection to Hatton and Arnold, but extended it to Wynn, thus (as a consultation of 5 April puts it) 'defeating the Agent and Councells purpose by cashiering all three out of commission'.[2]

Chamberlain had added two charges against Mainwaring of having taken 900 pagodas out of the factory stock without consultation with his fellow Commissioners, and of misappropriating 400 pagodas for his own 'table'. These were denied and some explanations were made at the council-meeting of 5 April, when Chamberlain was pressed to substantiate the charges. He refused, however, to do this, persisting in his objection to their investigation by Hatton, Arnold, and Wynn, and declining to do anything more 'without the administration of an oath'. Consequently no progress was made in the inquiry, and his 'contumacy' had once more to be referred to the Agent and Council.[3] The latter again ruled that his 'exceptions' could not be allowed, but dropped further action till later (p. 321).[4]

In February Mohun, doubtless with Master's assistance, succeeded in getting an order from the Agent and Council for the payment of his salary, house-rent, diet-money, and travelling-charges from June 1675 until his discharge from the Company's service in July 1676, amounting to 1,175 pagodas; and on 6 April the Commissioners allowed him a part-payment of 800 pagodas accordingly, pending a reference to the Fort about the amount of travelling expenses payable.[5] On the same day, under orders from the Fort, they took up the question of safeguarding the estate left by Ambrose Salisbury. They ordered the Surgeon, John Heathfield, to hand over what he had received under a previous order of 3 January 1676 (p. 305). This he did, and the effects fetched £110 at an 'outcry' on 14 April. Chamberlain, who had intermeddled with the estate by realizing certain debts without acquainting the other Commissioners, was also called on to give an account of what he had received, while Colborne and Wales were sent to Petapoli to

[1] Fort let. 21 March, 18 F.S.G. 12.
[2] 1 Mas. 17.
[3] Ibid. 17–18, 21–3; Fort let. 21 March, 18 F.S.G. 12.
[4] Fort let. 2 May, ibid. 15.
[5] Fort con. 17 Feb., 1 F.S.G. 4 (*M.R.* 111); Fort let. 22 Feb., 18 F.S.G. 6; 1 Mas. 19–20; Fort let. to Co. 17 Feb., O.C. 4266, ff. 1, 2.

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fetch anything that remained there belonging to the Company or to Salisbury.[1]

In April further action was taken about selling Fleetwood's share in the *Recovery*. The Agent and Council thought there was danger of her seizure by the Muhammadan creditors, and Jearsey was 'full of pretences' and wavering over his promise to help in the matter. On 9 March, therefore, they decided to send Captain O'Neale with a corporal and ten soldiers to take possession of the ship for the Company. The party sailed on the sloop *Lilly*, belonging to Edward Reade,[2] and reached Masulipatam about 6 April. With the assistance of the Commissioners, O'Neale was able to obey his instructions to avoid bloodshed in taking over the vessel; and an offer by Jearsey to pay 2,000 pagodas for Fleetwood's share in a month's time facilitated its disposal. No better offer was forthcoming locally, and with the assent of Mrs. Fleetwood the sale to Jearsey was completed at the Fort on 18 June.[3] The Governor of Masulipatam refrained from interfering with this transaction; but on 22 July he visited the factory and 'very importunately' demanded payment of the 550 pagodas still due to him on account of Fleetwood's debts. He relied on the friendship he had shown by not interfering with the *Recovery*, and threatened to take 'a shorter way' if payment was refused. He agreed, however, to wait for six weeks, so that orders might be obtained from the Fort. These sanctioned the payment, which was made accordingly towards the end of August; but care was taken to give it a private appearance, 'so as it may not seeme to be a paying of Englishmens debts out of the Hon. Companys estate', which would form a bad precedent.[4]

No mention is made of any attempt to sell Fleetwood's house at

[1] Fort let. 22 Feb., 18 F.S.G. 6; 1 Mas. 20–1, 23–6. Arnold maintained his objection to 'medling' with Salisbury's estate (1 Mas. 21). That there was some need for such caution is shown by the fact that, on Mainwaring's return to England in 1679, he was arrested at the instance of Salisbury's executors or administrators for having paid 550 pagodas of Salisbury's estate into the Company's cash in India (*Ct. Min.*, 1677–9, 320). Chamberlain does not appear to have submitted an account till 3 Dec. (1 Mas. 66), and his claim against the estate was referred to the Agent and Council as 'a litigious matter' (ibid. 38). For the subsequent steps taken regarding Salisbury's estate, see *Ind. Antiquary*, xxxvii. 322–8.

[2] Langhorn said (18 F.S.G. 9) that the *Lilly*, though belonging to Reade and on her way back to the Bay, was to be treated as owned by the Company; and it was purchased later on [Bal. con. 24 Nov., 1 Hug. (Bal. diary) 4].

[3] Fort con. 9 March, 1 F.S.G. 5–6 (*M.R.* 111–12); Fort let. 9 March, 13 & 18 June, 18 F.S.G. 8–10, 21–2; Mas. con. 6 April, 1 Mas. 18–19; *M.R.* 141–2. The money was not payable till 31 Dec. (18 F.S.G. 38).

[4] Mas. con. 23 July & 24 Aug., 1 Mas. 27–9, 30–1; Fort con. 4 Aug., 1 F.S.G. 13 (*M.R.* 118); Fort let. 4 Aug., 18 F.S.G. 38–9; Mas. let. 23 Aug., 3 Mad. 34–5; Mad. let. 25 Aug., 2 Mad. 33.

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Navarazpuram (p. 300), which Langhorn thought 'may stick long on hand'.[1] The proposal to recover rents due to Fleetwood at Viravasaram proved futile. The Governor of that place refused to allow any process to issue against the debtors, unless a sum of 246 pagodas, alleged to be due to a Brahman agent of Fleetwood at that place, was first paid. The debtors were, moreover, mostly insolvent, and some had run away. It was therefore decided by Hatton and the other Commissioners that recovery of the rents was hopeless, and the useless bills should be returned to Mrs. Fleetwood.[2]

Chamberlain's deep insolvency (pp. 295, 301) continued to give him trouble. A letter of 5 June from the Fort ordered all the Company's servants to live in the factory, with his sole exception 'only upon what you now write of his being beseiged by the Governour and others his creddittors', about which a report was to be made.[3] Another inquiry was ordered in the same letter, as to the supposed forgery of letters at Masulipatam, 'the hand of Captain O'Neale having been counterfetted in letters [reflecting on Mainwaring] to the Agent and to Mr. Joseph Hinmers', while sundry letters to that place had also been intercepted.[3]

There is a gap in the Masulipatam consultations from 25 August to 7 December,[4] and the main business during the year was transacted at Madapollam by Hatton and Tivill. They arrived there by 16 March, and at once started the year's investment (p. 312). In April Hatton was at Masulipatam, but had returned by the end of the month.[5] On 1 May he and Tivill were 'bare of cash', and 6,000 pagodas were remitted from Masulipatam in June.[6] Wynn joined them as 'third' at the end of that month, while Hatton returned to Masulipatam for most of July.[7]

The first of the Company's ships to reach that port was the *Bengal Merchant*, which put into the roads on 15 July, but merely touched there for a day or two on her way from Madras to Bengal.[8] Ten days later the *Caesar* arrived with a stock of 40,000 newly minted pagodas and a letter of 19 July from the Agent and Council, which ordered the Commissioners to deliver the treasure to Hatton for investment at

[1] Fort let. 11 Jan., 18 F.S.G. 40.
[2] Mad. let. 23 May & 4 June, 2 Mad. 20–1; Mas. let. 31 May, 3 Mad. 6.
[3] 18 F.S.G. 19. Cf. Fort let. 19 July, ibid. 35.
[4] 1 Mas. 31.
[5] 1 Mas. 17–26; 2 Mad. 18.
[6] Mad. let. 1 May, 4 & 30 June, 2 Mad. 18, 22, 26; Mas. let. 31 May & 28 June, 3 Mad. 6, 7.
[7] Mad. let. 30 June, 2 Mad. 24–6; 1 Mas. 27–9.
[8] Instrns. to Capt. John Goldsborough, 12 July, 18 F.S.G. 29; Mad. let. to Co. 23 Jan. 1678, 3A Misc. 24.

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Madapollam by him and his Council, Tivill and Wynn. This continuance of the arrangement made in February (p. 310) was recorded as due to the renewed dissensions between the Commissioners, and the charges against Mainwaring and Chamberlain, which made it impossible for the present to settle a Chief and Council at Masulipatam, as also to the advantages of Madapollam, which 'lyes amongst the weavers', as a centre for the investment.[1] A change made in the body of Commissioners was that John Field (whom the Company had readmitted to its service next below Arnold) was added to their number and appointed to be Purser in place of Arnold.[2] George Ramsden, who had been on a visit to Madras, was returned to Masulipatam on the *Caesar*; and he, Scattergood, Cullen, and John Clarke were appointed to the Madapollam factory.[3] This exclusion of Mainwaring, Chamberlain, and Arnold from taking any part in the investment undoubtedly helped its timely completion, as also did the direct correspondence between the Madapollam factory and the Fort that now ensued. Hatton was evidently a methodical business-man and took care to send full reports of the progress of the investment, &c., not only by letters, but also by monthly copies of the factory diary and consultation-book and its cash account, in accordance with the rules that Streynsham Master had laid down (pp. 297–8).[4]

Under the above orders Hatton and his two assistants received the money at Masulipatam and brought it to Madapollam, where they arrived on 8 August.[5] Soon afterwards they contracted for the bulk of the cloth required with the Company's merchants at Masulipatam, as these were 'used and well skilled in those affairs', had the reputation of being able and wealthy men, and had the advantage of having friends and relations in the parts of the country where the goods were manufactured. Another inducement was their agreement to deliver all the goods at the Madapollam factory; but later on they went back on this promise, at the instigation (it was suspected) of 'some concerned person at Masulipatam, not of our nation'.[6] Hatton and his Council yielded on this point, and arrangements had accordingly to be made for one of

[1] Fort con. 17 July, 1 F.S.G. 11–12 (*M.R.* 117); Fort let. 19 July, 18 F.S.G. 30–1 & 3 Mad. 8–10.

[2] 18 F.S.G. 30, 32; 3 Mad. 8; 5 L.B. 368–9. Field accordingly joined the Commissioners in August (1 Mas. 29–31).

[3] 18 F.S.G. 34; 3 Mad. 15.

[4] 2 Mad. 23–65, 3 Mad. 29–56, & 10 Mas. 5–14.

[5] Their let. 2 & 15 Aug., 2 Mad. 26–7, 28.

[6] Mad. let. 24 Aug. & 1 Oct., ibid. 30–1, 43. In a subsequent letter to the Company, Hatton and Tivill said they believed the merchants had been influenced by someone who thought it against their interest to have the Masulipatam factory 'slighted' (3A Misc. 24). He may have been the Governor.

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the three factors to stay at Masulipatam to receive the cloth and have it stored in the warehouses there. This was facilitated by the strict injunctions given by Langhorn and his Council to Mainwaring and the other Commissioners to give all possible assistance both in storing and sorting the calicoes; they hoped that the dissensions would cease and that such assistance would be readily given, as the best way of regaining the Company's 'confidence and favour'.[1]

Wynn went to Masulipatam on 18 August and received the second consignment of 40,000 pagodas, which the *New London* brought up on the 20th. This completed the full complement of £18,000 allotted to Masulipatam.[2] A fire that took place there had burnt great quantities of calicoes, mostly intended for the markets of Tenasserim and Siam, so prices had risen,[3] but Wynn made good progress in buying most of the cloth required before he returned to Madapollam with the remaining treasure about 7 September.[4] By 1 October a considerable supply had been obtained, and there were good hopes of completing the investment in time for the ships.[5] On 16 October Wynn was sent to Masulipatam with 3,000 pagodas to see to this.[6] Some calicoes had been detained by a new Governor of Narra Goodera[7] on the ground that the merchants bringing them down should either pay customs or produce 'a peculiar' farman for their exemption. Wynn was told to urge the Commissioners to take steps for their release. Mainwaring had already made ineffectual efforts to get the Governor to agree to this, and had written to Golconda about it. Fortunately, this ill success was overcome by Hatton. Hearing that the Governor was coming to a place near Madapollam, he sent a tactful letter to him, which he took 'in soe good part that he immediately gave his rucca [order] for the releaseing the goods there detayned, and for the free and unmolested passage of all that were to follow, belonging to the Honble. Company'. He also sent two of his 'principall servants' to accompany the messenger taking the order, to remove any scruples that his officers might raise at the place where the cloth was detained.[8] The Commissioners, on the other hand, with the help of Agha Jalal, succeeded in securing the release of goods that had been stopped at Bezvada.[9] A stoppage at

[1] 2 Mad. 31; Fort let. 14 Aug., 18 F.S.G. 39–40 & 3 Mad. 31–3.
[2] 2 Mad. 29, 30, 32; 18 F.S.G. 39; 3 Mad. 33, 35.
[3] 2 Mad. 36; 3 Mad. 36.
[4] 2 Mad. 37; Wynn's let. 23 & 31 Aug., 3 Sept., 3 Mad. 35–6, 37–9.
[5] 2 Mad. 39–40.
[6] Ibid. 46.
[7] i.e. Nadaku-duru, near Petapoli (*S.M.* ii. 138).
[8] 2 Mad. 46–50, 51–2, 52–3, 58–9; 3 Mad. 44–9.
[9] 2 Mad. 53–4; 3 Mad. 46, 55.

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Dracharam was also removed.[1] No further impediments seem to have occurred, except excessive rainfall towards the end of October, which hindered the sorting of cloth.[2]

On 22 October the Commissioners at Masulipatam, except Arnold, wrote to Hatton, desiring him to remit enough money to defray the factory expenses and to repay money that had been borrowed for the disbursement to the Governor in August (p. 314), as only a very few pagodas remained in hand. Hatton and Tivill replied that the Company's rules prevented their compliance, without the orders of the Agent and Council, but that to avoid inconvenience they had meanwhile ordered Wynn to supply them with enough to cover the monthly expenses of the factory.[3] A postscript, however, added that Mainwaring, in a letter of 23 October, had advised that, on a review of his cash account, he thought a mistake in calculating it had been made; and this was confirmed by a letter of 7 November from the Commissioners.[4] That request probably came to the knowledge of the Agent and Council, for on 24 November they ordered that the number of peons at Masulipatam should be reduced to only those required to look after the factory; and that its monthly charges should be borne by the one at Madapollam.[5]

Wynn returned there on 3 November, after finishing his business at Masulipatam.[6] The investment towards the end of that month was so forward that Hatton was able to leave Madapollam and remain at Masulipatam for the rest of the year. Wynn joined him there early in December, after getting 236 bales ready for dispatch.[7] Tivill was left to supervise the embalement of the remaining goods and their lading on boats to take them to the ships on their arrival. By 29 December he had embaled a total quantity of 317 bales of longcloth, sallampores, ginghams, and sail-cloth, and was loading them on boats.[8] After he had finished this he was going to Masulipatam, leaving thirty peons to guard the factory.[9] The whole investment made during the year (including goods delivered at Masulipatam) consisted of 781 bales, and provided most of the goods required by the Company.[10] On the other

[1] 2 Mad. 60.
[2] Ibid. 61; 3 Mad. 46.
[3] Ibid. 50; 2 Mad. 51–6.
[4] Ibid. 56; 3 Mad. 56–7. Cf. *M.R.*, 1678–9, 23, 45 (para. 21).
[5] 18 F.S.G. 67; 10 Mas. 6. Cf. Mas. con. 8 Dec., 1 Mas. 32.
[6] 2 Mad. 61. [7] Mad. let. 23 Nov., ibid. 64; Tivill's let. 9 Dec., 10 Mas. 10.
[8] Tivill's let. 24 & 29 Dec., ibid. 14, 15–16. [9] Ibid. 15–16.
[10] Hatton's let. to Co. 23 Jan. 1678, 3A Misc. 24.

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hand, Mainwaring, who naturally showed resentment at its being taken out of his hands, told the Company that it had cost them more than was usual, owing to most of the goods having to be brought to Masulipatam.[1]

In addition to calicoes for the Company, the timber and other goods required for Madras were also provided by the Madapollam factory. Though the order for paddy and rice was revoked on the removal of Lingappa's blockade of the Fort (p. 163), wheat, grain, timber, and fuel were wanted.[2] Some of the timber had arrived by 29 March, but it was not till the latter part of September that boats had been freighted to take the goods to Madras. On 1 October their sailing was delayed by an overcast sky which threatened stormy weather, and they were still held up by this and 'superstitious' fears on 9 December, after their lading had begun.[3] On the 15th they were ready to sail; but they were detained by a dispute. The local customs officer, 'that rascally Braminy . . . Narsaraje [Narsaraj]', demanded 5 pagodas as customs from each boat, and had seized two of the owners in an attempt to enforce this levy. The factory Brahman managed by threats and the help of peons to get the men released and obtain a pilot for the boats. Narsaraj, however, in his turn threatened to seize them again, unless a 'rucca' for the boats was speedily procured; so Tivill asked Hatton at Masulipatam to get an order from the Governor that 'may curb the insolence of this troublesome fellow'.[4]

The soldiers that had come with Captain O'Neale (p. 314) were then still at Masulipatam. It had been intended to send them back to Madras on these boats;[5] but the long delay in their sailing led to an order from the Fort that they should return by the ships.[6] The Agent and Council also suggested that the timber, &c., should come by the ships, but this was dropped, as likely to hinder the speedy dispatch of the ships from Masulipatam.[7] The timber taken by the boats included three long teak trees, from which it was proposed to make a flagstaff that was wanted at the Fort.[8] They probably also

[1] Mainwaring's let. to Co., undated, ibid. 27(2). [2] Fort let. 1 Jan., 10 Mas. 39.

[3] 2 Mad. 16, 38, 41–2, 59, 63; 10 Mas. 10.

[4] Tivill's let. 15 & 24 Dec., 1 Mas. 12, 13, 14. Streynsham Master, on the other hand, in 1679 called Narsaraj 'a Gentue of an antient family in great repute in these parts, well esteemed with the great Governours, and allwayes a friend to the English' (*S.M.* ii. 162).

[5] Fort let. 19 July, 5 Sept., 18 F.S.G. 34, 46, 47; Mad. let. 19 Sept. & 29 Oct., 2 Mad. 38, 59.

[6] Fort let. 23 Oct. & 17 Dec., 10 Mas. 3, 13.

[7] Fort let. 23 Oct. & 11 Dec., 18 F.S.G. 57–73; Mad. let. 23 Nov., 2 Mad. 63.

[8] Mad. let. 1 Oct. & 23 Nov., 2 Mad. 42, 63; Fort let. 23 Oct., 18 F.S.G. 58. Five of the boats reached Madras safely; but one was cast ashore by foul weather (3A Misc. 21(1)).

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brought the gunnies, ropes, and twine for which the Agent and Council had indented.[1]

Meanwhile, there had naturally been little business for Mainwaring and the other Commissioners to do at Masulipatam.[2] In September he was at Madapollam and had taken most of the factory peons with him.[3] As already stated (p. 315), no consultations between 24 August and 8 December are recorded. Only one transaction appears to have been performed by them during this period, apart from the assistance they gave in the carrying on of the investment. The *Bull*, a ship belonging to the King of Bantam and commanded by Captain Hallwell (or Holloway), had put into Porto Novo, where three of the crew deserted with 1,787 pagodas of the ship's stock that they had stolen. They were arrested at Masulipatam with the money, and under Langhorn's orders Mainwaring handed over the men and property to the commander.[4]

Even the appointment of a new surgeon for Masulipatam was handled by Hatton, and not by Mainwaring. The *Caesar*'s surgeon, Robert Wright, died at sea four days after the ship had left that place, and her commander, Captain Andrews, asked for John Heathfield to supply his place on the voyage to England. The latter, who wished to go to England, was willing to accept the invitation, but Hatton pointed out the need for an able surgeon to be settled there 'in a very sickly time and noe less unhealthful climatt'. He suggested that Dr. Jemmett, the surgeon of the *Bengal Merchant*, should take Heathfield's place, and that Dr. John Waldo, the surgeon at the Fort, who wanted to go home, should succeed Jemmett.[5] Langhorn and his Council, having ascertained that Waldo agreed to the transfer, wrote to Captain Goldsborough, asking for his assent to the proposals.[6] His reply is not extant, but it is probable that he objected, as Heathfield remained at Masulipatam and Waldo went home as surgeon of the *Caesar*.[7]

The Company's despatch of 15 December 1676 sanctioned the build-

[1] Fort let. 5 Sept. & 23 Oct., 18 F.S.G. 47, 58; Mad. let. 23 Nov., 2 Mad. 63. According to the last letter, wheat was the only commodity provided by the Commissioners at Masulipatam.

[2] Cf. Fort let. 24 Nov., 18 F.S.G. 67, saying Mainwaring might be blamed for detaining account books, 'he haveing so little other business'.

[3] Wynn's let. 3 Sept., 3 Mad. 38.

[4] Fort let. 1 Sept. to Co., 3A Misc. 20(2), para. 118; Fort let. 30 Aug. & 24 Nov., 18 F.S.G. 45, 67; Mas. con. 8 Dec., 1 Mas. 31. The *Bull* was at Madras on 19 Jan. (*S.M.* ii. 117), and left Masulipatam for Bantam on 1 Oct. (see Capt. Hallwell's journal of the voyage in Marine Records, vol. LXXII).

[5] Mad. let. 8 Oct., 2 Mad. 44–5.

[6] Fort let. 2 & 24 Nov., 18 F.S.G. 62, 65.

[7] Heathfield married Mrs. Fleetwood on 16 May 1678 (*S.M.* ii. 165 *n.*), and was still surgeon of Masulipatam in April 1679 (ibid. 165). As to Waldo going home, see *M.R.*, 1678–9, 5.

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ing of upper rooms in the Masulipatam factory, as well as a chamber or two in the garden, if this was necessary for the health of its servants there.[1] This met Puckle's and Master's representations about the great want of accommodation (pp. 279, 298); but the project does not seem to have been proceeded with this year, probably in view of the less need for accommodation owing to the transfers to Madapollam. The young men represented to Master, when he was at Masulipatam in January, that their salaries were insufficient for their maintenance, and complained of having to pay for the washing of their linen. Sitting in Council with the Commissioners he sanctioned an allowance of 1 rupee a month for this purpose, that being customary in other factories and according with 'the common rate they pay'.[2] On the other hand, he laid down (as he had elsewhere) that, on occasions when the Dutch or other strangers were entertained, they should 'eat apart by themselves', except any specially invited 'to come to the table' by the Chief.[3] The Company's desire to encourage its junior servants to learn the language of the country by the grant of gratuities[4] led Ramsden to apply for one, but Langhorn and his Council ruled that to get a gratuity a youth must supplement his ability to speak the vernacular by learning also to read and write it.[5]

In December nearly all the Company's servants in the two factories were summoned to proceed to Madras on the ships that were expected to arrive from the Bay about the end of that month. This was due to a decision of the Agent and Council to hold an inquiry into the charges against Mainwaring and Chamberlain at the Fort, now that the ships were due to return, and there was 'vacation of business offering an opportunity for' the trial.[6] This in turn probably arose out of the amicable settlement of Mohun's charges against Langhorn on 21 November (pp. 177–8). It smoothed the way for his co-operation in the inquiry; and he gave the Council a list of witnesses he wished to call, which included eighteen of the Company's servants at Masulipatam and Madapollam, two of the 'Brahminys' employed there, the factory dubash (interpreter), and all the merchants.[7] He agreed, however, to an examination of the native witnesses, and of some of the Englishmen whom business might detain there, by Hatton as Chief of Madapollam.

[1] 5 L.B. 366. Master's let. of 30 Jan. (3A. Misc. 15) said 'dry upper lodgings' were needed for the young men.
[2] Mas. con. 9 Jan., 1 Mas. 70 (*S.M.* ii. 110).
[3] Mas. con. 8 Jan., 1 Mas. 66 (*S.M.* ii. 163).
[4] 5 L.B. 370, & cf. p. 32 *ante*.
[5] Fort let. 24 Nov., 18 F.S.G. 68.
[6] 18 F.S.G. 67–9.
[7] Ibid. In January Mohun had added to his charges against Mainwaring (36 F.S.G. 80–7).

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In these circumstances the Agent and Council ordered the Masulipatam factory to be put into the charge of Field, while that at Madapollam was to be under one of its Council, preferably Wynn, whom (as well as Clarke) Mohun said he could best spare out of those he had named as witnesses.[1] The Masulipatam servants were to go to Madras on the first ship available, and those from Madapollam when their business was done. On 8 December a Masulipatam consultation, at which all five Commissioners were present, passed orders accordingly. Chamberlain said he would try to go by the first ship, but his affairs might detain him till the last ship left. He also said he had no witnesses to call besides those nominated by Mohun. In accordance with other directions from the Fort, Mainwaring agreed to hand over the cash remaining in his hands to Hatton, who on his departure would put it with the cash of the Madapollam factory, from which Field was to draw enough to cover his monthly expenses. Wynn and Clarke were to remain at Madapollam, and to be examined by Hatton, as well as the native witnesses. Three of the peons at Masulipatam were to go to Madapollam for service; the rest (37) were distributed among Mainwaring at the Fort (20), Field and the factory premises (13), Chamberlain and Arnold (2 each).[2] Summonses were issued accordingly without delay.[3] The extant records in London give no further information in this connexion, except that Mainwaring, Hatton, Tivill, Ayloffe, and others were at the Fort in January 1678 in obedience to the above orders;[4] that Chamberlain again stayed behind at Masulipatam; and that the Agent and Council had not made the contemplated inquiry before the ships left Madras.[5]

As one of the three ships did not leave Balasore till 25 December and the other two left on the 29th (p. 435), they could not have reached Masulipatam before the end of the year. Their handling at that place lies, therefore, outside the scope of this volume, but it may be noted that Streynsham Master complained to the Company of 'their long stay' at Masulipatam, and recommended that ships should not be detained there after 5 January.[6] On the other hand, he commended

[1] 18 F.S.G. 68–70.

[2] 1 Mas. 32–4. For details of the peons and other followers that went to the Fort with Mainwaring, see *M.R.*, 1678–9, 56.

[3] 1 Mas. 34; Tivill's let. 15 Dec., 10 Mas. 12.

[4] 3A Misc. 21(1), 24, 25(1).

[5] Fort let. & Mainwaring's let. to Co., ibid. 21(1), 27(2). Master and his Council, however, held the inquiry in Feb. 1678 (*M.R.*, 1678–9, 9, 11, 12, 14, 16–52).

[6] Master's let. 27 Jan. 1678, 3A Misc. 21(2).

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'the extraordinary pains and care' of the Chief and Council at Madapollam in the discharge of their business.[1] Hatton and Tivill in their turn praised Wynn, through whose hands the whole investment had passed, as 'verie diligent and industrious', and said the value of the goods shipped amounted to 73,793 pagodas.[2]

In November, when the Company's despatches to the Fort and Bengal were under consideration, it passed orders affecting the protagonists in the disputes that had arisen at Masulipatam. These did not become known in India till about the middle of the next year, but may well be mentioned here as a conclusion to this period of the factory's history. With the help of connected events, they put an end to the prejudicial state of affairs recorded in these pages. Mohun, 'having made an humble acknowledgment of his miscarriages and desiring the Company's pardon, promising all fidelity for the future, and having paid his debt', was readmitted into its service, and was to be given suitable employment at a salary of £100 a year, beginning from the arrival of the next ships.[3] Chamberlain was dismissed and ordered home, but might be allowed to stay at the Fort for twelve months to recover his debts. Arnold was to be removed from his present station, but his salary was to be continued, and such other employment given him as the Agent and Council thought fit.[4] By the time this order arrived Arnold had, however, removed himself by going home as a passenger on the *New London* in January 1678.[5] Mainwaring was appointed Chief at Masulipatam, while Hatton was to be Chief at Madapollam and 'second' at Masulipatam.[6] This last arrangement was, of course, made without full knowledge of Mainwaring's virtual supersession there by Hatton. The Company's despatch of 15 December, however, contained a reservation that, if any of the persons appointed by it to these and other posts should have been suspended for misconduct, they were to remain under suspension till further orders from

[1] Ibid.

[2] Their let. to Co. 23 Jan. 1678, 3A Misc. 25(1).

[3] *Ct. Min.*, 1677–9, 110 (16 Nov. 1677). Mohun was accordingly appointed sixth in Council at the Fort on 7 Aug. 1678, but did not assume office there till 16 Jan. 1679, when he became fifth in Council (*M.R.*, 1678–9, 97, and 1679–80, 3). Previously he had served on the Bay Council from about 6 Nov. 1678 (*Bengal and Madras Papers*, i. 94). Sir Richard Temple (*S.M.* ii. 126 *n.*) says he sailed for England in 1677, but this is incorrect. The payment to him of arrears of salary, &c., and his taking steps to prosecute his charges against Mainwaring (pp. 321–2 *ante*) show that he had remained in India. His 'humble acknowledgment', &c., must have been made by letter, or through friends in England.

[4] *Ct. Min.*, 1677–9, 110 (16 Nov. 1677).

[5] Fort let. to Co., 3A Misc. 21(1), last para.

[6] *Ct. Min.*, 1677–9, 110, 119 (16 Nov. & 4 Dec. 1677).

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home.[1] The letter from the Agent and Council to the Company which the ships took home at the beginning of the next year, reported the supersession, asked that Hatton should be given encouragement, and mentioned Mainwaring's 'interest in trade with Mohun', though he had (they said) been cleared of 'sharing' money that belonged to the Company.[2]

A minor item that may be mentioned relates to Chamberlain and Arnold. Mainwaring reported that the former had satisfied his debt to the Company, whereas the Agent and Council said Arnold owed it 686 pagodas.[3] Another is a side-light on Hatton's character that must be treated with caution, as it comes from a partisan of Mainwaring. Ayloffe, in a rough diary of 1678, remarks 'how basely Mr. Hatton reflects upon Mr. Mainwaring now he is out, and when he [Mainwaring] was in place C. H. [Charles Hatton] did in all his letters vow the greatest friendship imaginable to him, but he is and ever was a falsehearted hipocriticall fellow'.[4]

[1] 5 L.B. 500.

[2] 3A Misc. 19(2), paras. 46, 47, & 71. On 4 March 1678 Master and Council confirmed Hatton as Chief at Masulipatam and Madapollam, and suspended Mainwaring and Chamberlain from office, though continuing their salaries (*M.R.*, 1678–9, 53–5). On 25 Nov. 1678, on Mainwaring claiming the office of Chief at Masulipatam, they relied on the reservation mentioned in the text and declined to modify his suspension without further orders from the Company (ibid., 139). Mainwaring sailed for England in Jan. 1679, for the purpose of vindicating his conduct before the Court of Committees (*S.M.* ii. 161 *n.*).

[3] 3A Misc. 21(1) & 27(2).

[4] Ayloffe's diary, 24 Misc. 73, under date 31 May 1678. The diary (p. 76) refers to Master as a 'st[e]arn man'.

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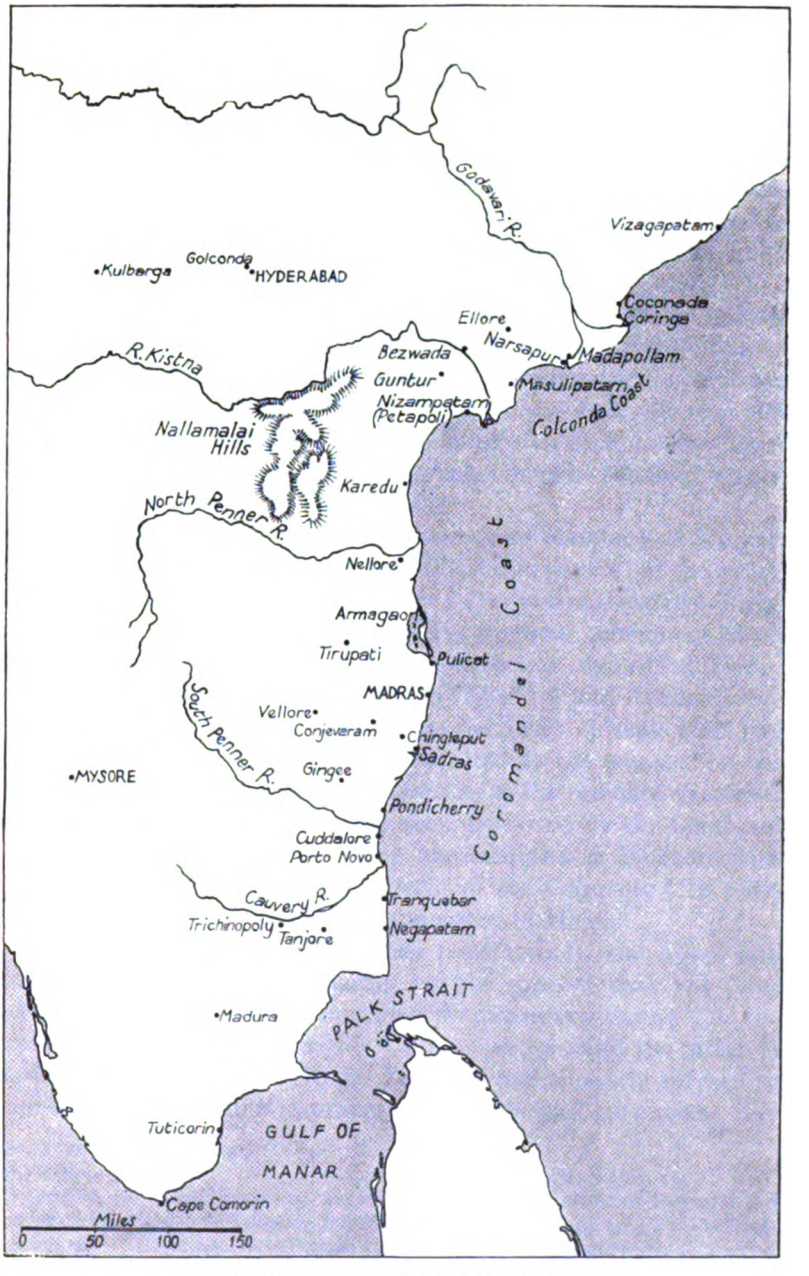

PART OF MADRAS PROVINCE, ETC.

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BENGAL, 1670

SHEM BRIDGES was Chief of the Bay at the beginning and for the greater part of the year till, with the permission of the Company,[1] he left for Madras on his way to England (p. 332). Of the five Bay factories of Balasore, Hugli, Kasimbazar, Patna, and Dacca, the first was the seat of the Chief and his Council; but the intention was to transfer this to Hugli and to persuade, if possible, the masters of the Company's ships to take their vessels up the river to this more convenient trade centre, a passage they were reluctant to make in view of the perils of navigation in the estuary of the Ganges.[2] Bridges and his Council accordingly moved to Hugli in the early part of the year and were still there in September;[3] but hopes that the ships would soon come direct to Hugli were not fulfilled, and for many years to come the Bay Council divided its time between the two places.

In addition to the Chief there were three other Members of Council: Walter Clavell, Matthew Mainwaring (till almost the end of the year), and Matthias Vincent. One or other of the latter two was usually absent from headquarters, and there was a fairly frequent movement of all between the two chief stations. John March had succeeded Henry Powell as Chief at Kasimbazar;[4] and Job Charnock and Robert Elwes were at Patna, as Chief and 'second' respectively. Joseph Hall had also been ordered to Patna, but had objected to the transfer on the plea of ill health. He had given much trouble in the previous year over his posting and precedence, and had been dismissed by the Chief and Council, whereupon he had taken up his residence at Balasore with Edward Stiles, another dismissed servant of the Company.[5] In place of Stiles, William Bagnall had been appointed to Hugli.[6]

Later both Hall and Stiles had been reinstated by the Agent and Council of Fort St. George, mainly on the ground that the local authorities had exceeded their authority in dismissing them;[7] but the former had refused to rejoin without compensation, and the latter to proceed to Hugli as ordered. Roger Brodnax had similarly refused to obey orders to proceed to Kasimbazar; but, as he had gone to the Bay

[1] Desp. 7 Dec. 1669, 4 L.B., 289.
[2] *E.F.*, 1668–9, 314–15. [3] Hug. con. 19 Sept., 1 Hug. 13.
[4] *E.F.*, 1668–9, 316. Powell appears to have sailed in the *Antelope*, which left Madras in Jan. 1670 and reached England in the following July (*Ct. Min.*, 1668–70, 348, 359; *E.F.*, 1668–9, 290).
[5] Ibid. 296–7. [6] Ibid. 299. As to Bagnall's career, see *Bengal Past and Present*, xvii. 168–9.
[7] *E.F.*, 1668–9, 301, 307.

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without permission, the Agent and Council had directed him to return to Masulipatam.[1]

The year had not long advanced before further contempts of authority added to the difficulties of the Chief and his Council. Of these troubles Mrs. Brodnax, who had been left at Balasore by her husband, and Stiles were the main originators.

In February, Bridges, with Clavell, Mainwaring, and others,[2] started for Hugli, leaving Stiles in charge at Balasore, with peons, a servant, and a diet allowance, 'hopeing thereby to gaine upon his turbulent temper and enduce him to act as in decency hee ought' in the Company's affairs,[3] a hope that was not fulfilled. Owing to a gale which damaged their tents and to news of disorders at Balasore, the Chief and his companions were forced to break off their journey and return to Balasore. There they found, on 18 February, that Mrs. Brodnax, with assistance and encouragement from Stiles, had broken open and taken possession of the Chief's lodgings. The lady had armed herself with a hammer, chisel, and a 'crow[-bar] of iron', secured admission to the factory, and forced the lock of the Chief's quarters. She followed this up by putting in her own clothes and throwing his out. The same day she threw a lamp at the head of a peon who had a dispute with one of her women, but missed her mark and broke the head of a bystander instead.[4] Abuse of the Chief and statements that revenge on him was her motive were other offences laid to her charge.[5]

On the return of Bridges and his colleagues, matters became no better. On 18 February, while a number of native merchants were in the factory engaged in business with the Chief, she

did notwithstanding come into the open gallery which fronts the factory

[1] Bal. con. 3 & 8 Dec. & let. from Hall, 8 Dec. 1669, 1 Hug. 3, 4, 5, 11; cf. *E.F.*, 1668–9, 308. The Agent and Council at Fort St. George had ordered Hall's claim for compensation to be satisfied (ibid. 302).

[2] Among the others was John Marshall, who had been transferred to Balasore in 1669 (cf. ibid. 302, 306), and whose account of the journey to Hugli is contained in his *Notes and Observations on East India* (Harl. MS. 4254, ff. 5–6, reverse) now in the British Museum. This is reproduced in Dr. S. A. Khan's *John Marshall in India*, 62–5. His diary shows that Edward Reade and Gabriel Townsend were also in the party. It also records that on 20 Feb. near Basta (about twelve miles from Balasore) the party met 'the Nabob who was going to be Nabob of Orixa [Orissa]', and who was travelling with some 10,000 followers, many elephants, and abundance of camels and horses (ibid. 62–3). It seems probable that this was Safi Khan, who was Nawab of Orissa in Feb. 1671 (p. 337 *post*), and that he was succeeding Tarbiyat Khan, who was the Nawab in 1668 (*E.F.*, 1668–9, 164–5). Dr. Khan (85 *n.*) suggests that 'the Nabob' was Ibrahim Khan, but this is based on a misquotation about Safi Khan succeeding Ibrahim Khan, who was Nawab of Patna in 1671–3 (p. 359 *n.*).

[3] Hug. let. to the Co. 20 Oct., 3 Misc. 139.

[4] Bal. con. 18 Feb., 1 Hug. 6, 7.

[5] Ibid. 7.

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doore in view of the above named persons, and did there rave, raile, scould, curse, and execrate, perticularly wishing that the Chief be damned to all eternity, and said that when hee had a late fall off a horse, it was a pitty that the devil had not broke his neck to peeces, . . . uttering many other such shameless and unbecoming expressions which for modesties sake wee can't thinke fitt to insert. . . .

'Mild and moderate persuasions' were of no avail, and business had to be suspended and the merchants dismissed.[1] Stiles was found to have animated and encouraged her, having tried to get the keys of the Chief's chamber for her, employed his servants to bring her instruments, and lent her his sword, which she drew and flourished on occasion.[2]

The next day efforts were made to persuade her to retire to her own house, or to one which Vincent and his family had occupied, but this she refused to do. Formal orders were issued for her removal: Stiles for his part in the affair was displaced by Mainwaring, and the latter was left to deal with the situation, while the others again departed for Hugli.[3] The lady would seem to have complied with the orders, though this is left to be inferred rather than stated.[4]

Quiet did not long prevail, for at a consultation dated 28 May[5] the Chief and Council are found again dealing with the disorderly actions of Stiles, Hall, and Brodnax. In April the last mentioned had, without orders, returned to Balasore,[6] using the presence of his wife there as a pretext, but (according to the consultation-entry) merely with intent to stir up trouble, 'to animate, strengthen and encourage his colleagues who without his presence, he doubted, might reflect on their past misdemeanours and be reclaimed'.

Just before his return Hall and Stiles had been giving more trouble. They sent out a slave and five or six peons to intercept letters which a patamar (messenger) was bringing from Masulipatam. Mainwaring, however, learning of the plot, sent his peons to seize and imprison them pending orders from Hugli. These orders instructed him to chastise and dismiss the peons and to send the slave for examination. Stiles secured the latter's release through the Governor of the town, on the plea that the servants of the Company had no authority to imprison Mussulmans. His action was much resented by the Chief and Council, who held that it opened 'a gap for Moores to intermeddle in determination

[1] Ibid. 7, 8.
[2] Ibid. 8.
[3] Ibid. 9.
[4] Ibid. 9; Hug. let. to Co. 20 Oct., 3 Misc. 139.
[5] 1 Hug. 9.
[6] 3 Misc. 139.

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of differences twixt Englishmen', and imperilled the privileges of the Company.[1]

Brodnax, on his arrival in April, went straight to the Dutch, and was accused of revealing his masters' transactions, as well as of other intrigues with them. He beat and abused the Company's 'arrackman',[2] and uttered threats that he would either kill or be killed by Mainwaring. Afterwards he, Hall, and Stiles, all armed, went late in the evening to the factory, where he threatened Mainwaring and the 'arrackman'.[3] In consequence it was resolved by the Chief and Council on 28 May that all three should be ordered to report themselves at Hugli;[4] but Brodnax returned slighting replies on ragged pieces of paper, Hall frivolous excuses and demands, and Stiles scurrilous language.[5] A time limit, 12 June, was prescribed for their arrival, and it was determined that, if necessary, the Chief himself should go to Balasore at the end of June or beginning of July and by compulsion remove them and restore the credit of the Company there. None of them complied, but in the case of Stiles the contest ended by his dying on 29 June.[6]

Some time before the consultation of 28 May, in which most of these events are recorded, there occurred a disastrous fire in Balasore which destroyed the greater part of the town.[7] Included in the destruction was the house of William Blake, the late Chief, and in it disappeared certain notorious boxes belonging to a deceased Nawab, Mir Jumla, formerly Viceroy of Bengal.[8] These had long lain in the factory, and their opening by Blake, without authority from either the heirs of their owner or the Mughal officials, had given cause for complaint to the latter and led to fears of more serious steps. It was apprehended that the destruction of the boxes would revive and intensify the trouble, but fortunately it seems to have passed unnoticed, as no more is heard of the affair.[9]

[1] 3 Misc. 139; 1 Hug. 10.

[2] i.e. the contractor for sale of arrack or other distilled spirit (Yule, 36).

[3] 1 Hug. 10.

[4] Hug. con. 28 May, ibid. 12.

[5] Hug. let. to Co. 20 Oct., 3 Misc. 140.

[6] Ibid. Apparently no further steps were taken by Shem Bridges, except to ask the Company to give them 'a sovereign power', without which their orders would be as little regarded 'as the Pope's excommunications are amongst the Protestants' (ibid.). For the Company's orders in the matter see p. 341 *n. post.* As no more is heard of Brodnax, he evidently left the Company's service; and he died in India *c.* 1674 (*S.M.* i. 489 *n.*).

[7] 3 Misc. 139; 1 Hug. 12.

[8] *E.F.*, 1668–9, 174, 299, 302–4.

[9] Hug. con. 28 May, 1 Hug. 11; cf. *E.F.*, 1668–9, 314 *n.*

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Of the four Company's ships sent to the Bay this year, the *Zante* and the *Happy Entrance* must have reached Balasore during July, as they left Madras towards the end of June (p. 3). The *Rainbow* and the *Coast Frigate*, which left Masulipatam on 28 July and 8 August respectively (pp. 196 *n.*, 204 *n.*), followed them about a month later. Various efforts were made to induce the captains of ships to bring their vessels up to Hugli. The pinnaces *Diligence* and *Madras* were employed on the 'discovery' of the channels, but this was hindered by the fact that the two pilots, William Waters and William Bramston, who had qualified themselves to bring ships up through the Middle Channel, both died. One Samuel Hacon was appointed commander of the *Diligence* in place of Waters, and the Company was asked to send out three or four 'bred seamen with their familyes', for otherwise no sooner had they got experience of the river than they wanted to return home. Six great 'cann boyes [can-buoys] with chaines and mill-stones to ride them by' were prepared for buoying the channels, but nevertheless the commanders refused to come up, unless indemnified against damage 'in case of miscarriage'.[1] Fears were expressed that the malcontents at Balasore would put off the captains by pointing out the difficulties and dangers of the passage to Hugli, and it was alleged that Brodnax had endeavoured to stir up mutiny on the *Diligence*.[2]

In September the trade position was reviewed at a council-meeting attended by John March and Valentine Nurse,[3] as well as Bridges, Clavell, and Vincent. It was resolved that affairs did not admit of the continued residence of the Chief, or the second, at Balasore, in view of their hopes and endeavours to transfer the trade to Hugli, and that Edwarde Reade should manage the business at the former place.[4] His provisional appointment as a factor had been confirmed by the Company, and his covenant, as well as that of John March, were sent home in October.[5]

Very little information is forthcoming as to the other three factories at Kasimbazar, Patna, and Dacca. The India Office records are, however, supplemented by John Marshall's *Notes and Observations*, which

[1] Hug. let. to Co. 20 Oct., 3 Misc. 139, 140, 141; Bal. let. to Co. 16 Dec., ibid. 141.

[2] Ibid. 140.

[3] Valentine Nurse was appointed 'second' at Patna by the Company in its despatch of 7 Dec. 1669 (4 L.B. 289, 306), but he does not appear to have assumed the post during the year: at any rate Robert Elwes was still 'second' in September (John Marshall's Notes, Harl. MS. 4254, f. 16, reverse, printed in Khan, 95).

[4] Hug. con. 19 Sept., 1 Hug. 14.

[5] 4 L.B. 289; 3 Misc. 140. Reade's employment began in 1669 (*E.F.*, 1668–9, 277).

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have already been mentioned. These show that he and Townsend, after their arrival at Hugli, were sent to Patna. They went by river, and their journey, which lasted from 28 March to 21 April, must have been a trying one, as the two were on bad terms. Thus Marshall records that on 20 April Townsend 'fell from words to blowes'.[1] After staying the night at Patna, they went on some fifteen miles to the English factory-house at Singhiya, where Job Charnock and his assistants resided, as it was better situated for managing the saltpetre business and they were less liable to rapacious demands on the part of the Nawab and his officers.[2]

The summary of a letter from Charnock in September shows that the Nawab had been giving trouble in this way both to the Dutch and English. He complained of his 'stoping our boates, forceing a quantity of [salt]petre from your servants there, besides what hee before received from the peetermen, [and] sending his troopers to the peetermens houses, which frightens them away'. The business had been so hindered that Charnock was able to supply only 168,000, instead of a promised quantity of 200,000, maunds of saltpetre. Redress could be had from the Emperor alone, and orders were sought to attempt to obtain it.[3] This is corroborated by Marshall, who mentions that the English boats had been held up by the Governor for about twenty-three days prior to 7 September and that the Nawab's *maulavi* (judge) refused to give any assistance to the English because they were not Mussulmans.[4] He and Townsend accompanied the fleet of boats that brought the saltpetre to Hugli, which they reached on 27 September after a journey of some ten days.[5]

The saltpetre supply from Patna was very important and the Chief and Council decided to retain Charnock there. He, however, was discontented and wanted to resign. A consultation of September says:

Mr. Job Charnock, Cheif there, has writ us to leave the imployment, returning his indentures and covenants unsigned, which wee suppose proceeds from a risentment of not being raised in imployment according to his expectations and time of service.

[1] Harl. MS. 4254, ff. 5, 6 (reverse), printed in Khan, 65–78. The quarrel was probably due to Marshall being treated as of equal rank to Townsend, who was his senior by six years (Khan, 14, 15).

[2] Cf. *E.F.*, 1668–9, 304 *n.*, 312–13; Marshall's note about trade at Patna (Khan, 23–4). The Nawab was Ibrahim Khan, known as Asaf-ud-daula (Khan, 93).

[3] 3 Misc. 140, 141.

[4] Harl. MS. 4254, f. 12 (Khan, 83).

[5] Harl. MS. 4254, ff. 16–18, reverse (Khan, 95–101).

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In view of the difficulties that would arise they returned the covenant and indentures to him and asked him to remain for at least a year, stating that they would, if he acquainted them with his desires, report them to the Company so that 'a person of his abillities may not want their incouragement'.[1]

The ships brought orders from the Company appointing Hall to be 'second' at Kasimbazar, but up to the time of the Hugli letter of 20 October, he had not complied with them, and Vincent (the temporary holder of the post) was obliged to remain there.[2] It would seem that the latter was the only person in the Company's service capable of translating the 'phirmaunds' granted to the Company by various Nawabs in these parts, for a promise was given that, when he came to Hugli, they would be translated for dispatch to England, as the Company had ordered.[3]

The records for the year are almost barren of trade news. A few items worth noticing are that the cotton yarn and ginghams sent from Balasore in the previous year had not been up to sample: accordingly, better and cheaper yarn was secured this year at Hugli, 174 maunds of it being bought at Rs. 15 a maund, or a little higher, and dispatched to England.[4] For the coral sent out by the Company there was no demand in the Bay.[5] The Chief and Council did not find it necessary to make use of power given by the Company to draw on them through the Dutch up to £10,000, as they had been able by other means to raise Rs. 65,000 and so had sufficient funds for the investments to be made for the next year.[6]

The Dacca factory provides no news during the year.[7] From Kasimbazar towards the end of it John March sent a request for more peons, who were needed to look after the weavers and see that they did not dispose of cloth for which advances had been made, or enter the service of the Dutch, 'who have not ben wanting in their endeavours to take some of them off'. March was permitted, pending orders from the Agency, to engage as many as the occasion required.[8] Among the Company's servants at Kasimbazar was Richard Edwards, whose

[1] Hug. con. 19 Sept., 1 Hug. 13. Charnock had been appointed Chief at Patna by the Company in its despatch of Dec. 1669, 4 L.B. 289, 306.

[2] Ibid. 289; 3 Misc. 140.

[3] 4 L.B. 295, 306; 3 Misc. 140.

[4] 3 Misc. 140.

[5] Bal. let. 16 Dec., ibid. 141.

[6] Hug. con., 19 Sept., 1 Hug. 13; 3 Misc. 140; 4 L.B. 306.

[7] John Smith, who had accompanied March to Dacca in 1669, had been left there (*E.F.*, 1668–9, 315–16), and appears to have been there during the whole year (O.C. 3411, 3419, 3436, 3463). See the article on him by Miss Anstey in *Ind. Antiquary*, xliii. 268.

[8] 3 Misc. 141.

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extensive correspondence with several of his fellow factors figures largely in the Original Correspondence section of the India Office records.[1]

In an effort to stop the disputes about 'preceedency',[2] the Company had appointed the Chiefs of Kazimbazar and Patna to be respectively fourth and fifth in 'the Bay' Council (after Clavell and Vincent), and ordered that the 'seconds' there should also be 'of Counsell' whenever they were at Hugli or Balasore.[3] Bridges had, as already mentioned, been given leave to come home. He sailed by the *Coast Frigate*, which left Balasore on 29 November.[4] An effort had been made by the members of his Council and others to persuade him to stay for another year; but he pleaded the solicitations and fears of his family in England, and on consideration of this and of the Company's orders the request was not pressed. Henry Powell, whom the Company had appointed to succeed him, had left for England, so the Council nominated Walter Clavell in his place.[5] Bridges was fortunate in that he did not sail by the earlier ship, the *Happy Entrance*, which left on 5 November[6] but disappeared in the Bay between Balasore and Masulipatam (p. 204). The remaining two ships, *Rainbow* and *Zante*, must have been dispatched in December, as they reached Masulipatam on the 21st and 27th of that month respectively (p. 204).

BENGAL, 1671

THE records of this year relating to the Bay are very scanty and cover only its last three months.[7] Walter Clavell continued to be Chief with the approbation of the Agent and Council at the Fort, who (in the absence of any orders of the Company to the contrary) told him 'to goe on cheerfully in the Cheifship descended to him', and hoped he would have 'all quietness and peace therein suitable to his own quiett and peaceable temper'.[8] William Bagnall was one of his colleagues at Hugli; Job Charnock and Robert Elwes were at Patna; Matthias

[1] *E.F.*, 1668–9, 295, 316; O.C. 3419, 3436.

[2] Cf. *E.F.*, 1668–9, 306–7.

[3] 4 L.B. 289, 306.

[4] Mas. let. 6 Dec., 5 Mas. 64.

[5] 1 Hug. 13; 4 L.B. 289, 306.

[6] 5 Mas. 64; Marshall's note of 5 Nov. (Khan, 101). The latter had gone to Balasore from Hugli on 16 Oct. and started his return journey on 30 Dec.

[7] The one piece of Bay records for this year (7 Hugli) begins only on 12 Oct., and even the voluminous correspondence of Richard Edwards has only two items belonging to 1671, O.C. 3533 and 3560 (printed in *Notes and Queries*, 1918, p. 39), which contain no news of interest or importance.

[8] Fort let. 31 July, 16 F.S.G. 37.

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Vincent at Kasimbazar and John Smith at Dacca.[1] The letters from the Kasimbazar factory show that its Chief, John March, had died there in August or September, and Joseph Hall, who had at last obeyed the Company's order for his transfer there as 'second' (p. 331), had assumed the vacant place. Hall at first objected to delivering charge to Vincent, whom Clavell and his Council had sent to succeed March, but did so by the middle of October on receiving express orders from them about it. According to his own account, he was then excluded from any employment at Kasimbazar and wanted to come to Balasore to assist there and interview the Council about his being 'throwne out of' his place and 'spurn'd at like a dog'; but Clavell objected to his coming, and he was still at Kasimbazar at the end of the year.[2] Foxcroft and his Council confirmed Vincent's appointment as Chief at Kasimbazar and said that Hall might remain as 'second' there, but that if he refused this 'out of a pett' at Vincent's promotion as Chief, Marshall should come from Patna to take his place as 'second' and Edwards should be 'third'.[3] In the ships that left England in December 1670, the Company sent out a factor, Edward Littleton, and a writer, John Byam, to be stationed at Kasimbazar, as they were 'well skilled in silk'.[4] It also sent two silk dyers, Thomas Amos and John Naylor, who were engaged for the Bay at a salary of £50 each, and it earnestly recommended the utmost endeavours to promote its trade in silks.[5] It added orders for the promotion of John Vickers of Hugli and Richard Edwards of Kasimbazar, who had been commended by the Chief and Council, to a salary of £20 each.[6]

The supplies brought out by the three ships for the Bay were made up of £11,500 in commodities and £30,000 in bullion. The Chief and Council were also authorized to raise from £10,000 to £12,000 by bills of exchange, if such were available. In all the Company estimated that

[1] 7 Hug. 1–29 *passim*. Bagnall always signed as 'Bagnold', but I retain his name as given in *E.F.*, 1668–9, and *Ct. Min.*, 1668–70 and 1671–3. The Company promoted him to £30 a year in Oct. (*Ct. Min.*, 1671–3, 83).

[2] Hall's let. 12 & 14 Oct. & Vincent's let. 1 Nov., 7 Hug. 1, 4, 10; Hall's let. O.C. 3592, 3599. March was alive in May, as shown by Marshall's mention of meeting him at Kasimbazar on his way to Patna (Khan, 113), and his death was first reported by the Bay to the Fort on 24 Oct. (16 F.S.G. 60). March left an estate of at least Rs. 34,000, as shown by remittances to that amount to England in 1674 (Bal. let. 21 Dec., 4 Hug. 20).

[3] Fort let. 31 Oct. & 23 Dec., 16 F.S.G. 60, 72.

[4] Desp. to Fort, 29 Nov. 1670, 4 L.B. 391.

[5] Desp. to the Bay, 29 Nov. 1670, ibid. 404, 405. Amos died at Madras the day after his arrival, and a dyer, who had come out as a soldier, was substituted for him (Fort let. 25 Aug., 16 F.S.G. 50). They reached Kasimbazar on 23 Oct. (Kas. let. 1 Nov., 7 Hug. 12).

[6] 4 L.B. 402.

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a stock of £57,000 would be available for investing in goods for England.[1] Certain goods, such as taffetas and ginghams, were to be added to those already ordered for shipment that year: from Patna 800 or 1,000 tons of the best saltpetre were required yearly;[2] the supply of cotton yarn was to cease, as the Company could sell it only at a loss.[3] The Company desired large quantities of English cloth to be sold, so its prices should not be pitched too high.[3] In addition there were the usual detailed orders as to the goods required for the next year, and injunctions to prevent abuse of private trade by its servants, such as that the commanders of vessels should see they did not lade more than the 5 per cent. allowed them.[4]

In the last three months of the year Clavell was at Balasore, superintending the lading of the homeward ships, and Bagnall presumably was acting as 'second' at Hugli in the absence of Vincent at Kasimbazar and Mainwaring at Masulipatam.[5] There is no record of the dates of the arrivals or departures of the ships, but Madras and Masulipatam letters show that the *Sampson* and the *Bombay Merchant* must have arrived early in September and left about the middle of December, while the *East India Merchant* arrived about the middle of August and left early in December (pp. 21, 208, 209). Bagnall writes to Clavell on 22 November of the dispatch of taffetas and saltpetre by the pinnace *Madras* for shipment on the *Sampson*,[6] and a little more than a month earlier he had acknowledged the arrival of the pinnace *Diligence* with five chests of treasure and dyes, which he sent on to Kasimbazar in charge of the dyers and six peons.[7] Two other chests of treasure were brought up by the *Madras* and forwarded to Kasimbazar later on.[8]

From that time to the end of November the two pinnaces were kept busy and their speedy return from Balasore was repeatedly requested, as there was a difficulty in getting other vessels or open boats for the transport of the goods to the homeward ships. Use was made of two sloops named the *Good Hope*[9] and *John*, and two boraes[10] belonging to the Company, as well as some hired boats; and it would appear that

[1] 4 L.B. 402, 403.
[2] Ibid. 401, 402. As to taffetas see Yule, 708.
[3] 4 L.B. 401.
[4] Ibid. 403–4. Cf. *Ct. Min.*, 1670–1, p. 71.
[5] The Fort, however, at the end of Oct., appointed Hall to be 'second' in Hugli, or if (as was expected) he refused this place, then Gabriel Townsend was to have it (Fort let. 31 Oct., 16 F.S.G. 60).
[6] 7 Hug. 19.
[7] Bagnall's let. 19 Oct., ibid. 4.
[8] Bagnall's let. 11 Nov., ibid. 17.
[9] The *Good Hope* belonged to Edward Lock (Mas. let. 27 Dec. 1670, 5 Mas. 84).
[10] Beng. *bhada*, a kind of cargo-boat.

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by 28 November as much as the ships could carry had been sent to them.[1] Saltpetre, taffetas, raw silk, sannoes, cotton yarn, turmeric, tincall, and 'dussuttees or coarse sail-cloth' are the chief commodities mentioned. Saltpetre bulked largely in all the consignments, and the total of this commodity sent from Hugli amounted to 7,865 bags, in addition to 1,500 bags that had been dispatched in the early part of the year.[2]

There was considerable difficulty and delay at Patna in its procuring and dispatch, owing to violent winds and heavy floods. In October Charnock said that

so violent hath been the winds here these severall months that when it [the saltpetre] was abord, we could hardly secure our boates from breaking lose afore our factory; and, as we last wrote you, the river broke out into such floods that it drowned the whole country, and we had much ado to save a great part of saltpetre from its vyolence.

The Nawab, too, again gave trouble, by his seizing saltpetre out of their boats.[3] Though Charnock was expected to be going home by the ships at the end of the year, he eventually gave up this intention and remained at Patna; but Valentine Nurse, who had been transferred to that place (p. 329 *n.*), had left it for Madras in December, and the Fort held he had 'removed himself' from his post.[4] He and Hall were dissatisfied with an order by the Chief and Council provisionally appointing Elwes to succeed Charnock, and Foxcroft had written that, if they disliked the order, they were at liberty 'to dissert the Companys service'.[5]

Floods prevailed at Kasimbazar, as well as at Patna, and made silk dear owing to their destroying most of the mulberry-trees. In consequence it could not be bought at a rate corresponding to 'what the Company have stinted', and orders were sought in December as to

[1] Bagnall's let. 19, 24 & 30 Oct., 2, 7, 11, 12, 22, 24, & 28 Nov., 7 Hug. 5–7, 9, 10, 13, 15–21.

[2] Ibid. 'Sannoes', from *sanū*, probably correspond to the cheap cloth, generally red, in common use in Bengal, known as *sālū* (Bowrey, 231 *n.*; *S.M.* i. 306 *n.*). 'Dussuttees', from *do-sūti*, are a sort of cheap cotton stuff, woven with double threads (Yule, 325).

[3] Pat. let. 26 Oct., 7 Hug. 7, 8. Marshall, who had journeyed from Hugli to Patna in May, mentions these high winds and heavy floods (Harl. MSS. 4254, ff. 19–27, reverse, 22, *22a*, printed by Khan, 111–28, 138–9). The dreadful famine that prevailed over a large tract of country this year—Marshall says that he saw corpses lying on the road in great numbers and that it caused about 100 deaths a day in Patna for four or five months (Khan, 125–7)—is not mentioned in Charnock's extant letters, though it may have been in his earlier ones. Bowrey (226) also mentions this famine, saying 'many thousands of the natives perished in the streets and open feilds for want of food, and many glad to sell theire own children for a handfull of rice'.

[4] Mas. let. 25 Dec., 5 Mas. 24; Fort let. 31 Oct. & 23 Dec., 16 F.S.G. 60, 72.

[5] Fort let. 1 June, ibid. 32.

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what should be done.[1] Prior to his death, however, March had done what his predecessor, Powell, had declared was impossible, by getting ready for shipment 25,000 taffetas, some of which came out cheaper than ever.[2]

The treasure (p. 334) was sent on from Kasimbazar to the native mint at Rajmahal[3] to be coined into gold mohurs and silver rupees; but, owing to the death of its superintendent, some of the coining was delayed till another was appointed, and at the end of the year Rs. 12,000 had to be borrowed at interest for the needs of the factory.[4] In accordance with the sanction given by the Company, £6,000 were borrowed from the Dutch at Hugli on bills of exchange payable at Amsterdam. These covered two sums of Rs. 20,000 required at Kasimbazar and Hugli respectively.[5]

The Nawab's interference with the saltpetre boats at Patna had repercussions at Hugli. Charnock complained that the boatmen had extorted Rs. 450 from him on account of their 'pattelos'[6] having been detained after they had been freighted. In October Bagnall seized and imprisoned the ringleaders, whereupon thirty or forty of the boatmen went to the Governor 'with bamboos in their hands' to complain of this, alleging that the money had been given as bakshish (compensation) for the detention of the boats. Bagnall was sent for by the Governor, and his arbitrary action might have had serious consequences for the factory. Fortunately, he succeeded in convincing the Governor that the money ought to be repaid to the Company and the 'fellows' punished. Moreover, he managed to recover Rs. 250 from them and hoped to get more before they were all released.[7]

Both at Kasimbazar and Dacca there were great complaints about lack of proper accommodation for the Company's servants and trade. Vincent said the Company were now requiring much larger quantities of taffetas and silk from Kasimbazar, for the half of which they had no accommodation, while their staff had been increased by four.[8] At

[1] Vincent's let. 24 Dec., 7 Hug. 23. Marshall (Khan, 113) mentions the abundance of mulberry-trees at Kasimbazar.

[2] Vincent's let. 1 Nov., 7 Hug. 10. Cf. Fort let. 1 June, 16 F.S.G. 32, commending the forwardness of John March in providing taffetas at Kasimbazar.

[3] This was then a large town which now lies buried in the jungle (*Imp. Gas. Ind.* xxi. 78).

[4] Kas. let. 1 & 19 Nov. & 24 Dec., 7 Hug. 12, 17, 18, 24.

[5] Bagnall's let. 19 Oct. & 3 Nov., ibid. 5, 16.

[6] *Patela*, a large flat-bottomed boat used on the Ganges (Yule, 687). These were the boats ordinarily employed for the transport of saltpetre, cf. Bowrey, 225, 229.

[7] Bagnall's let. 2 & 28 Nov., 7 Hug. 14, 21; Charnock's let. 26 Oct., 7 Hug. 8.

[8] Kas. let. 1 Nov., ibid. 12.

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Dacca, Smith wrote on the need for additional sites, as well as new buildings, as the godown had already fallen down and the other two bungalows could not stand much longer; he also complained that their walls (being only of thin matting) kept out neither heat nor cold, 'which much impaireth their health that live in them'.[1]

The diaries of Streynsham Master contain a translation of a parwana, or order, purporting to be issued in February 1671 by 'Ruffee Ckaun', the Nawab of Orissa, for the continuance of the Company's trade, free of customs or any other duties, in that province.[2] The complete absence of records for the first nine months of the year explains why there is no other reference to this parwana; and there is no reason to doubt its authenticity, to which Master testifies five years later. Its contents have been reproduced in Sir Richard Temple's edition of the diaries.[3] It seems probable that 'Ruffee' is a copyist's mistake for 'Suffee', or 'Zuffee', and that the Nawab in question was Safi Khan,[4] who was succeeded by Safshikan Khan later on in this year (p. 344).

BENGAL, 1672

THERE was little change in the personnel or postings of the Company's servants in the Bay during the year. Walter Clavell continued to be Chief; the composition of his Council varied according to the place where it was sitting and who were present at headquarters. About the end of the year at Balasore the names of Clavell, Vincent, Reade, and Bugden are found in this order.[5] That of William Bagnall, who had (Clavell said) managed the Company's business there for some time 'with a deale of care and fidelity', appears only in January (p. 348), and he died on some date between 17 October and 27 December.[6]

[1] Dac. let. 22 Dec., ibid. 22. [2] 14 Misc. 350–1.

[3] *S.M.* ii. 25. Sir Richard Temple suggests that the Nawab who granted the farman was Mirza Rafi Khan Bazil, who was in command of the fort of Gwalior in Aurangzeb's reign; but no authority is given for his ever having been Nawab of Orissa.

[4] This surmise receives support from an entry of 5 May 1678 in the Hugli factory diary (1 Hug. 46) where Safi Khan is called 'Zuffee Caun, who had formerly been Suba [Governor] of Orixa'. The entry also shows that this Safi Khan was a different person from Haji Safi Khan, who in 1677 was the Emperor's diwan at Dacca (p. 420). According to Vincent's let. 25 March & 18 May 1680 (2 Hug. 46, 51) the Nawab was in fact Haji Safi Khan's son. R. D. Banerji, in his *History of Orissa*, ii. 55, makes the same statement as to Safi Khan being Nawab of Orissa in 1671, and assumes that 'Ruffee' is a mistake for 'Suffee' or 'Zuffee'.

[5] Bal. let. 27 & 31 Dec., and Bal. let. to Co., 4 Hug. 1, 17. (The letter to the Company bears no date, but was written for dispatch by the ships which left towards the end of December. All references to 4 Hug. 2–17 relate to it.) As to Bugden, see p. 31.

[6] 4 Hug. 14; 7 Hug. 96.

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Matthias Vincent remained Chief at Kasimbazar, where he had replaced Joseph Hall (p. 333). The latter left Kasimbazar by boat for Hugli on 11 January, and in accordance with the orders from the Fort (p. 333) John Marshall had joined his post as 'second' there by 4 May.[1] Richard Edwards also was there as 'third'.[2] Job Charnock remained at Patna, though he refused to sign his indentures and bond to serve for a definite time, as he intended to return to England as soon as possible.[3] Robert Elwes continued to be next to him at that station.[4] At Dacca John Smith was head, with John Vickers as 'second' up to August, when on account of continued illness he left with a view to proceeding to England.[5] Walter Clavell was also very sick towards the end of the year.[6] In accordance with the orders from the Fort, Joseph Hall was for most of the year in charge at Balasore, where at various times Reade, Bugden, Townsend, Nurse, Pace, and Byam were also stationed.[7]

Relations between the servants of the Company would seem to have been good, except at Balasore where Hall, who had arrived about the beginning of February,[8] was, as ever, a source of trouble. When Clavell and others of his Council (including Reade) left for Ḥugli in March, Hall appears to have accompanied them part of the way. After his return to Balasore he wrote to Clavell on 2 April complaining of the difficulties he was experiencing through the Chief's action in having given a peshkash to a new Nawab of Orissa without getting the requisite farman for the continuance of the Company's privileges of trade in his territory. Clavell entrusted the business of getting this to Hall, who visited the Nawab the day after his return to Balasore, near which place the Nawab was encamped. Hall had a wearisome interview with him, during which he had to sit 'sometimes in one posture and sometimes in another', so that he considered he had done 'sufficient penance' towards obtaining the farman.[9] His complaint was put

[1] Kas. let. 16 Jan. & 4 May, 7 Hug. 30, 41. Marshall had left Patna about the end of March (Pat. let. 31 March, ibid. 57).

[2] Let. addressed to him at Kasimbazar, O.C. 3622, 3636, 3638, 3652, 3692, 3699, & 3701 (printed in *Notes and Queries*, 1918, pp. 40, 96–8, 151–3, 209–10).

[3] Bal. let. to Co., undated, 4 Hug. 15–16.

[4] Pat. let. 7 Hug. 31, 40, 57, 66, 73, 93.

[5] Dacca let. 29 Aug., ibid. 89; Bal. let., undated, 4 Hug. 14–15. Vickers died on the voyage home (O.C. 3996).

[6] 4 Hug. 15.

[7] Ibid.; 7 Hug. 35, 48, 49, 53. Thomas Pace had been sent out as a writer for the Bay at the end of 1670 (desp. 29 Nov. 1670, 4 L.B. 391).

[8] In an undated letter, which appears to have been written in Jan. after Bagnall's letter of 9 Jan. to Clavell (p. 348 *post*), Hall said he intended to start from Hugli for Balasore two days later (7 Hug. 29).

[9] Ibid. 35.

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more specifically in a long narrative of his grievances that he sent to the Company in January 1673, where he writes:[1]

Now leaveing Clavell &c on their way to Hughley, Hall returned to Balasore, makeing hast to overtake the Nabob of Catuck [Cuttack, the capital of Orissa], to whome Mr. Clavell had given the accustomed peshcash as to a new Nabob when renewing the phirwanna of these Provinces under him, but omitted the take[ing] out of said phirwanna, leaveing Hall to secure that afterwards from the Nabob, whose memory is only for the present time and not for what past in such cases, and therefore looked very strange on Hall when [he] came empty handed to obteyne what by Mr. Clavells neglect might have cost a new piscash if he Hall had not followed the business close and taken 20 dayes journey and attendance to effect the business with small charge as by the account not exceeding one hundred rupees. . . .

Beyond writing letters about it Hall's personal efforts seem, however, to have been confined to the visit he paid to the Nawab; and the chief credit for getting the farman without any further present to him probably lay with the Governor of Balasore, Boremul (? Puran Mal), who followed the Nawab on his journey to Cuttack and obtained it with some difficulty.[2] The travelling charges mentioned by Hall were those of three factory brokers and merchants, Hari Charan, Khemchand, and Suraj Shah, who accompanied Boremul, taking some presents for the Nawab's diwan and other officers, which no doubt smoothed the way.[3] A Persian copy of the farman[4] shows it to be similar to the one obtained from the previous Nawab, Safi Khan, in February 1671 (p. 337).

By 24 April Hari Charan had returned to Balasore from Cuttack with the farman.[5] He brought the news that Khemchand had been imprisoned at Cuttack for failing to comply with a demand for payment of Rs. 30,000 to the new Nawab; and it was only by giving security for his paying Rs. 10,000 in seventeen days and Rs. 20,000 in three months that he was able to return to Balasore by 2 May.[6] In addition to this

[1] 3 Misc. 192. [2] 7 Hug. 39, 44. The new Nawab was Safshikan Khan, see p. 344.

[3] Ibid. 39, 40. Hari Charan's name, which Hall gives as 'Heerechurne' (ibid. 35), is wrongly transcribed as 'Henry Charne' in a later letter (ibid. 39). His account amounted to Rs. 339; but this may have included other expenses, though not the cost of two cases of wine which Boremul told Hall the Nawab wanted (ibid. 44). Khemchand (or 'Chim Cham', as he is generally called in the records) was the chief broker and merchant to the English at Balasore for many years: cf. Bowrey, 154.

[4] O.C. 3635. Dr. A. J. Arberry, formerly Assistant Librarian at the India Office, has kindly translated it for me. The farman bears a Moslem date corresponding to 4 April 1672.

[5] 7 Hug. 39.

[6] Ibid. 39, 44. According to Bowrey (152–6), Khemchand was similarly mulcted of Rs. 50,000 by Rashid Khan, who succeeded Safshikan Khan as Nawab in 1674 (p. 377).

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extortion, Hall reported a state of disorder and alarm in the town during April—a warehouse broken into; about 100 peons and 16 sepoys running up and down the place most of one night, and killing a Brahman whom they found with Rs. 150; and daily trouble in the bazar from fighting, stealing, and the robbing of houses. This had caused 'every house of esteeme' to entertain from 30 to 50 peons for protection; but Hall said he had not increased the number (15) at the factory, though on the night the disturbance took place they had occasion 'to be in arms'.[1] Hall also had much trouble with, and many complaints against, the other English factors and writers. In a letter of 18 June to Clavell he complained of Nurse's debauchery and drunkenness, as well as of Nurse's violent behaviour and threats to kill him; of the 'incendiary Mr. Read' who 'never left [off] contriving and feasting' at Nurse's house; and of the idleness of Pace and Byam and their disrespect for him. His letter was attested by two Englishmen, who were alleged to have witnessed an attack by Nurse, when Hall was forced to defend himself with a 'tuck' (rapier) till peons came to his rescue. Fearing for his own life and the safety of the factory which Nurse had threatened to set on fire, Hall turned him out of it.[2]

Nurse's account of the affair is set out in a long letter written by him to the Company on 11 December. In this he recounts how, when Clavell was up-country and Hall was in charge at Balasore, the latter did not allow Reade or himself to carry on their duties, and when he complained, threatened him and finally had him beaten and conveyed out of the factory on 19 June 'bound hand and foote' and 'all bloody, as I have the clothes and markes yet to shew'.[3] Clavell, however, supported Hall's removal of Nurse for misbehaviour.[4]

Another person against whom Hall had complaints to make was one Dr. Ralph Harwar, a former surgeon in the *Diligence*, who had left the Company's service in 1671 to carry on private trade.[5] He was at Balasore in April and left for Hugli in May. Hall nicknamed him 'Dr. Spontanious', and described how he had disturbed the peace, scorned Hall's authority, and assaulted the factory servants.[6]

On the other hand, Reade and Nurse complained of their treatment

[1] 7 Hug. 39, 40. [2] Ibid. 74–6; 3 Misc. 169, 170.

[3] O.C. 3710, f. 2. The alleged violent removal of Nurse from the factory formed one of the charges against Hall, which were inquired into in 1676 (p. 406 & *S.M.* i. 453, 463).

[4] Clavell's let. to Fort, 28 June & 6 Oct., 3 Misc. 162, 163–4.

[5] He was appointed the Company's surgeon at Hugli and Balasore in this year (O.C. 3710, cf. *S.M.* i. 475 *n*).

[6] Bal. let. 11 May & 1 June, 7 Hug. 45, 67; O.C. 3710, f. 3.

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by Hall, and under orders from Madras, Clavell and his Council made an inquiry into the various charges and counter-charges at Balasore. On 6 October they made a full report on the subject to the Fort. In this they upheld Hall's removal of Nurse from the factory, but decided that Hall had himself been guilty of misdemeanours. Not only had he brought an unfounded charge against Reade, but he had also, contrary to orders, managed the Company's business at Balasore alone, and kept Reade (who was 'in Councell') from any information or knowledge about it or the correspondence received and sent away. Similarly he would not allow Pace or Byam to see any 'general' letters he wrote. Besides this he had acted irregularly and prejudiced the Company by his conduct at Kasimbazar in the previous year, when he at first refused to deliver over charge to Vincent (p. 333), surreptitiously sent away books of the factory, and eventually left without properly accounting for Rs. 3,873 due from him for money he had taken out of the Company's cash. He had since proffered a chest of taffetas in part-payment, but had over-rated their value, so that he owed the Company about Rs. 1,000 at least. For these and 'his many other miscarriages' they proposed to send him to the Fort and suggested he should be sent home: at any rate they hoped he would not come back to the Bay, where for four years he 'had made such disturbance'.[1] At the end of the year Hall was accordingly ordered to proceed to the Fort on the ships then leaving, and the Company was informed of the reason for his removal.[2]

Nurse's letter to the Company was not limited to charges against Hall, for in it he made a serious and vigorous attack on Clavell and others. He accused Clavell of injuring the Company by trade with Bantam and the South Seas, which the Company had denied their servants and factors, and he alleged that—had it not been for fear of the war with the Dutch—Clavell and others were proposing to send three or four small vessels thither. He further accused him of conniving at overcharges to the Company by Townsend for packing. The factors at Patna also came in for criticism in that they yearly 'wronged' the Company of at least 600 maunds of saltpetre which they 'sould

[1] 3 Misc. 162–5. Some of these matters were the subject of charges against Hall, which were inquired into in 1676 (*S.M.* i. 454, 456, 463–4, 465–6). This removal of Hall followed the Company's order that Stiles, Brodnax, and Hall should, if guilty of disobedience 'or the like disorders', be sent to England, or at any rate 'returned to the Fort . . . that they may be proceeded against by our Agent and Councell according to their offences' (desp. 18 Dec. 1671, 4 L.B. 505, reproduced in *S.M.* i. 489).

[2] Bal. let., undated, 4 Hug. 15.

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underhand to the Dutch, our implacable enemyes'.[1] Nurse attributed Clavell's enmity against himself to a jest of his some two years before which had been taken amiss. At that time Jearsey at Masulipatam had taken over for his private account tutty which had arrived from Bantam, but rejected and left unsold ivory and sandalwood, after he had ascertained from Shem Bridges that prices were good for the first and bad for the latter commodities. Discoursing on the affair with Clavell, then 'second' in the Bay, Nurse had jestingly suggested that Clavell 'went snips in the business and would have snips out of every man's estate', a remark which led to Clavell's being a 'scourge to him'.[2] Whatever truth there may, or may not, have been in this statement, his assertion that 'malice and uncharitablenesse' was 'an epidemicall disease here in the Bay of Bengallah, a disease that hath been reigning here for a long season',[3] is amply corroborated by the Company's records.

Of the six ships that arrived in the Bay this year the *Rebecca* reached Balasore on 15 July, the *Johanna* on 1 August, the *Loyal Subject* on 12 August, and the *Berkeley Castle*, *Anne*, and *Barnadiston* on 20 September.[4] In accordance with the orders of the Company that ships should try to go up the river to Hugli (p. 325), the *Rebecca*, a vessel of 200 tons, was sent there in charge of the chief pilot, Samuel Hacon.[5] She sailed with the *Diligence* on 8 August and made the journey there and back in safety, though she had great difficulty in getting as far up the river as the Hugli factory, owing to her encountering strong down-stream 'freshes'. The Chief and Council told the Company that, if the ships were to get in and out with ease, they should arrive by the middle of July and leave only after the middle of December, the weather between these dates being unseasonable.[6] They added that the Dutch had lost two ships by experimenting with them in the preceding two years, and that two other Dutch ships which started at the same time as the *Happy Entrance* in October 1671 had come to the same unfortunate end as that ship.[7]

Owing to delay in the building and dispatch of the vessels ordered from Masulipatam for the Balasore–Hugli voyage, the *Madras* was refitted and was expected to last two or three years more.[8] The first of the two new sloops arrived from Masulipatam in August, and the

[1] O.C. 3710, f. 2.
[2] Ibid., f. 3.
[3] Ibid., f. 1.
[4] Bay let. to Co. 4 Hug. 13.
[5] Bal. let. – Aug., 7 Hug. 52. Hacon died at Balasore after he had brought the *Rebecca* safely back (4 Hug. 14).
[6] Ibid. 13–14. Cf. p. 204.
[7] Ibid. 14.
[8] Ibid. 13. As to the old age of the *Madras*, cf. p. 181 n.

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second about the beginning of October, after an adventurous voyage in which she was driven on to the coast of Arakan, but escaped without serious damage. The vessels were described as 'very good' by Clavell and his Council, while Hall and Townsend in August, reporting the arrival of the first at Balasore, wrote that 'the vessel is much commended by all that see her for a brave boate, and carries about 4,000 maunds'.[1] The sloops were apparently decked, as Hall and Townsend wrote that there would now be 'noe want of close vessels for bringing down the saltpeter and other goods'.[2] It was intended that they should also serve to train seamen for taking larger vessels up to Hugli.[3]

Great difficulty was experienced in procuring sufficient goods to fill the unusually large number of six ships and in getting them off in time. Trading conditions were adverse, while the weather in the latter part of the year was unseasonable; rains and storms continued so long that goods could not be dispatched from Hugli to Balasore in time for the early shipment that was desired. A final cause of delay was the news of the Dutch war, which made it expedient that all six ships should be sent off together for mutual assistance and support. They sailed for Masulipatam and Madras about 20 December with cargoes valued at Rs. 547,718.[4]

In October there was news, or a rumour, that the Dutch were equipping two of their 'great ships' near Balasore with guns and men;[5] and throughout the year there was considerable trade rivalry with, and distrust of, them. Vincent, for example, writing to Clavell on 25 May, blamed them for the embargo on trade which then was in force and added that: 'though as particular men they may be civill enough, yet generally itt accompanies an endeavour to undermine us in our trade.'[6] In spite of this Rs. 110,000 were taken from them on bills of exchange. The usual custom was that these should be at 2*s.* 6*d.* per rupee, payable forty days after presentation, but on account of the probability of war, the bills now issued were made payable at the value current when presented after the last day of August 1673, with interest at 3 per cent.[7]

The year was a difficult one in Bengal generally. In many parts

[1] Bal. let. – Aug. & Hug. let. 9 Oct., 7 Hug. 52–3, 95; Bal. let. to Co., 4 Hug. 13. They were, however, deficient in equipment (Bal. let. 22 March 1673, ibid. 39).

[2] 7 Hug. 53.

[3] 4 Hug. 13. The two sloops were named *Arrival* and *Ganges*, of which the former was the larger one (Bowrey, 175). Cf. p. 151 *n.*

[4] 4 Hug. 14, 16, 18, 20.

[5] Hug. let. 17 Oct., 7 Hug. 96.

[6] Ibid. 63.

[7] 4 Hug. 10.

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floods and famine prevailed—thus in Balasore 'a sad famine' was raging, and many of the population had died of hunger or fled elsewhere.[1] The exactions of the Mughal officers and their interference with trade—especially with the free movement of goods—further handicapped both the English and the Dutch in their operations in those regions. In the country adjacent to Balasore the Nawab of Orissa, Softy or Soffy Khan,[2] was the cause of the trouble. Towards the end of 1671 he had been dismissed from his post[3] and was to be succeeded by Nawab Saph Secund Khan.[4] The former, before surrendering his office, led an army against a local Raja not far from Balasore and forced him to agree to pay a lakh of rupees to the Mughal Emperor, as well as 'what was given privately and presently as a bribe to the Nabob himselfe'. Only Rs. 30,000 out of the lakh was paid down, and the Nawab retired, leaving the Raja to raise the remainder from his people, who were mostly weavers. This gave him in his turn an opportunity of fleecing them, which he did so thoroughly that many of them fled the country, disorganizing their industry.[5] The arrival of the new Nawab did not improve trade as expected, for usually a change of Nawabs meant a good sale for cloth; but in the then state of the country the Hugli factors and their merchants were disappointed, as practically none was sold, and with the stock brought in by the last ships—nearly a thousand pieces—they would require at least three years for their disposal at Balasore.[6] According to Clavell and his Council, matters were no better at the other factories under the 'regency of the Nabob Sheaft Chaan',[7] the Nawab of Bengal, 'who regards little more then

[1] 4 Hug. 5.

[2] This Nawab was Safi Khan and is not to be confused with the Nawab of Bengal, Shaista Khan, who in the same letter is called 'Nabob Sheaft Chaan' (see below). The latter had previously got the Emperor to remove Balasore from the jurisdiction of the Nawab of Orissa to his own (*E.F.*, 1665–7, 258–60), but the Nawab of Orissa remained the ruler of the adjacent country. Balasore was still under the Nawab of Bengal, as Hall for this reason questioned whether it was worth while getting a farman from the Nawab of Orissa (Bal. let. 2 April, 7 Hug. 36); and in May 1674 Clavell spoke of a possibility that Balasore 'shall againe returne to bee in Orixa daccal [*dakhal*, possession]' (Bal. let. 14 May, 4 Hug. 124).

[3] The factors at Hugli heard of his dismissal immediately after the departure of the ships *Sampson*, *Bombay Merchant*, and *East India Merchant* (ibid. 2), i.e. in Dec. 1671 (p. 334).

[4] This was Safshikan Khan, who ruled Orissa till 1674 (p. 377 *post*). At this period 'Governor followed Governor in rapid succession, and each in turn fell under the displeasure of the Bengal ruler, and each in turn followed the same practice of squeezing as much as possible out of the country and remitting as little as he dared to his master' (*Bihar & Orissa District Gazetteers: Cuttack*, 2nd edn., p. 33). Bowrey (152) says a Nawab's term of office seldom exceeded three or four years.

[5] 4 Hug. 2–3.

[6] Ibid. 3.

[7] Nawab Shaista Khan was son of Asaf Khan, the brother of Nur Jahan, wife of the Emperor Jahangir, and was brother of Mumtaz Mahal, the wife of the Emperor Shah Jahan. He was,

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gathering together all the money he can'.[1] There was no sale for lead and what had been sold the previous year was lying at the factory at Balasore, left there by the merchants to avoid the payment of duty. The Emperor and the Nawab, being jealous of the Rajas and Jamadars (subordinate native officers) in that locality, had forbidden merchants to dispose of it, or any other military stores such as 'brimston or iron gunns', except to themselves or by their leave. They had, for instance, quarrelled with the King of Siam's factor at Balasore over his selling an elephant to a local Raja, and this factor also had a large stock of lead unsold.[2] Some of the Company's lead and broadcloth had, in default of sale, been bartered to Chim Cham (Khemchand) and other merchants for ginghams and other calicoes, but this had resulted in these costing about 20 per cent. more than if bought for cash. English broadcloth had reached Patna via Agra,[3] but it found no sale on account of the badness of the market there, as well as in all the other Bengal factories.[4] In their letter at the end of the year, which recounts these facts, the Chief and Council consequently asked the Company to send no more broadcloth for the next one or two years.[4]

At Hugli trade was also grievously hampered by the Mughal Governor there, Mollick Cossum (Malik Kasim),[5] as described at length in the letter just mentioned. His interference affected the affairs of both the English and the Dutch. A summary of the more important parts of this account will sufficiently explain the general course of events, of which further details from letters from Hugli and Dacca are given later (pp. 348–51). Malik Kasim refused to give 'distucks'[6] whenever his greedy and petulant desires were not complied with by making him presents, selling him goods at his own rates, transporting his goods on the Company's ships, and piloting his ships in and out of the Ganges. The Company's representatives complied with his demands as far as was reasonably possible, but could not, without too heavy a charge, try to meet his expectations by equalling the Dutch, whose trade was greater and who were in a better position to win favour by presents of elephants from Ceylon and Tennaserim and of wares from Japan and China.[7]

therefore, maternal uncle of Aurangzeb, and had been Governor of Bengal since 1664. As to his avarice and oppression, see *E.F.*, 1665–7, 257–9; 1668–9, 166, &c.; and *S.M.* i. 493.

[1] 4 Hug. 3. [2] Ibid. 4.

[3] This broadcloth probably came from Surat, where a similar state of affairs prevailed: cf. *E.F.* i. 222, 225. [4] 4 Hug. 4.

[5] Malik Kasim was the son of Malik Beg, a former Governor at Balasore, and had held office from about 1668 (*E.F.*, 1646–50, 147; 1655–60, 192–3; 1668–9, 297; Bowrey, 183).

[6] Pers. *dastak*, a pass or permit (Yule, 334).

[7] 4 Hug. 5.

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This year his malice had prompted him to demand production of the King's farman authorizing them to lade their goods customs free, or else the nishan [order] of Shah Shuja[1] about it, which were referred to in the parwana [licence] of the Nawab of Bengal.[2] They replied that the farman was at Surat, nor could they produce the nishan, but that the parwana, on which they also relied for this freedom from customs or other dues, was enough authority for him, as he was a servant of the Nawab of Bengal and had by virtue of it been passing their goods free for five years during his governorship. They forbore, however, taking the matter to the Nawab's court for some time, as no remedy could be obtained expeditiously without satisfying all the great officers at it. They did their best to placate the Governor, but could not procure redress from him. They suspected that the trouble was instigated by the Dutch, who paid in customs between Rs. 30,000 and Rs. 40,000 a year, as against an annual sum of Rs. 3,000, and the usual small presents to the Governor and his officers, paid by the English.[3]

The Dutch at Hugli and Malik Kasim, however, fell out. The former's chief Brahman, Bubram by name, died suddenly. He had been supposed to be rich, but was found indebted to Malik Kasim to the amount of Rs. 30,000, taken at interest as servant to the Dutch. He also owed the Dutch a similar amount. They applied to Malik Kasim for its recovery and with his assent, or following his advice, got hold of the widow of the Brahman and tried to force her to pay. They got Rs. 13,000 from her, but she died two days after returning to her house—some said of poison taken by her because of the shame she felt, others alleged from wounds and bruises she had received in being beaten. Malik Kasim, and other local officials, took up the matter and reported to the Nawab that the Dutch had murdered the woman. The Dutch 'second' was confronted with the corpse when attending a durbar, and was kept a prisoner till Rs. 28,000 were paid as part of the debt owed by the deceased Brahman to Malik Kasim.

The Director of the Dutch Factory then sent his 'second' to the Nawab's Court at Dacca to complain against Malik Kasim's conduct in

[1] The 'King's farman' was the order of the Emperor Shah Jahan, dated 11 Aug. 1650, an abstract of which is given in *E.F.*, 1655–60, 414–15. It related principally to Surat, and so was in the keeping of that factory. The nishan of Sultan Shah Shuja (second son of the Emperor Shah Jahan, and Governor of Bengal 1639–58) was granted on 6 April 1656. Translations of it are given in ibid. 111–12, and *S.M.* ii. 21–2.

[2] This parwana appears to be that granted by Mir Jumla in Feb. 1660: see *E.F.*, 1655–60, 390, 416. Cf. the reference to it in Shaista Khan's parwana of June 1672 (p. 350 *post*).

[3] 4 Hug. 5–6. The Dutch had to pay 4 per cent. 'on all their traffick' under a farman granted by the Emperor Aurangzeb in 1662 (*S.M.* i. 32, 492; ii. 26–8).

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extorting from them money that they did not owe. They further alleged that he had abused both the Nawab and the Dutch by bringing to account less customs than they had actually paid. The Dutch chief also arranged with the local Jamadars that they should complain of the Governor's severity to them, and offered a large present to the Nawab and his diwan[1] as an 'esier passage' to getting the Governor turned out of his office. Thereupon Malik Kasim was summoned to Dacca to answer the accusations against him.

The Chief and Council of the English now thought it timely to present their complaints also. These were at first stifled by the diwan, lest they should 'spoile his harvest between the Governor and the Dutch'; but Clavell himself proceeded to Kasimbazar and on 'serious consideration' renewed the complaints through Smith at Dacca. The result was that after some small presents to the Nawab and the diwan he succeeded in getting a new parwana from the Nawab, which removed the recent obstruction to the Company's business in Bengal.[2]

Before this Malik Kasim had reached Dacca and secured his post as Governor by presents to the Nawab and his officers amounting to Rs. 70,000. He returned to Hugli with 'great splendor', and from there so 'irritated' the Nawab and diwan against the Dutch that orders were issued to all parts under Shaista Khan's government prohibiting the Emperor's subjects from trading with them or serving them. This was put in force with varying degrees of severity at different places, but in Hugli so rigorously that the factory warehouse was shut up for five months and the Dutch had no one except their own slaves to attend them. At first they refused to pay anything to obtain relief from this treatment; but later on in the year,[3] when their ships were expected, they gave in and terminated the matter by payments of Rs. 150,000 to the Nawab and Rs. 50,000 to his officers: in return, after their 'second' had been five months at Dacca, they secured the removal of Malik Kasim from his office as Governor of Hugli and a declaration of their innocence in respect of the death of the woman.[4]

Further information on this subject is contained in the extant letters to Clavell and his Council from the various factories in this year.[5]

[1] Smith (Dac. let. 12 June, 7 Hug. 72) said he was Shaista Khan's son, 'Mirza Obdull Nuzzer' (Abdun Nazir Khan): cf. *S.M.* ii. 280.

[2] The parwana was obtained in June, and its translation is given at pp. 349–50.

[3] This was prior to 20 Aug., when Clavell reported the matter to Fort St. George (O.C. 3671, relevant extract from which is reproduced in *S.M.* i. 146). See also the similar account given in Hug. let. to Surat, 23 Aug., 108 Sur. 77.

[4] 4 Hug. 6–8; O.C. 3671.

[5] 7 Hug. 24–96.

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Bagnall, writing from Hugli on 9 January, gives an account of Malik Kasim's vexatious interference at that time. He pretended that he had received a parwana from the Nawab of Bengal, ordering the English to pay the same customs as the Dutch, but of this he refused to supply a copy. He attempted to have an account taken of the goods of the English sent on their boraes (lighters), and one of the boats was brought by a subordinate to the waterside to be there unloaded. The factors, on hearing of it, forced him to let the boat go, and gave him '15 drubs'. The Governor then sent a sepoy to fetch their 'bannian and occoon',[1] and after using abusive language, gave them the alternative of rendering an account of the goods, or of producing within ten days the Emperor's farman and the Nawab's parwana, or else getting nothing but 'drubs and imprisonment'. Bagnall replied to the Governor that the farman was at Surat and the parwana at one of the other Bengal stations, and that he could not guarantee its production within the ten days.

A sepoy was then sent for him, and the same demands and threats were repeated, and the same answers returned. Meanwhile the goods remained in the boats.[2] Later on in January Joseph Hall, on his way to Balasore, arrived at Hugli, and under instructions from Clavell took up the matter. Bagnall refused to go with him to the Governor owing to the 'slightings' he had received from that official, while peons and servants showed a similar reluctance through fear. A small present from Hall was accepted by the Governor, but he at first refused to give permission for the goods to proceed to Patna, Dacca, and elsewhere, and treated Hall rudely. At a further interview, however, he was in a better humour, and at last 'condescended to grant' it, and (according to Hall) all went smoothly again.[3] This state of affairs did not last long, and, as already related, Malik Kasim's interference with trade compelled the English and Dutch to have resort to the Nawab at Dacca.

John Smith at Dacca had the handling of the negotiations on behalf of the Bay Council, and his letters to Clavell amplify the latter's account of the affair and fix the dates of its stages. On 1 May he reported the arrival of Malik Kasim and that he had got the diwan to stop all Dutch business: also that as the diwan was completely under the influence of Malik Kasim, being 'little better than his vaqueel', it would not then

[1] *Akhun*, usually a Muhammadan teacher, but also applied to educated men; in the Company's employment the 'occoon' acted as a clerk and Persian interpreter (*S.M.* i. 445–6).
[2] 7 Hug. 26–7. [3] Ibid. 27–9.

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be safe to attempt his 'taggeering' (dismissal).[1] On 14 May he wrote that the diwan was demanding two lakhs of rupees from the Dutch, and had refused passes for the English goods until they appeared before him for a settlement of their complaints against Malik Kasim and his against them. This Smith was refusing to do, as his terms were expected to be high.[2]

By the end of May complaints were being laid before the diwan through one Sudderam and, though they met with none too friendly a hearing, Malik Kasim was apparently ordered to make some payments.[3] Smith continued to complain to the diwan, and on 7 June wrote that the latter had refused to receive a letter from Clavell on the subject, but said that he would tell Malik Kasim to give them dastaks permitting the transit of goods.[4] Smith was also hoping to get a parwana from the Nawab about the Company's trade; and on 12 June he gave an account of the handing over of presents, viz. looking-glasses and other 'rarities', to the Nawab and his son, the diwan. According to him both seemed well pleased: the diwan at once issued dastaks, promised the parwana, and agreed that the Company's business should not be stopped.[5] The Dutch were less fortunate, as their vakil was sent to prison and a long complaint given by them to the Nawab was passed on to the diwan. Smith did not expect that their business would be bettered by it.[6]

On 19 June he was able to report the receipt of two parwanas, one 'for a free trade, the other for friendship'. The first and more important of these confirmed the exemption from customs, throughout Bengal and Orissa, of all goods imported or exported by the English Company, ordered help to be given in the recovery of their debts, free passage for boats owned or hired by them, and prohibited all impediment or hindrance to their trade.[7] A translation of it that was sent to the Company[8] about this time is reproduced below:

Translate of Nabob Shausteth Cawne, Lord of the Noble Men, his Confirmation of the English Priviledges in the Kingdome of Bengale.

The Perwana or Order of Shausteth Cawne, the Lord of noblemen, dated this third day of the third Month in the fifteenth year of the

[1] 7 Hug. 42–3. [2] Ibid. 59. [3] Ibid. 65.
[4] Ibid. 69. [5] Ibid. 71–2.
[6] Dac. let. 12 & 19 June, 7 Hug. 72, 74. [7] 7 Hug. 74.
[8] O.C. 3627. The copy of the parwana that Streynsham Master appended to his diary (*S.M.* ii. 22–4) was evidently taken from this document. Another translation, which is in 3 Misc. 159, has been printed in Miss L. M. Anstey's account of Walter Clavell (*Ind. Antiquary*, xxxiv. 288).

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glorious reigne of Aurung Zeeb Emperour of the World, To all greate officers, chancellours, farmers of the Kings customes, farmers of the Kings rent, collonells, captains, rent gatherers, custome gatherers, watchmen & all other under officers now in being & that shall be in these Kingdomes of Bengale & Orixa [Orissa], declareth that Walter Clavell, the English Captain, this day presented his suite before Mee, averring according to the Letters Patents of the mighty Emperour [Shah Jahan] & Prince Sultan Shawe Sujah [Shah Shuja], as also by the Perwanna or Order of Mer Jumbla [Mir Jumla], the Cawne of Cawnes (deceased), the custome of all goods exported & imported bought or sold belonging to the English Company to be released, whereupon I also give my confirmation of the same, & order that according to the said Letters Patents &c you governe yourself & whatsoever goods the said Company shall import from Ballasore or any other place neer the sea side up to Hugly, Cassam Bazer, Patana, or any other place in these two Kingdomes, as alsoe what salt petre or any other goods they shall export from Pattana or any other place to Ballasore or any Port to the Sea side, That you let them pass custome free without any lett [hindrance] impediment or demands whatsoever & wherever they have factories or warehouses that you help their factors in getting in their due debts from any weavers, merchants, &c., that really appears to be indebted to them, without giving protection to any such person soe indebted whereby they may any wayes be wronged, and whatever boates, whether their owne, or freighted, let them not be stopt on any pretence whatever, but suffered to pass without molestation, and notwithstanding I have lately by reason of a greate outrage comitted by the Dutch absolutely forbidden them any trade in these Kingdomes aforesaid, soe that Governours & other officers have took occasion to stop & hinder the English trade, which I have not interdicted with that of the Dutch which I have strictly forbidden, I doe declare that the English Company never comitted any offence of soe high a nature that their trade should be hindered, and I therefore resolve & order as before, that according to the above mentioned order, & as their trade had for soe many years quietly & without any impediment gon on in those Kingdomes aforesaid, that it now also be not hindered but that what ever their factors & other servants shall buy or sell as aforesaid, be noe ways letted [hindered] or impeded, and that I may heare noe more complaints from the English in this matter, see that this my order be strictly observed.

Clavell only intervened in the negotiations from a distance, proceeding no further than Kasimbazar, apparently owing to the expense that a visit to the Nawab would entail;[1] but he sent James Price to assist

[1] Cf. Kas. let. 24 May, 7 Hug. 62–3.

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Smith. The latter, however, sent him back, saying that he had arrived after the business had been done and the factory had, therefore, 'no occasion for him'.[1] After the grant of the farman Malik Kasim changed his attitude to the English and promised to pay back what he had extorted from them.[2] On 11 July Smith reported to Clavell that he had long since departed from Dacca, after making 'fair promises', at his arrival in Hugli, to let the Company's business go on as before;[3] but a week later the Dutch had succeeded in securing his dismissal from the governorship of Hugli, though at a cost of Rs. 150,000 disbursed to the Nabob and other unknown sums to subordinates.[4] The new Governor, Aziz Beg, who left for Hugli on 19 July, appeared to Smith 'very quiett and civill'; he made promises of help to the English in their business. It was expected that Malik Kasim would be transferred to Balasore as Governor; but Smith hoped to be able to prevent this, if so ordered.[5]

About this time there were rumours that the Emperor intended to send his third son, 'Sultan Mazzum' (Muhammad Azam), to Bengal to succeed Shaista Khan, which (said Smith) made 'the Nabob more vigorously rack the country', getting in all the money he possibly could and collecting taxes in advance.[6] A little later, as a set-off to this, at a durbar in the course of which he was taken ill, he ordered the release of all prisoners, however grave their crime, and gave two lakhs of rupees, as well as four elephants and two horses, for the benefit of the poor.[7] The rumours, however, turned out to have been unfounded and these exactions and boons unnecessary, as the Nawab continued in office.[8]

At Dacca there were also attempts on the part of those in authority to enrich themselves or to improve the revenues by measures which interfered with trade. The weavers there were accustomed to pay the Nawab a fixed annual sum of Rs. 1,500 for the right of making and selling their cloth. This sum was increased to above Rs. 50,000 this year by an order that all cloth should be 'chopped' (stamped) and should pay a tax of 2 pice in a rupee on each piece, instead of the

[1] Dac. let. 19 June, 7 Hug. 74. As to James Price's previous history, see *S.M.* i. 416 *n.* Smith's dismissal of Price from Dacca, on his own authority, was the subject of a charge against the former in 1676. It seems clear that Clavell sent Price as a sort of spy, and that Smith took advantage of the fact mentioned above to get rid of him (*S.M.* i. 158, 159–60).

[2] Dac. let. 24 June, 7 Hug. 77 & 3 Misc. 170.

[3] 7 Hug. 79.

[4] Dac. let. 17 July, ibid. 81.

[5] Dac. let. 24 July, ibid. 81–2.

[6] Dac. let. 26 June & 17 July, ibid. 78, 81.

[7] Dac. let. 8 Aug., ibid. 83.

[8] He remained in office up to 1677. Prince Azam became Nawab of Bengal in 1678 (cf. p. 442 *n.*).

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previous practice, requiring only a gross payment of Rs. 1,500.[1] A stoppage of business resulted; the English supported the weavers, fearing that the change would give undue opportunity of delaying the delivery of goods in order to extort money, and that it might spread all over Bengal, with a demand that the English and Dutch should make similar payments for the passage of their cloth.[2] On 29 August, however, Smith was able to report to Clavell that he had got his goods clear, after giving an undertaking not to let others make use of the liberty given them.[3] On the other hand, at the end of the year Clavell believed the goods of the Dutch were still being stopped, though they had the King's farman to pay customs only once, viz. at the ports; and he said that, of their own goods from Dacca, only Rs. 10,000 worth had reached Hugli out of goods expected to the amount of Rs. 50,000, 'though our advices have been frequent and peremptory to hast them away as much as they can'.[4] Floods also may have contributed to the delay, as in August there was so much water about Dacca that 'almost all the country is drowned'.[3]

Vincent at Kasimbazar had the aid of friendly Governors,[5] and trade proceeded quietly there, though the late famine and the great exactions of the Nawab and his 'griping' officers had (he said) 'reduced these people to such extremities as they can hardly feed themselves and their families'.[6] The chief trade news may be briefly summarized. Silk was scarce and dear, owing to mulberry-trees having suffered from rain and floods: difficulties were experienced in dyeing it the required colours and their English dyer, Naylor, proved of little help, as he was only a black-silk dyer: consequently colours other than black that they tried were not 'well hitting': faults also occurred in the winding of the silk, and Littleton, who was expected to teach the winders the English practice, was late in arriving: moreover the rains delayed the fitting up of the dye-house, and the continuance of 'rainy drizzling weather and generall sickness of inhabitants' further hampered the dispatch of goods to Hugli prior to the middle of October.[7] Various consignments of treasure sent up from Hugli were received: some of it was sold

[1] Dac. let. 24 June, 7 Hug. 77; 4 Hug. 8.

[2] Dac. let. 29 Aug., 7 Hug. 88; 4 Hug. 8. Cf. Hug. let. to Surat, 23 Aug., 108 Sur. 76–7.

[3] 7 Hug. 88. [4] 4 Hug. 8.

[5] A change of Governors was reported in March, when Vincent wrote: 'our old Governor the Hodgee [Haji] is turned out and one Mahomed Moraud [Murad] arrived' (ibid. 38).

[6] Kas. let. 7 Jan., ibid. 25.

[7] Kas. let. 9 Feb., 29 Aug., & 9 Oct., ibid. 32, 85–6, 94, & 3 Misc. 172–3. As to Naylor and Littleton, see p. 333.

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locally, but most was sent to the Mughal mint at Rajmahal to be coined: coins were more easily disposed of to local merchants and prevented the Company being imposed on in the price given by them for treasure.[1] Trading was very dead 'by reason of almost all Governors, great and small, turning merchants and most unreasonably abusing those they deale with'.[2] Considerable funds were raised at interest or on bills, and large sums were sent to Dacca and Patna.[3]

After the recovery of books that Hall had sent away, alleged errors in his accounts and entries as to amounts owed by him to the Company led to correspondence between Vincent and Clavell; and the former, not unreasonably, refused to be answerable for differences between the cash balance he had received and that shown in the books of another man.[4]

At Patna trading conditions were also difficult and local officials exacting. Saltpetre was scarce and dear owing to heavy rains, as well as to the famine in the previous year, which had caused the deaths of many of the weavers and most of the makers of saltpetre. Rain and floods again hindered operations and damaged the buildings at Singhiya. Efforts to buy other goods were hampered by their scarcity and high prices.[5] The main trouble, however, arose from the Nawab of Patna, Ibrahim Khan. When the saltpetre had been bagged and put on boats, he refused to issue dastaks for it, and so stopped its transport till he had forced them to buy from him a quantity of decayed saffron at about double its real value. The goods were ready and could have been sent off by the middle of July, but it was not till 19 September that they were dispatched after the Nawab's exorbitant demands had been met.[6] Another misfortune was that one of the boats laden with nearly 1,000 maunds of saltpetre sank, with the loss of nearly all the cargo.[7]

The Dutch at Patna, though bribing heavily, were in equal or still greater trouble and had to buy a larger quantity of the Nawab's saffron.[8] The tyranny of a local darogha (superintendent) over both the 'petermen' and the servants of the factors, some of whom were

[1] Kas. let. 9 Feb., 14 March, 17 May, & 9 Oct., 7 Hug. 33, 38, 60, 93.
[2] Kas. let. 9 Oct., 7 Hug. 94 & 3 Misc. 172.
[3] Kas. let. 10 April, 17 May, 6 & 29 Aug., 7 Hug. 58, 60, 83, 87.
[4] Kas. let. 9 Feb., 14 March, & 4 May, 7 Hug. 33, 37, 41, & 3 Misc. 168.
[5] Pat. let. 31 March & 25 April, 7 Hug. 55–6, 40.
[6] Pat. let. 3 & 14 June & 19 Sept., ibid. 66, 73, 91–2; 4 Hug. 8–9.
[7] 4 Hug. 9.
[8] Pat. let. 19 Sept., 7 Hug. 91–3 & 3 Misc. 172.

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imprisoned, was a further cause of complaint and a hindrance to trade.[1]

Charnock advocated an appeal to the Mughal Emperor[2] and received instructions to try the effect of a bribe on the officers of the Nawab; if this was ineffective he was to pay for the saffron, refuse to take delivery, and then make his complaint.[3] The attempt to refuse its delivery was, however, taken by the Nawab as a 'great affront' and the saffron had to be accepted. On 19 September Charnock was looking out for 'an able vaqueel', to send to the Mughal court to represent the case;[4] but at the end of the year Clavell wrote to the Company that he had received no advice whether one had been dispatched or not.[5] Charnock lamented that he had not the power of imprisoning or punishing the makers of the saltpetre, as its lack made them slow in bringing it in and careless as to its quality.[6]

BENGAL, 1673

THE year was on the whole a quiet one for the factories. On account of the Dutch war the Company sent no ships or bullion to the Bay,[7] and the same cause proved an obstacle to the continued passage of vessels and goods between Hugli and Balasore. The exactions and harassments of local Mughal governors continued to hinder trading operations. Communications with the Fort and with other factories outside Bengal were slow and uncertain; and, for most of the year, there was an absence of news or orders which made it difficult for the Chief and Council to determine what goods they would require or could pay for.

Walter Clavell continued to be Chief, remaining at Balasore from the beginning of the year up to about the end of October, when he and others of his Council removed to Hugli.[8] At Balasore he had as colleagues Edward Reade and Gabriel Townsend;[9] at Hugli, Reade and

[1] 7 Hug. 92 & 3 Misc. 172.
[2] 7 Hug. 93 & 3 Misc. 172.
[3] 4 Hug. 9.
[4] 7 Hug. 93. The Bay Council had authorized this (Hug. let. 23 Aug., 108 Sur. 77).
[5] 4 Hug. 9.
[6] 7 Hug. 92 & 3 Misc. 172. According to a deposition by John Marshall in 1676 (*S.M.* i. 351–2), Charnock also wanted the Governor of Patna to allow him to inflict punishment on an Indian who had stabbed and killed a Hindu servant of the Company in the factory at Singhiya on 8 March 1672; but the Governor decided that he should be handed over to the nearest relation of the deceased under the Moslem doctrine of *qisas* or retribution.
[7] Desp. 13 Dec. 1672, 6 L.B. 22.
[8] Bal. let. 27 Oct. and Hug. let. 15 & 24 Nov., 4 Hug. 89, 90–5.
[9] Bal. let. 13 Jan., ibid. 19 & *passim*.

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Edmund Bugden acted as such and were joined at times by John Smith and Edward Littleton.[1] Bugden had succeeded Bagnall in the management of affairs at Hugli in Clavell's and Reade's absence.[2] Charnock continued to be Chief at Patna, but early in the year his 'second', Robert Elwes, replaced John Smith as head at Dacca.[3] The latter was recalled to Balasore by Clavell and his Council for slackness in giving advices, dispatching goods, and rendering accounts.[4] Other postings, reported at the same time to the Fort, were those of Richard Trenchfield to Hugli, George Knipe to Kasimbazar, Henry Carpenter to Patna, and Samuel Hervey and Thomas Bromley to Dacca.[5] In March Robert Littleton was also, at his own request, transferred from Kasimbazar to Hugli, as there was little business doing at the former place on account of the war.[6] The small number of men who were thoroughly acquainted with the River Ganges was depleted by the death of another pilot, John Floyd, in whose place one Daniel Roberts was engaged.[7] William Lux also appears as a pilot in charge of the ketch *Ganges*.[8]

In the absence of Joseph Hall there was a noticeable freedom from the squabbles and friction of the previous year among the Company's servants.[9] In June it was learnt that he was likely to be sent back, and Clavell and his Council protested strongly against this step. After referring to the many complaints they had made against him, they wrote:

should it bee true . . . wee must be contented with so great an unhappiness and bid adieu to the quiet wee in his absence enjoy. Wee hope you will take it into serious consideration and know that it is

[1] Hug. let. 24 Nov., 4 Hug. 95, & *passim*.

[2] Bal. let. 17 Jan., 10 Feb., & 16 March, 4 Hug. 21, 22, 36. Cf. Bugden's let. to Edwards, O.C. 3780 & 3839.

[3] Bal. let. 17 Jan., 4 Hug. 21.

[4] Bal. let. to Fort, 16 March, ibid. 36 (partly reproduced in *Ind. Antiquary*, xliii. 269–70). There had been friction between Clavell and Smith in the previous year (p. 351). Smith alleged that the real reason for his removal was that he had offended Vincent, who had great influence with Clavell (Smith's let. to Matthew Herne, 12 Oct., 3 Misc. 197, printed in *Bengal and Madras Papers*, vol. i, pp. 1, 2). Smith left Dacca on 9 June and reached Balasore some six weeks later (O.C. 3798, & Bal. let. 28 July, 4 Hug. 71).

[5] 4 Hug. 36. Of these writers, Carpenter had been elected in 1668, Hervey, Knipe, and Bromley in 1670, and Trenchfield in 1671 (*Ct. Min.*, 1668–70, 82, 373, 374, 385; 1671–3, 82).

[6] Bal. let. 29 March, 4 Hug. 32. Robert Littleton was a brother of Edward Littleton, and later on became a freeman at Hugli and Balasore (*S.M.* i. 320; ii. 75).

[7] Bal. let. 21 Feb., 4 Hug. 29. Floyd's estate, after the payment of legacies, was to go to the poor of Covent Garden parish.

[8] Bal. let. 11 March, ibid. 29.

[9] Bal. let. to Fort, 4 June, ibid. 55, saying 'God bee praised wee are at present at peace among ourselves'.

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allmost impossible that our Masters business should succeed well as long as there are feuds and animosities among their servants.[1]

Seeing the Fort refused to countermand the order for his return, they wrote bitterly to Elwes at Dacca that, while they could get no orders from the Agency on business matters, it interfered where the peace and quietness of the Bay were concerned, as in the sending back of Hall, who was then expected any day.[2] Writing similarly to Vincent at Kasimbazar, they quoted 'a common proverb in England, some men may better steale a horse [than] another may look over the headge'.[3] To the Agent and Council they were equally outspoken, protesting that 'you will by this action have rendered the Chiefe and Councell so contemptable and inervated that power which the Honourable Company have been pleased to invest upon them that henceforward little obedience is to bee expected to their orders'. They complained that the Fort authorities remained silent on other matters, 'though they much more concern the Company than the complying with humours of discontented persons'.[4] The protests were of no avail, and on 30 August Hall reached Balasore on a small vessel from Masulipatam.[5] With him came three of the Company's servants that had been sent from England.[6] In November, when Clavell had left for Hugli, Hall was in charge at Balasore.[7]

The Chief and Council had another cause for complaint in that they received no news or instructions from the Fort, though (as they sarcastically wrote) 'wee beleeve it to have been the Companys intent to put Bengala in subordination to the Fort that from thence we might have orders and advices in all matters of advice and moment'. They therefore were left in doubt as to how to deal with their scanty cash, whether to expend it on goods or retain it for necessary expenses.[8] In June they had had no letter from the Fort since 22 January.[9] It was only after Hall had brought with him an unattested copy of the Company's despatch that they learnt that no ship would come to them that year; and up to 27 October they had no orders whatever from the Fort authorities.[10] Letters from Surat, too, were delayed, taking as much as five months on the way, or were lost owing to the Company's

[1] Bal. let. to Fort, 27 June, 4 Hug. 67.
[2] Bal. let. 8 July, ibid. 71.
[3] Hug. let. 1 Aug., ibid. 76.
[4] Bal. let. 8 Aug., ibid. 77, 78.
[5] Bal. let. to Dacca, 5 Sept., ibid. 84.
[6] Bal. let. to Hugli, 5 Sept., ibid. 86.
[7] Hug. let. to Balasore, 24 & 29 Nov., ibid. 95, 96.
[8] Bal. let. 8 Aug., ibid. 78–9.
[9] Bal. let. to Fort, 4 & 27 June, ibid. 53, 65; Bal. let. to Dacca, 10 June, ibid. 62.
[10] Bal. let. 5 Sept. & 27 Oct., ibid. 84, 85, 89.

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cossids (messengers) being imprisoned. The President at Surat was therefore asked to send them by Patna, or preferably by Masulipatam, and not by Agra, where the Dutch Resident could intercept them.[1]

Except in the early part of the year all transport of goods between Hugli and Balasore was at a standstill owing to fears of the Dutch after the capture by them of the boats from Masulipatam (pp. 59, 234).[2] On receipt of this news in February, orders were sent to Hugli to stop a boat that had been designed to bring down goods, and thereafter sailings were not resumed.[3] Before this, in January, four vessels had been sent up to Hugli with goods to the value of Rs. 41,725. These vessels included the two old ones, the *Diligence* and the *Madras*, and the two that had been built at Masulipatam, now named the *Ganges* and the *Arrival*. The *Ganges* was to do another trip down with instructions to keep a good look-out and 'to come not neare any Dutch ship nor trust them'.[4] On the return voyage to Hugli she carried a cargo of brimstone and alum, as well as of broadcloth and lead bought by Boremul, the late Governor of Balasore, to be forwarded to him at Kasimbazar.[5]

The cash position was difficult at the beginning and through most of the year. The provision of cargo for an unusually large number of ships at the end of the previous year (p. 343) had depleted the resources of the Balasore factory, and on account of the war no money on bills of exchange was available from the Dutch, who usually provided funds in this way. Hence the possibilities of making purchases were mostly limited to what they could get by the sale or exchange of their broadcloth or other goods.[6] However, after Clavell's arrival at Hugli on 3 November, he succeeded in raising Rs. 56,000 on bills of exchange,[7] of which he sent Rs. 39,500 to Kasimbazar in the form of 2,000 copangs[8] with orders that Patna should be supplied with funds from there.[9]

Saltpetre was required for Europe, and Patna was the best source

[1] Bal. let. 17 & 27 June, ibid. 64, 68.

[2] Bal. let. 2 & 17 June, ibid. 55, 63.

[3] Bal. let. 29 March & 10 & 27 June, ibid. 31, 60, 65.

[4] Bal. let. to Hugli, 13 Jan., ibid. 18.

[5] Bal. let. to Hugli, 29 March, ibid. 30, 31. As to Boremul being Governor of Balasore in 1672, cf. p. 339 & *S.M.* i. 474; ii. 87. In 1673 he was Governor at Dacca (Bal. let. 1 Aug., 4 Hug. 75).

[6] Bal. let. 16 & 31 March, ibid. 35, 41.

[7] Probably this money was surreptitiously obtained from Dutch sources, as Clavell says it was loaned 'on the termes agreed on the last yeare', ibid. 95 (cf. p. 343 *ante*).

[8] i.e. *Kaping*, a gold Japanese coin; cf. Bowrey, 241 *n.*, & *S.M.* ii. 390.

[9] Hug. let. 15, 21, & 24 Nov., 4 Hug. 91, 93, 95.

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of supply in Bengal, so even in the early part of the year some Rs. 30,000, later raised to Rs. 50,000, were provided for Job Charnock with orders to supply as much as possible, borrowing money at interest if necessary.[1] The Agent and Council were informed on 16 March that there would be no lessening of the investments there, but that those at Kasimbazar would be reduced and that in particular no silk would be bought pending further orders.[2] From time to time broadcloth and other commodities, such as cloth rashes, lead, copper, tin, brimstone, and alum, were sent to the other stations from Balasore or Hugli.[3] The Kasimbazar factory had been authorized in the early part of the year to sell the goods at low rates to raise cash for its expenses, but this permission was cancelled in November when funds had become available.[4] As the Company had not ordered any investments to be made at Dacca, Elwes was recommended to get in all the Company's goods remaining with people to whom they had been distributed for sale in the previous year, and send them down to Hugli, where there was more warehousing room.[5] In general the policy in the early part of the year was to buy 'coarse', that is cheap and bulky goods, so as to be prepared to fill, so far as was possible with the funds available, any ship or ships that should unexpectedly arrive.[6]

Great efforts were made from time to time to dispose of broadcloth, of which there were large stocks in the hands both of the Company and of merchants. At Balasore, Khemchand alone had Rs. 30,000 worth. At Hugli, where cloth had been lying for several years and become damaged, Bugden was ordered to dispose of it for whatever he could get, or try to barter it for saltpetre.[7] Some of the cloth at Balasore was sold to the gumasta (agent) of the late Governor, Boremul, and sent to Kasimbazar (p. 357); some was bartered, with other goods such as lead, tin, and copper plates, to one Rogonaut (Raghunath) for cossaes (muslins) to be delivered at Hugli.[8] Here the Chief and Council had to lament the loss of even the petty trade they had formerly done with soldiers and others marching with the Nawab's camp, who came to the factory door and bought a few half-pieces for cash.[9] In November Hall was urged to 'truck off broadcloth against hummums, ginghams, . . .

[1] Bal. let. 11 Feb. & 31 March, 4 Hug. 24*a*, 45.
[2] Ibid. 35.
[3] Bal. let. 10 & 11 Feb., ibid. 24, 24*a*, & *passim*.
[4] Hug. let. 22 Nov., ibid. 93–4.
[5] Ibid. 94.
[6] Bal. let. 13 Feb. & 31 March, ibid. 27, 41.
[7] Bal. let. 27 June & 28 July, ibid. 66, 73.
[8] Bal. let. 31 March & 11 April, ibid. 42, 49. Raghunath was a merchant at Hugli (*S.M.* i. 448).
[9] Bal. let. to Fort, 27 June, 4 Hug. 66.

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sannoes, and fine nillees [blue goods], or any sort of casses [cossaes], and any other goods which are usually bo[u]ght in Ballasore'.[1]

The attempts which were being made by the Company's dyers to dye cloth at Kasimbazar are mentioned in the correspondence. In March certain pieces of black taffeta were approved by the Chief and Council, though not considered to be so good as those that came from France and Italy, and others were ordered to be made, 'if they fall cheape'.[2] The Company's leading dyer, John Naylor, whose knowledge of dyeing was confined to a black colour, had, however, not been very successful; and in August Vincent was permitted to discontinue dyeing, as he found it so hard to have the work done well and cheaply.[3] Later in November, after receipt of the Company's orders requiring these black taffetas, he was instructed to provide as many of them as possible; and Naylor was sent down to Balasore to choose what dyes he required from the dyes sent out from England that year.[4] Of two new dyers sent out by the Company that year one (Terret) died at Masulipatam (p. 250 *n.*) and the other (Cole) then lay dangerously ill there.[5]

The getting in of saltpetre at Patna was hampered by rains and still more by troubles from the local officials, who continued to oppress the 'petremen'[6] and stop the passage of the Company's goods; but, towards the end of the year, some was in transit on boats. These got into difficulties near Kasimbazar, and John Marshall was sent from there to tranship it into smaller boats. The boats reached Hugli about 30 December.[7] Ibrahim Khan was still the Nawab of Patna in the first part of the year; but in March advices came to Hugli from Cuttack of a rumour that he was to be replaced by Safi Khan, the late Nawab of Orissa,[8] and in June from Dacca that his probable successor was Buzurd Umed Khan, a son of Shaista Khan.[9] A new Nawab seems to have been installed by the end of the year (p. 374).

[1] Hug. let. 24 Nov., ibid. 95. As to cossaes and hummums, see Yule, 707.
[2] Bal. let. 31 March, 4 Hug. 43.
[3] Bal. let. 1 Aug., ibid. 74.
[4] Hug. let. 15 & 29 Nov., ibid. 91, 96.
[5] Hug. let. 26 Sept. & 15 Oct., ibid. 87, 91. Cf. p. 374 *post.*
[6] Bal. let. 8 Aug. & 15 Nov., ibid. 78, 191.
[7] Hug. let. 21 Nov., 12 Dec., & 1 Jan. 1673, ibid. 92, 97, 102.
[8] Bal. let. 31 March, ibid. 42, 45. Sir Richard Temple (Bowrey, 152 *n.*) inadvertently misquotes the passage in saying the advices were that Safi Khan 'is come to Pattana in place of' Ibrahim Khan: they merely cited rumours that he 'is to come'. Nor can any inference be drawn that Safi Khan was then the Nawab of Orissa, in face of the clear evidence that Safshikan had succeeded him in 1671 (p. 344). Moreover, it is possible that the name transliterated as 'Zoffy' (Safi) is really 'Zofsy' (Safsi) and relates to the then Nawab of Orissa, Safshikan.
[9] Bal. let. 17 June, 4 Hug. 64.

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The 'imperiousness and oppression of inferiour Governors' led the Chief and Council in June to conclude that all was not well at Aurangzeb's court, and for their trade difficulties they blamed 'the reigne of a Faqueer King and Regency of a decrepid and covetous Nabob [Nawab Shaista Khan]'.[1] The latter they described as

a great favourite of the Kings and much addicted to study which gives the officers occasion to oppress the people without much regret, . . . their Master being remiss in looking after his Government and they secured that no complaints against him takes place, wherefore we have our petermen imprisoned and great quantities of petre exacted from them, which make them unable to comply with us.[2]

About the same time they had news from Patna that the King was about to resign in favour of his second son, Sultan Muazzam (Shah Alam), and from Dacca that the Nawab had made a present to the King of two crores of rupees and was again confirmed in his government. The latter news was disappointing to them, for it put an end to their hopes of getting Malik Kasim removed from the governorship of Balasore.[3] The Nawab's increased influence, which both Elwes at Dacca and the Chief and Council argued would arise from the gift to the King of such a 'vast treasure', led them to instruct Elwes to cultivate his friendship, 'though wee know it must bee bought at a deare rate'.[4]

At Balasore the new Governor, Malik Kasim, now proved as vexatious and exacting as he had been at Hugli. He did not arrive till near the end of March,[5] and the delay in his doing so was a matter of interest to Clavell, who in January asked Elwes at Dacca to ascertain and communicate its cause.[6] The explanation subsequently given was that the delay in his taking office arose from the fact that the Dutch at Pipli[7] withdrew their factory from that town in the hope of averting his coming. This move, however, proved futile, as Malik Kasim had paid Rs. 60,000 for the displacement of his predecessor, Boremul, and (according to the custom of the country) 'whatever complaints come

[1] Bal. let. 17 & 27 June, 4 Hug. 64, 66.
[2] Bal. let. to Fort, 4 June, ibid. 54.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Bal. let. 15 June, ibid. 60.
[5] Bal. let. 31 March, ibid. 44.
[6] Bal. let. 17 Jan., ibid. 21.
[7] Pipli lay on a river, about fifty miles north-east of Balasore. At this time the Dutch had a factory there, but according to Streynsham Master (*S.M.* ii. 83, 92) in 1676 they pulled it down and built a new factory at Balasore instead. In 1666 Pipli was transferred, with Balasore, from the jurisdiction of the Nawab of Orissa to that of Shaista Khan, the Nawab of Bengal (*E.F.*, 1665–7, 258–60). The silting of the river led to its decay, and the actual site of the place is now uncertain (Khan, 108 *n.*). Its former position is shown in Thornton's Chart of the Hugli and the approaches to it (1703), reproduced in *H.D.*, vol. iii, after p. 220.

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against a man at his entrance into a bought government take little place, since hee may have somewhat for his money'.[1] Fears were expressed that he would stop provisions from getting to the factory or deny, or delay, porgos[2] in which to bring ashore, or send off, goods in the monsoons. To meet this latter contingency, the Agent and Council were asked to issue orders to Masulipatam to send two boats up to Balasore.[3]

On his arrival Malik Kasim professed a friendliness which, in view of his record at Hugli, was regarded with some suspicion. Clavell and his Council feared he would trouble the merchants of the place—Chim Cham (Khemchand), Rogiram (Rajaram), Callian (Kalyan) Ray, Ram Narain (Narayan), and Gangaram—and force them to leave, so that trade would have to be conducted at Hugli instead of at Balasore.[4] They described him as 'an insolent, proud, abusive rascall' with a grudge against them for their endeavours to prevent his coming as Governor to Balasore.[5] Their fears proved to be justified, for in June they reported that he 'hath used many wayes to extort money from the inhabitants and hath put a stop to allmost the whole trade of the towne, so that some Dutch freemen and Portugese that come from China and other parts are not able to sell their [goods] to the merchants but will in the end be forced to sell all to the Governor'.[6] Consequently they thought that he 'in a little time will ruine this place'.[7] In August, according to them, it looked as if merchants would leave the town, neither rich nor poor being satisfied with him.[8] In September, too, they reported that the town under his governorship was so 'curbed' that private individuals were unable to trade.[9] In the same month Elwes at Dacca was instructed to acquaint the diwan with the impending ruin of the place owing to Malik Kasim's government; it was pointed out that only two vessels had come that year and they intended never to come again, and that, as shown by the capture by the Danes of a Gujarat vessel and by the Dutch of the French ship *Flamand* (p. 363), so long as he remained there no strangers could hope that their ships would be safe.[10]

[1] Bal. let. 16 March, 4 Hug. 33.
[2] i.e. barges: for a discussion of the derivation and meaning of the word see Yule, 726, & Bowrey, 228 *n*.
[3] 4 Hug. 34.
[4] Bal. let. 31 March, ibid. 44.
[5] Bal. let. 3 April, ibid. 49.
[6] Bal. let. to Fort, 4 June, ibid. 54.
[7] Bal. let. to Surat, 27 June, ibid. 69.
[8] Bal. let. to Fort, 8 & 27 Aug., ibid. 77, 82.
[9] Bal. let. 26 Sept., ibid. 87.
[10] Bal. let. 5 Sept., ibid. 84–5.

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They did their best to procure other aspirants for the Governorship. Thus they asked Elwes to support the candidature of Muhammad Raza, formerly Governor of Murshidabad, who (they understood) was trying to get it, and who had given neither poor nor rich cause to complain against him.[1] They also suggested that Boremul, the late Governor who was so well beloved and under whom their business had thriven, should apply for it, saying that there were not wanting people to complain of Malik Kasim, but that money was required to accompany such complaints; further that, as regards themselves, Malik Kasim 'hath the advantage of us in advices, having the King's conveyance which goes in halfe the time that wee can send, and the advantage of his own pen to represent to the Nabob all things in what colours hee pleases'.[2]

The new Governor of Hugli, Aziz Beg, gave some cause for complaint, but Clavell stopped any representations on the matter, fearing that, if he were dismissed, it might help designs entertained by Malik Kasim for putting his son into that governorship, when with Malik Kasim at Balasore and his son at Hugli, 'in how sad a plight our Masters' business will be'.[3] Relations with Aziz Beg, however, improved, and on 7 July in writing to Bugden at Hugli the Chief and Council were able to express their pleasure that Bugden had a good understanding with him.[4] The Dutch had greater troubles there, and on 4 June the Agent and Council at Madras were informed that their business was again ruined and that it would cost them more money and trouble to put things right, while in addition they suffered from great division and different counsels among themselves.[5] They also had the handicap of having to pay customs on their trade, as against the yearly tribute of Rs. 3,000 paid by the English.[6]

In June two Danish ships arrived in the roads of Balasore, and with them a Gujarat ship from Surat which brought letters to the Chief and Council from Surat and Bombay.[7] This the Danes had seized by way of reprisal. In the previous year a storm had forced three Danes ashore on the 'coast of Gingerlee',[8] and they were being detained by Nawab Safshikan Khan, then Nawab of Orissa, until the Danes gave satisfaction for a vessel of his they had seized. In reply the Gujarat vessel had been

[1] Bal. let. to Kasimbazar and Dacca, 3 April, 4 Hug. 47, 48–9.
[2] Bal. let. 1 & 27 Aug., ibid. 75, 82.
[3] Bal. let. 15 & 17 June, ibid. 61, 63.
[4] Ibid. 72.
[5] Bal. let. 4 June, ibid. 55.
[6] Hug. let. 21 Nov., ibid. 92.
[7] Bal. let. 15 June, ibid. 59.
[8] i.e. the coast between the Godaveri estuary and the Juggernaut pagoda (Bowrey, 120 n.).

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taken by the Danes, to put pressure on the Nawab to return the captives; but the local officials professed themselves unable to consent to this without his permission. Clavell surmised that, as the Danes had found Rs. 20,000 on the ship, they were unlikely to part with their prize.[1] The records of the year do not show what solution, if any, ensued in this deadlock.

About the same time a French sloop, 'driven off' from Masulipatam, anchored at Hugli near the English factory. The Dutch threatened to seize her, but on the application of her commander she was protected by the Governor.[2] Shortly afterwards another French vessel, the *Flamand*, arrived at Balasore. Clavell said her commander on coming ashore was received 'with the Governors flaggs and peons with elephants and horses and palenkeens for their convenient transport to a house provided for them, which is the Franciscan fryers'. The Governor made much of the French, lent them Rs. 3,000, and gave out that he had brought them there to establish a factory.[3] His favour did not, however, save her from the Dutch, for (as Clavell wrote to Elwes on 27 August) 'the 22nd current came three Dutch ships into the roade, attaqed the ship and after about three houres fight possessed themselves of her and sett up their owne colours; hitherto the winds have not favoured them to carry her away'.[4] The captain of the French vessel at Hugli had borrowed Rs. 200 from the English factory there and had passed a promissory note for it, which was sent for presentation to the commander of the *Flamand*. With the latter's capture went all immediate hopes of recovering the loan, and the note was returned to Hugli as of little value.[5]

The difficulties at Patna had led Clavell and his Council to propose to send a vakil from Patna to the Emperor's Court to complain of the misdeeds of his officers there (p. 354), but they were unable to get any orders from the Fort on the proposal.[6] In December Charnock had sent a note to Aurengzeb's diwan at Patna, but had not forwarded a copy of it to them.[7] To the Agent and Council they repeatedly

[1] Bal. let. 15 & 27 June, 4 Hug. 62, 65. As to the Danes and their long quarrel with the 'Moors' in Bengal, see Bowrey, 181–90.

[2] Bal. let. 17 & 27 June, 4 Hug. 65, 66. This sloop was the smaller of the two French vessels which had accompanied the *Breton*, with De la Haye on board, to Masulipatam (p. 65). Martin (i. 445) calls it a longboat. The larger was the *Flamand*.

[3] Bal. let. 7 July & 1 & 8 Aug., 4 Hug. 73, 75, 79.

[4] Ibid. 82. Cf. Martin (i. 539).

[5] Bal. let. 7 July & 5 Sept., 4 Hug. 72, 86.

[6] Bal. let. 8 Aug., ibid. 78; Hug. let. 15 & 21 Nov., ibid. 90, 92.

[7] Hug. let. 12 Dec., ibid. 97.

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represented the necessity of getting a farman from the Emperor, entitling them to trade free of the customs which the Governor of Hugli demanded.[1] Without it, they said,

wee shall have continuall troubles and great charges to run through their [the Company's] business in these parts and one time or another, if not prevented, a great mischiefe [will] happen to our Masters business and our own persons, the feare of which doth often damp us in our business and in all disputes which wee have with the Governors of these countreys.[2]

To demands for the existing farman they replied that it was at Surat, the 'superiour place' of the Company in India, and that copies of it had satisfied the Nawab on his entrance to the government.[3]

They also sought to obtain an order from the Nawab at Dacca, ensuring the safe transport of the Company's goods between Hugli and Balasore. This Elwes was instructed to procure through Roy Nundalal (Rai Nandalal) and the diwan;[4] later, when it was learned that efforts on the part of the President at Surat to get the Emperor to order the Dutch to refrain from acts of hostility against the English on the coasts of India had been fruitless, Elwes was ordered to desist this attempt.[5] It is of interest to note that in July Elwes was permitted to buy a site on which to erect a residence for the Company's servants at Dacca, and was encouraged to arrange for the building of a small factory for the Company, when funds were available.[6]

An unfortunate occurrence[7] took place at Kasimbazar in August. The matter was briefly reported by Clavell and his Council to the Agent at the Fort in the following terms:[8]

in Mr. Vincent's absence . . . one of the Companys servants beat another: he that was beaten dyed the next day, which hath caused much trouble and will cost 10,000 rupees to make an end of.

[1] Bal. let. 31 March, 4 Hug. 42; Bal. let. to Fort, 4 June, ibid. 55.

[2] Bal. let. to Fort, 27 June, ibid. 67.

[3] Bal. let. 15 June, ibid. 62. As to Shah Jahan's farman of 1650, see p. 346 *n.*

[4] Bal. let. 29 March, ibid. 40. Evidently Rai Nandalal was assistant to the Nawab's diwan. As the latter was Shaista Khan's son (p. 347 *n.*), most of the work would be likely to fall on his Hindu assistant.

[5] Bal. let. 15 June, ibid. 60. A similar agreement in the previous Dutch war for the Dutch to abstain from attacking English vessels plying between Hugli and Balasore was disapproved by the Governor-General and Council at Batavia (*E.F.*, 1665–7, 144).

[6] Bal. let. 28 July, 4 Hug. 71. The absence of this accommodation was no doubt due to there being no recognized factory at Dacca till 1669 (*E.F.*, 1668–9, 171, 315; *S.M.* i. 415 *n.*).

[7] This is what became the *cause célèbre* of 'Raghu the Poddar', which is recounted in *S.M.* i. 143–55.

[8] Bal. let. to Fort, 27 Oct., 4 Hug. 90.

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Except that the deceased was a poddar, or cashier, no further particulars appear on the extant records of this year: but the business caused Clavell and his Council much perturbation. They were insistent that the matter should be settled locally, as at Dacca (the headquarters of the Nawab) exactions would be greater and terms harder; it should also be done quickly, to prevent witnesses being suborned. They put no limit to the sum to be paid, and Vincent (whose letters are not extant) apparently reported that he was nearly terminating the matter on these lines.[1]

Another source of trouble in the latter half of the year was the *York Ormuz*, a ship on security of which Jearsey had some years back made advances of more than her value. She had been deposited in his hands, and at her running ashore on the Balasore bar had been got off with the aid of further advances made by Bridges, the then Chief. She was now at Balasore in the possession of the English factors, having been sent there by Mohun to take in goods and return to Masulipatam; but, with the encouragement of Malik Kasim, her former master was endeavouring to regain the ship by intrigues at Kasimbazar. Vincent there was instructed how to answer his claims and told to draw on Clavell for the necessary expenses, as also to get orders for the speedy release of the ship, so that she might not lose another monsoon.[2]

At the end of the year there is a further reference to Malik Kasim. On 13 December Hall received instructions from Hugli that, if the Governor wanted to buy guns from the Company, he must pay cash or Khemchand should buy them for him, to avoid the trouble that always arose over making up accounts with him. Khemchand could have as many as he wanted at eight rupees a maund, but another prospective purchaser, Raja Mansing, for whom Khemchand was acting as broker, would have to pay nine rupees a maund.[3] In the same letter it is recorded that the Nawab of Cuttack had at length made peace with Raja Tilbickrumbaje,[4] and that Malik Kasim, in the quota of money to be raised in Balasore for payment by the Raja to the

[1] Bal. & Hug. let. to Kasimbazar, 21 & 26 Sept. & 22 Nov., 4 Hug. 83, 88, 91.

[2] Bal. let. 27 June, 27 Aug. & 5 Sept., ibid. 69, 82, 84; Hug. let. 22 Nov., ibid. 94.

[3] Hug. let. 13 Dec., ibid. 98.

[4] Clavell mentions 'the Raja of Tillibichrumbung his countrey lyeing neare this place [Balasore]' in an account of the trade of Balasore, which appears at the end of the *Diary of Streynsham Master* (ii. 84). This obviously refers to the same Raja. The termination of the name, 'baje' or 'bung', suggests it was that of a Raja of the Mayurbhanj State (one of the Orissa Feudatory States, not far from Balasore), as 'Bhanja' (breaker) is a family title of these Chiefs (*Imp. Gaz. Ind.* xvii. 242). R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, ii. 63, confirms this surmise and says the Raja's real name was Trivikrama Bhanje.

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Nawab, had 'proportioned' Rs.100 to be paid by the Company's *banyan* (native broker). Hall was ordered not to permit this levy, as it was likely to prove an inconvenient precedent.[1]

BENGAL, 1674

WALTER CLAVELL continued to be Chief of the Bengal factories during the year and there were no changes of importance in the other personnel or postings. Clavell moved from Hugli to Balasore in April and was there till the end of December.[2] The most important letter of the year, written to the Company from Balasore on 28 December, was signed by Clavell, Vincent, Townsend, Reade, Bugden, Smith, and Hervey.[3] Before that Hall and Townsend joined in signing letters at Balasore, as also did Smith from 14 May to about the middle of August, when his place was taken by Bugden.[4] Reade acted as chief at Hugli in Clavell's absence.[5] In April Littleton returned to Kasimbazar from Hugli, where he had been residing since March 1673 (p. 355).[6] In October George Peacock was sent from Patna to Hugli to assist the factors there in weighing and lading saltpetre.[7] In December George Knipe and Jeremy Peachey[8] were also transferred from Kasimbazar to assist them.[9] On the other hand, the latter factory received a recruit in October by the transfer of James Harding, a writer at Madras, to be employed (under the orders of the Company) in sorting silk, since he was 'bred a silkeman'.[10] At the end of the year Townsend proceeded home on the *Lancaster* after fourteen years in Bengal; with him went one Matthew Harrison, 'entertained for the sloop' but incapacitated for this service through illness.[11]

Vincent, Elwes, and Charnock remained in charge of the Kasimbazar,

[1] Hug. let. 13 Dec., 4 Hug. 98.

[2] Hug. let. 31 March, ibid. 118; Bal. let. 27 April & 28 Dec., ibid. 119 & (next sec.) 44.

[3] Ibid. 28–36. Langhorn and his Council objected to its being signed by some who 'neither by place nor by appointment have any right to be of the Councell' (O.C. 4044, f. 14).

[4] 4 Hug. 119–41. Smith arrived at Hugli on 18 Aug. (O.C. 3988). He had also been there in the earlier part of the year (O.C. 3927, 3937, 3942).

[5] 4 Hug. 119–41.

[6] Hug. let. 31 March, ibid. 117. Littleton then displaced Edwards as 'third'.

[7] Bal. let. 7 Oct., ibid. 9. Peacock had been sent out as a writer in 1668 (*E.F.*, 1668–9, 137, 276, 296).

[8] Peachey had come out as a writer the previous year and been sent to Kasimbazar in Feb. (Hug. let. 6 Feb., 4 Hug. 106).

[9] Bal. let. 28 Dec., ibid. 38, 39, 40.

[10] Desp. 13 March, 5 L.B. 98; Bal. let. 28 Sept. & 6 Oct., 4 Hug. 2, 5.

[11] Bal. let. 17 & 28 Dec., ibid. 30, 31, 40.

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Dacca, and Patna factories throughout the year. Charnock was commended by the Chief and Council, who in their letter of 28 December to the Company said he 'doth manage that business [of saltpetre] as much to your advantage as any man can, and when anything happens contrary to your interest it lies [w]holy out of his way to amend it'.[1] Of Joseph Hall, on the contrary, they had nothing good to say. Vincent requested that he should be sent as 'second' to Kasimbazar, but he was allowed to remain at Balasore, though they alleged this was contrary to the orders of the Company and their acquiescence was only in obedience to instructions from the Fort.[2] There was, however, an obvious objection to the proposal to place him under Vincent, as Hall had brought charges against Vincent, which the Company had referred to the Agent and Council for strict inquiry.[3] Clavell and his Council continued their condemnation of him. Amongst other charges against him set forth in their letter of 28 December to the Company was one already mentioned (p. 341) that he paid part of his indebtedness to the Company by a chest of taffetas, which he charged to it much in excess of their real value. Clavell and his Council had sent the chest home marked with a special ticket and the Company on examining it had found the goods to be 'very thinn . . . and about 50 per cent. to[o] deare of what they are rated'. Clavell hoped that, as Hall had refused to make good the overcharge without the orders of the Company, they would not be blamed in the matter, 'when we have to doe with a man of so refractory a temper, whome by your former orders wee are eased of, but from the Fort he is sent hether againe'. They also imputed to Hall the bad state of some books of account of which the Company complained, saying it was his business to keep them 'after a more regular manner', and alleging that several entries in them were false; that, though a large amount of treasure had been entered in the journal but not in the ledger, he had forced the books to balance; and that he had made unreasonable allowances to himself contrary to Clavell's orders. On account of such irregularities the latter had refused to sign them.[4] The Agent and Council at the Fort did not pass orders on these and other disputes between the factors in Bengal till the next year (p. 384).

On 25 August a small vessel of about 100 tons, the pink *Advice*,

[1] Ibid. 36.
[2] Bal. let. 31 March, ibid. 117.
[3] Desp. 13 Dec. 1672, 5 L.B. 20; O.C. 3992, f. 2; Fort con. 6 Feb., *M.R.* 19, 20. See also p. 370.
[4] 4 Hug. 33, 35, 42; desp. 31 Oct. 1673, 5 L.B. 77–8.

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reached Balasore roads from England on her way to Bantam.[1] She had been sent ahead of the main shipping of the year, which arrived in September, the *Lancaster* on the 11th and the *Phoenix* on the 30th of that month.[2] The *Advice* crossed the bar on 26 August and just escaped six Dutch ships who were in the neighbourhood. Her crew fell sick after her arrival and four or five succumbed to their illness, which was ascribed to her bad accommodation. Steps were taken to improve this at Balasore, and she was sent on two trips to Hugli to carry goods there and to bring down others for the homeward-bound ships.[3] Owing to the lateness of arrival of the two large ships, the time available was short and the Chief and Council proposed to lade and send them off separately, if this met with the approval of the Fort.[4] In addition to the *Advice* other small vessels, viz. the *Arrival*, *Diligence*, *Ganges*, and *Thomas and George*, were kept busy between Balasore and Hugli.[5] The Company at this time appears to have had a fair number of pilots available; and John Bugden, John Nicholson, Henry Divine, William Lux, George Heron, and William Bateman were all entrusted with one or other of these boats on their voyages.[6] The old *Madras* pinnace, which was in a leaky condition, was wrecked about 2 October in a severe storm which broke on Balasore roads and drove her ashore. With her was lost about twelve tons of saltpetre, while two or three tons more had to be jettisoned from another sloop in the same storm.[7]

On 28 November a disaster occurred to the factory at Balasore. In the afternoon it took fire and in less than two hours was consumed. The fire originated in a neighbouring banksall (warehouse), belonging to Captain Wildy of the *Phoenix*, which had been accidentally set alight through the carelessness of a watchman, and spread so rapidly that hardly anything in the factory was saved. It caused serious loss to the local merchants, who had goods lying in the factory, and to the servants of the Company, as well as to the Company itself. The factory was full of cloth ready for dispatching by the ships in the road; about seventy bales of this were burnt, as also the greater part of the broadcloth recently received on the *Lancaster* and the *Phoenix*. Some goods

[1] Bal. let. 27 Aug., 4 Hug. 139; desp. 31 Oct. & 1 Nov. 1673, 5 L.B. 76, 79.

[2] Bal. let. 28 Dec., 4 Hug. 32.

[3] Bal. let. 28 Dec., ibid. 29.

[4] Bal. let. 28 Sept., ibid. 2.

[5] Bal. let. 2, 7, 17, & 26 Oct., 2 & 20 Nov., ibid. 3–4, 9, 10, 16, 17, 18.

[6] Ibid. John Bugden was a brother of Edmund, cf. *S.M.* ii. 75 *n.* Henry Divine was 'given much to drink', and on 2 Oct. John Nicholson was on this account sent up to Hugli to assist in bringing down the *Arrival* (4 Hug. 4).

[7] Bal. let. 2 Oct. & 28 Dec., ibid. 3, 25.

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were saved and most of the 'general' papers, but some books belonging to the Kasimbazar and Patna factories, which had been delivered to Hall, were missing. Seamen who were ashore assisted in the task of rescue, but this work had been much hindered by the 'smooke and stench of the brimstone which was so noisume that wee could not come neare the fire'.[1]

The *Lancaster* and *Phoenix* were detained for seven or eight days on account of the fire, but got their sailing orders on 17 December.[2] The Fort had sent instructions that one of the ships should go to Masulipatam and the other to the Fort direct, but these arrived too late for compliance, as the goods for shipment had already been distributed between the two ships, and it was not known what goods were to be shipped at Masulipatam and what accommodation would be required there. Both were consequently dispatched to Masulipatam, and Mohun was asked to distribute his goods on the two ships or put them all on one and send the other on to Madras immediately, as he found feasible.[3] The cargo of the *Lancaster* from the Bay was valued at Rs. 141,624, and that of the *Phoenix* at Rs. 104,624.[4]

When the time came for the two ships to depart, Hall gave trouble and, in the presence of their captains, refused to complete their invoices, saying that it was not his work; he also shirked going on board them with the other members of the Council for duty there, pretending to be sick, though, they wrote, he was as healthy as any of them.[5] On 28 December, after the ships had gone, they sent a protest to the Fort against Hall, reporting that since their departure he had not once come to consult about the business of the Company and still refused to repay the amount overcharged by him, in spite of the Company's order for its recovery.[6] The same letter bore the news that John Smith had left Balasore for Madras against orders, on the pretence of recovering debts due to him on the Coast, but they attributed his 'clandistine departure' to an intention to evade inquiry into what he had maliciously written to the Agent on 4 May. Clavell and his Council expressed the hope that a commission would be sent there to examine

[1] Bal. let. 28 & 17 Dec., ibid. 29–30, 37.
[2] Bal. let. 17 Dec., ibid. 37, 40, 41.
[3] Bal. let. 15 & 17 Dec., ibid. 37, 38.
[4] Ibid. 37.
[5] Bal. let. 28 Dec., ibid. 36.
[6] 4 Hug. 42. That Hall was not without the money to pay, if he so wished, would appear from letters to Hugli and Kasimbazar arranging for the remittance of amounts due to him at those places (Bal. let. 3 & 5 June, ibid. 125, 127).

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the charges against him and Hall.[1] In contrast to their reports on Hall and Smith, the Council was able to recommend to the Company two of its junior servants, Thomas Pace and John Byam, as being 'both capable of business and willing and ready to undertake it'.[2]

The papers relating to the charges against Vincent sent out with the Company's general letter of 1672 (p. 57) lay at the Fort for most of the year. On 10 February Vincent was informed that they had not been received in Bengal, and on 31 March Clavell and his Council sent a protest to the Fort that this procedure of holding up the indictment sent out in 1672 was the cause of trouble to their friends at Kasimbazar, who were precluded from clearing themselves, while at the same time the Agent and Council had no opportunity of informing themselves as to the truth of the matter.[3] In the same letter they complained of hints by the Agent that some factors in Bengal were debarred from their right to see accounts and letters relating to the Company's business, though they were not informed of their accusers, so that they might vindicate themselves.[4] The charges against Vincent, which included one of complicity in causing Raghu Poddar's death (p. 364), were not received till September; and it was then suggested to the Fort that Commissioners should be sent from there to investigate them, now that the conclusion of peace with the Dutch had removed difficulties in the way of their transport. No Commissioners had arrived up to the end of the year, but it was hoped that they would come in the spring.[5] Meanwhile the Fort had called on the Chief and Council to report on the matter.[6]

The views of Clavell and his colleagues, who included Vincent, on the affair of Raghu Poddar, are fully stated in their letter of 28 December to the Company.[7] As a prelude they referred to the case at Hugli where the Dutch had been forced to pay a large sum in composition for the death of the widow of one of their servants, for which they had been held responsible (pp. 346–7), and explained that this had taught the officials 'by all artifices to render cases of this nature as foule as they can, thereby to inhance our compositions'. They went on to relate how

[1] 4 Hug. 42–3. What Smith wrote on 4 May is not on record. He had returned to Balasore from Hugli at the end of Oct. (O.C. 4026). For further details see *Ind. Antiquary*, xlv. 12, 13.

[2] 4 Hug. 32.

[3] Ibid. 107, 113.

[4] Ibid. 113.

[5] Bal. let. 28 Sept. & 28 Dec., ibid. 2, 28–9.

[6] O.C. 3992, f. 2.

[7] 4 Hug. 25–7. A few obvious mistakes in the copy of the letter have been corrected. The letter is also reproduced in *S.M.* i. 340–1.

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an unfortunate accident of this nature hapned in August 1673 in Cassumbuzar which caused much trouble and mony, and had it [not] been there taken up, but proceded to [i.e. instead of proceeding with it at] Decca, would have involved your business in all parts of Bengala and have cost much more. Ruggo, a shrof and servant to the factory, being indebted unto you on a ballance of cash and suspected that he and his partener had abused you in the saile and mintage of silver at Raipamahal [Rajmahal] and being cal[l]ed on for his debt and to make up that account, [was] restraind from his liberty for not paying in the one nor making up the other, [and] was, in the absence of Mr. Vincent and Mr. Marshall, by a broker, who also was [your] servant, tied up in your factory and beaten on his feet, rather at that time, as is beleved, to gratify his one [own] anger against him then to force your mony from him. However his beating was not so violent so as to lame him or to have been [the] cause of [his] death, had no other violent meanes [been] used, for after that he was able to goe home to his house, as you may percive by the [ac]companing attestation of John Nayler, George Knipe, and Richard Mosely, who was [*sic*] present and ey[e] witnesses of what passed,[1] yet that night he departed this life at his one [own] house as [is] supposed by poyson and in reveng[e] to the brookers.[2] However the Governor of Cassumbuzar would not look upon it as a matter which had relation to him or any else but us, and therefore spun out what time he and others of the Kings officers could to frame the business to our greater detriment, and expectily [especially] regarding how much Mellick Cossum, the Governor of Hugly, had gained to his master in a matter of this nature from the Dutch, that they might not be behindhand in advancing his intrest in there jurisdiction stud[i]ed to inhance our composition; [whereupon] wee sorrofully considering the arbitrary Government of those parts and the continuall study by [? of] raising mony by unreasonable meanes, and that as they are people of no principals, so they could make what attestations and certificates they pleased, thereby to make the busines appeare more foule and having circumstantiated it, should proceed it to Decca, it would prove a generall stop upon all our busines, not only in Bengala, but in Orixa and Pattana lickwise, and wee shall be forced before the busines could be taken up to fee all the officers of the Nabobs durbar over and above what must bee given in the name of the Nabob, wee gave order and indeavoured to take it up in Cossumbuzar, the place ware [*sic*] the unlucky accident hapned, and after some trouble wee terminated [it] at Rs. 10,000 for the Nabob[3] and with other charges it

[1] This attestation is reproduced in Master's diary (*S.M.* i. 342–3).

[2] This allegation was presumably based on the evidence of Edwards, cf. *S.M.* i. 371.

[3] This does not mean the Nawab at Dacca, as the context shows. The payment was made to Rai Balchand, the Governor of Murshidabad, to whom Raghu's corpse had been taken by

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did in all amount to about 3,000 more. The passages at large and orders thereupon wee have sent herewith in distinct papers and to them referr you; craving your favorable interpretation of what hath been acted herein and that you [i.e. the Court of Committees] will consult your predecessors, who are many of them yet living and thoroughly versed in the customes of these unhapy countries and can informe you that nothing less then what wee have done could have been acted and that by any delay or breach with the Governer it might have ended in a far worse manner. Wee done [? dare] say that upon reading the papers that concerne this matter any indeferent [unprejudiced] person would conclude it to be innocent, and that such exactions will be accounted unreasonable [and] unjust; but wee live in a country ware wee see every day such and worse practices on the natives, the Kings subjects, and now of late is becume a fashon to abuse strangers in this nature, who formerly, and at the beginning of their arivall, were treated with as much civillity as is to be hoped for in this berburous country. The Agent and Counsell at the Fort are of apinnion (but that came to late that [*sic* ? as] the busines of necessity must long before [have been] taken up) that we might have taken up the busines by delivering up the brooker; but wee are of a different opinion, having consulted the merchants of all places ware wee reside and Moores with whom wee have frindship, for, had we either neglected to mollifie the relations of the deceased persons or to protect [? the broker], a worse condition [? would have arisen] and the brooker would, to avoid drubing and it may be torments, have been forced to declare that he was set on by us to doe what he did.

Throughout the greater part of the year trading operations were hampered by the Dutch war and by difficulties with the Mughal authorities, as well as by lack of funds. The Company's warehouses were full of cloth from Europe and merchants had so much of it on their hands that they would not readily take any more, so the market for it was bad.[1] There was also little demand for lead, which had formerly been used by the mint at Rajmahal to melt with Japanese silver, as the Japanese were now preventing the Dutch from transporting silver. Its use was, therefore, mainly restricted to the manufacture of red lead, and it had become cheaper.[2] The market was further glutted with goods captured by the Dutch on the ships taken at the

his relatives, probably because Raghu lived at Murshidabad, which was about four miles from Kasimbazar (*S.M.* i. 360, 361). The factory there was, moreover, under the Governor of Murshidabad.

[1] Hug. let. 10 Feb., 4 Hug. 108; Bal. let. 28 Sept. & 28 Dec., ibid. 1, 21–2.

[2] Bal. let. 28 Dec., ibid. 21–2.

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battle off Petapoli; not only did they sell these cheaply, thus reducing the value of corresponding English goods, but they also insultingly exhibited them at court as trophies of their victory.[1] Another reason advanced to the Company for the lack of demand for its goods was the 'parsimonious nature' of the Mughal officials, and it was reported there was no hope of selling broadcloth, unless 'some young Nabob or a son of the Kings come to succeed the Nabob of Decca'.[2] Similarly the Agent and Council at Madras were told that the slowness in the sale of broadcloth was due to the small demand for it, 'this countrey by reason of the Nabobs age and abating all manner of charge being quite spoyled as to the sale of any to him, and the souldiers pay so much abated that they can not go the price of any'.[3] Nevertheless, by the end of March 170 tons of lead had been sold,[3] and about half the broadcloth brought by the ships was disposed of, partly in barter for other goods and partly for cash; but this process of barter raised the cost of the goods, and the Company was asked to send out as little broadcloth as possible in future.[4] The desire to dispose of goods seems to have led to some abuse of the trading privileges enjoyed by the Company and its servants in Bengal, for in reply to a complaint from Charnock, Clavell admitted the inconvenience of sending and receiving Indian merchants' goods in the Company's name and under its 'dastaks', explaining that this was only done because they had a great quantity of goods and knew of no other way to get rid of them.[5] On the other hand, quicksilver and vermilion were in demand and the Company was asked to send more, as also some quantities of lead and copper and a little brimstone, but no alum. The final request was for 'a great deale of money', as the fire at Balasore had spoiled all they had.[5]

The progress of the year's investment was hampered by the small stock available for its purchase until the arrival of the ships in September (p. 368).[6] In spite, however, of this and other hindrances, goods were got in during the first part of the year—taffetas and silk from Kasimbazar; tincal (borax) and saltpetre from Patna; cossaes (fine muslins) and saltpetre from Hugli; and hummums (a thick stout cloth) from Dacca.[7] The last was in payment of an old debt outstanding from Smith's time.[8] The supply of saltpetre from Patna was impeded by

[1] Bal. let. 4 July & 28 Dec., ibid. 131 & (next sec.) 21.
[2] Ibid. 21.
[3] Hug. let. 31 March, ibid. 115.
[4] Bal. let. 28 Dec., ibid. 31.
[5] Bal. let. 3 July, ibid. 130.
[6] Cf. Bal. let. 14 May, ibid. 124.
[7] Hug. let. 31 March, ibid. 115; Bal. let. 14 May, ibid. 124.
[8] Bal. let. 8 May, ibid. 120.

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troubles with the officials there; and the saffron that had been imposed on the Company (p. 353) was, owing to its bad condition, likely to be a dead loss.[1] Nevertheless, Charnock was encouraged to get in as much saltpetre as possible for the next and succeeding years, as the Company had forbidden the Fort to send home any Coast saltpetre.[2] Vincent at Kasimbazar was enjoined to use diligent care to provide a good quantity of raw silk and floretta yarn (floss silk) and encouraged to supply black taffetas of which a muster (sample) had been received.[3] Elwes at Dacca was asked to provide fine cossaes to the value of Rs. 15,000.[4]

Further efforts were made to improve the dyeing at Kasimbazar. Naylor, who had come to Balasore at the end of the previous year to fetch dyeing materials sent out by the Company (p. 359), had failed to take all that were required;[5] but the arrival in March of Robert Cole, a dyer in black who had been ill at Masulipatam (p. 359),[6] brought better prospects of success. At Cole's request a dye-house was built, for which Rs. 1,000 and the provision of timber from Hugli were sanctioned. Certain materials required for the work were still lacking, and steps were taken to get them from Persia and from England. Cole fell sick towards the end of the year, but his trial efforts had been promising, and the Chief and Council reported to the Company that they had proofs of his diligence, confidence in his abilities, and hopes of his further success, if his life was spared.[7] Another dyer, by name John Smith, who had arrived in the ships from England, was also sent to Kasimbazar in October, together with James Harding, whose transfer from Madras has already been mentioned (p. 366).

Throughout the year difficulties with the Mughal officials arose or persisted at Patna, Kasimbazar, Dacca, and Hugli. At Patna a new diwan had succeeded Nawab Ibrahim Khan.[8] Being ignorant of the exemptions in favour of English and Dutch trade, he wrote privately to the King that they carried on extensive trade but paid no customs. In reply he was ordered to inquire whether the King was wronged; whereupon he called on both parties to prove that they paid customs

[1] Bal. let. 28 Dec., 4 Hug. 25.
[2] Bal. let. 28 Sept. & 6 & 26 Oct., ibid. 2, 7, 15.
[3] Bal. let. 6 Oct., ibid. 5–6.
[4] Bal. let. 7 Oct., ibid. 8.
[5] Hug. let. 1 Jan. & 14 May, ibid. 101, 120–1.
[6] Hug. let. 6 Feb., 31 March, 14 May, & 28 Dec., ibid. 106, 116, 122, & (next sec.) 27; desp. 13 Dec. 1672, 5 L.B. 26.
[7] Bal. let. 2 July & 28 Dec., 4 Hug. 129 & (next sec.) 27–8.
[8] This apparently was in 1673, when Ibrahim Khan's transfer was expected (p. 359). The name of his successor is not given, and the diwan was probably that of the new Nawab.

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at Hugli or else to pay them there in future. To this demand the Dutch agreed, thinking that they could get the requisite certificate from there, as they made annual payments amounting to between Rs. 30,000 and Rs. 40,000; but in this they proved to be mistaken, as the Hugli Governor and his officials were afraid to issue the certificate without leave from the Nawab. Finally, at some expense, the Dutch got the Nawab to write in their favour, but 'in such darke words as wee could easily percive would availe little'. The English therefore avoided a similar course, and confined themselves to sending to Charnock a receipt, obtained with some difficulty from the Governor of Hugli, for the annual payment of Rs. 3,000 that they had made for many years past. This eased the situation, but did not wholly remove the trouble caused by the Emperor's order. Dastaks for the movement of the saltpetre consignment to Hugli were only granted by the new Patna diwan on an undertaking to obtain within four months a parwana from Nawab Shaista Khan at Dacca, showing that the customs on it had been paid.[1] Two of the boats laden with saltpetre were lost on the way to Hugli with the loads they carried, but the other fifteen boats safely arrived.[2]

In spite of their having received no permission from the Fort to do so, Clavell and his Council authorized Charnock to send a vakil to the Emperor's court with instructions to get the help of Thomas Roach, Aurangzeb's chief gunner at Agra.[3] They also asked Matthew Gray to take up the matter from Surat. Aurangzeb, however, had marched from Delhi with a large army to put down the Pathan revolt;[4] the vakil consequently had to go a longer journey than had been anticipated, and at the end of December nothing had been effected.[5] Charnock was also empowered to spend up to Rs. 5,000, presumably in presents or bribes, so as to get permission for the Company's business to proceed as before and to end his trouble with the diwan and darogha at Patna.[6] On 26 October the Chief and Council wrote to Charnock, lamenting that the ships had brought nothing suitable for presents owing to the

[1] Hug. let. 21 Nov. 1673 & 1 Jan., ibid. 91–2, 100; Bal. let. 28 Dec., ibid. 24–5.

[2] Bal. let. 26 Oct., ibid. 12, 14.

[3] Hug. let. 1 Jan., ibid. 102. As to Thomas Roach, see *E.F.*, 1665–7, 269, 284. His services were also used by the Surat Council for approaching Aurangzeb: cf. Roach's let. 26 Sept. 1672, 106 Sur. 114–19.

[4] For an account of this revolt by Afghans and Afridis, see Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, 141–5.

[5] Hug. let. 28 Dec., 4 Hug. 25. The Company in its despatch of 13 March disapproved of the proposal to send a vakil to Agra (5 L.B. 96). As to the unsuccessful issue of the negotiations by the vakil, see p. 410.

[6] Hug. let. 1 Jan., 4 Hug. 102.

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haste with which they had started, and saying they were therefore at a great disadvantage as compared with the Dutch, 'who, beside the many rarities and curious things which they bring from China and Jappan, have severall sorts of spice to present'. Charnock was told that if broadcloth, large looking-glasses, sword blades, or knives were of use, he could demand them from the Hugli factors, who had standing orders to supply him with what he wanted. They expressed the hope that the vakil had done something at court, 'but in countreyes of such arbitrary and corrupt Government mannaged by slaves and eunuch[s] what justice or favour is almost to be hoped for without bribes and charges to a great vallue'.[1]

That Langhorn and his Council had the same high regard for Job Charnock as the Bay Council is shown by a recommendation they made to the Company about him. This was that if Clavell went home (as he was reported to be intending) and Vincent succeeded him, as the next in seniority, Charnock, though having a claim to the chiefship of Kasimbazar, should be retained at Patna, 'your [salt]petre business being so important and so much needing him, who by all reports is the only person for that business'.[2]

At Kasimbazar new impositions were laid on the Company's boats by the mir-bahr (harbour-master), which the Dacca factory was asked to have removed through Rai Nandalal.[3] An 'unhappy accident' to Edwards was referred to, but not described, in letters to Kasimbazar and Dacca on 26 October. To the first Clavell wrote that, considering the ill customs lately practised against Christian strangers, he would have been glad if it could have been 'taken up' (settled) for Edwards, even if it had cost Rs. 1,000; while Elwes and Hervey at Dacca were informed that it might probably be a cause of trouble to the Chief and Council as well as to Edwards, and that, if it were raised at Dacca, they must excuse it as well as they could, as it was a matter which might often concern the married families of their nation.[4]

[1] 4 Hug. 14–15.

[2] O.C. 4044, f. 14.

[3] Bal. let. 27 Aug. & 7 & 26 Oct., 4 Hug. 139 & (next sec.) 8, 14. Here, and later on, no mention is made of Abdun Nazir Khan as Shaista Khan's diwan, and it seems probable that Rai Nandalal now held that post, as he undoubtedly did in 1675–7 (pp. 394, 420; cf. *S.M.* ii. 50–1).

[4] 4 Hug. 13, 14. Edwards appears to have taken the wife of a Brahman as his mistress. An anonymous letter, apparently written in 1675 and in the Madras Record Office, states this as well as the trouble that ensued on the husband's complaint to Rai Balchand, the Governor of Murshidabad, who demanded sums that Edwards—'impoverished by his ill courses'—could or would not pay (*Bengal & Madras Papers*, i. sec. 2, p. 3). References to the affair will also be found in the letters to Edwards contained in O.C. 4018, 4027, 4029, 4034, 4035, 4038, 4040,

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About the middle of the year there was a change of Nawabs in Cuttack, Rashid Khan, who was described by Clavell as 'of Pattana [Patham] cast', replacing Safshikan Khan, who was summoned in haste by the Emperor to attend him in his advance against the Pathans as 'droga [darogha] of the topecanna [topkhana] which answers to our Master of Ordnance'.[1] That Rashid Khan renewed the farman granted by his predecessor (p. 339) is shown by a Persian document endorsed 'Nabob Ruzzeed Chaans Phirwanna procured in Balasore in June 1674'.[2] Clavell, however, described him as 'a man of so bad a temper' that nothing could be done with him 'without greate trouble and charge in presents'.[3]

In May Malik Kasim proceeded to Dacca; it was said at the time that his object was either to avoid Rashid Khan, who had reached Burdwan, or to secure the governorship of Hugli.[4] His efforts were successful, for he returned to power at Hugli during the course of the year, having by October managed to obtain the governorship in the name of his son[5] and the command of the troops there in his own. Clavell sent him a letter of congratulation on his entry into office and desired his favour in the matter of a boy whose death had given rise to trouble at Hugli, as related below. The result is not on record, but Clavell hoped that in this way a respite might be afforded.[6] His tactics were shown in a letter to Elwes at Dacca which instructed the latter, if called upon, 'to give as delatory an answer' as possible.[7]

At Hugli in May trouble arose through the accidental death of the

4042, 4043, & 4146, which are reproduced in *Bengal Past & Present*, xviii. 76–108. From O.C. 4042 & 4146 it appears that in Nov. 1674 there were 'good hopes of a speedy conclusion' of the trouble.

[1] Bal. let. 28 Dec., 4 Hug. 21. As to Rashid Khan's rapacity and extortion of money, see Bowrey, 152–8.

[2] O.C. 3977. Dr. A. J. Arberry tells me that the document bears a Muhammadan date corresponding to 6 June 1674 and is couched in similar terms to those of the farman of 1671 as translated in *S.M.* ii. 25 (see p. 337). The document O.C. 3977 corroborates Bowrey's story (160–1) that the Nawab camped near Balasore on his way to Cuttack and that, whereas the Dutch had to wait three or four days and spend about £5,000 before they got their farman renewed, Clavell managed to obtain a new one for the Company without difficulty at his first visit, and at the cost of only a few presents of broadcloth, &c., and some gold mohurs. On the other hand, according to Bowrey (155–8), the Nawab, who was 'like a ravenous wolfe', extorted Rs. 50,000 from the factory broker, Khemchand, and even demanded two lakhs of rupees from the wife of his predecessor, who, however, 'beinge a most undaunted couragious lady', put her followers in battle array and successfully defied him.

[3] Bal. let. 27 Aug., 4 Hug. 139.

[4] Bal. let. 14 May, ibid. 124.

[5] This was Malik Zindi, who gave considerable trouble to the Dutch and English in 1676–7: cf. *S.M.* i. 44–5; ii. 65 *n.*

[6] Bal. let. 7 Oct. & 28 Dec., 4 Hug. 8, 23. Cf. Bal. let. 4 July, ibid. 132.

[7] Ibid. 8.

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son of a Hindu called Mumichand (? Manichand) at the hands of a slave-boy residing in the factory.[1] The matter was settled by the Governor 'in an open durbar', but was the cause of considerable fears[2] and correspondence. The Hugli factors proposed to send a vakil to the Nawab at Dacca, but this was not approved, on the ground that the servants of the Company there could deal better with the business; Clavell held that it would have been all over if Reade had not got involved in a dispute that took place between English and Dutch seamen. This he proposed to allow to go before the Mughal authorities, but Reade was told to make no appearance before the Governor or any other official and to recall the seamen; and he was also instructed to settle the affair of the boy by the payment of Rs. 500 or Rs. 600 rather than let it go to Dacca for discussion.[3] The friction between the English and Dutch seamen was one of various causes, which led to the issue of orders from Balasore on 23 June that the English sailors and other freemen at Hugli should be sent to Balasore, and that the Company's servants should prepare to come there also. Counter-animosities against the Dutch were prohibited under penalty of loss of wages for disobedience.[4] French seamen in the service of the Company were also to be discharged, on the grounds that their chief was now with them, and that the Company could not continue its charity when so many Englishmen were out of employment in those bad times.[5]

On 4 July the orders for the evacuation of Hugli were confirmed in view of 'the many troubles of late in Hugly, the great expense which is monthly issued there, and the few goods put off and received'. It was also hoped that the removal would have a good effect on the Nawab's amin, who was showing much hostility in the matter of the boy's death. Reade and Bugden with their families were to come by land from Kendoa, where they would be met by 'gwalies, cahars . . . and if need bee . . . a palenkeene or two'.[6] The rest with supernumerary seamen

[1] In a deposition given by Reade in 1676 he described the accident as 'one boyes killing another at Hugly by the casual goeing off of a gunn' (*S.M.* i. 353).

[2] From Reade's account in 1676 (ibid. 354), it appears that the Nawab's amin (commissioner) endeavoured to get the slave-boy to say that he had killed the other boy by Reade's order, and pretended this was the case, with the result that they had to give presents and money to the amin and other officers to remove this trouble, though the Governor had previously cleared the slave-boy of any criminal intent. The amin's name was Bursnadas (4 Hug. 132–3).

[3] Bal. let. 2 & 23 June & 7 Oct., ibid. 125, 127, & (next sec.) 8. [4] Ibid. 128.

[5] Ibid. The reference to the French chief suggests that this nation's factory at Chandernagore, near Hugli, had been restarted: cf. p. 380 *post*, & *Imp. Gaz. Ind.* x. 164.

[6] Kendoa was on the western shore of the Hugli river opposite Saugor Island: cf. Khan, 108 *n.* & *S.M.* ii. 65 *n.* *Guallas* and *Kahars* are tribes in Orissa, of whom the former generally worked as porters and messengers, and the latter as palankeen-bearers: cf. Bowrey, 87 *n.*

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were to travel by the *Madras* pinnace, leaving William Lux and George Heron (two of the pilots) to look after the sloops. Among other instructions a Mr. Jerome Mellish (presumably a freeman) was to take care of some articles and otherwise act in safeguarding the Company's business.[1] On 10 July another letter from Balasore conveyed a peremptory command for their departure by the end of the month, after which all diet-money or other incidental payments to factors, writers, and mariners would be stopped.[2] Further orders followed on 25 July, apparently in reply to a representation that the *Madras* was not in a fit condition to make the voyage, which was dangerous at that time of year. Reade was told to sell or break up the *Madras*, if she could not be fitted up at a reasonable cost, and to employ the *Ganges* instead. Clavell said he and others had more than once done the journey from Hugli in country boats during July and August, and countered the statement that the voyage was dangerous.[3] No remonstrance, however, was made to the factors being still at Hugli at the beginning of September,[4] and the arrival of the Company's ships at Fort St. George probably led to the order being dropped.[5]

The news of peace with the Dutch also altered conditions. As late as 2 September caution was enjoined regarding boats passing Pipli, or any place where the Dutch might attack them. On this date four Dutch boats from Batavia, which were bound for the Hugli river, lay off Pipli; and Reade was asked to see whether there were any English prisoners on them and, if he got them liberated, to send them to Balasore.[6] Till news of peace came all English goods from up-country were left at Hugli, a measure which the Chief and Council reported had resulted in there being no losses from Dutch capture, such as had taken place in the previous war.[7]

The trade of the Dutch in Bengal had likewise suffered. Few of their ships had arrived till the latter part of 1673, and they were reported to have become indebted to the extent of £40,000 or £50,000, part of which they paid in 1674 with gold brought from Japan.[7] Their purchases fell off, and their goods such as 'copper, tutenague, pepper, and spices' sold slowly and at low prices. Only two ships arrived in the early part of the year, one from Batavia with copper and one from

[1] 4 Hug. 132–3.
[2] Ibid. 134.
[3] Ibid. 137.
[4] Ibid. 140.
[5] This put an end to Clavell's expectation in July that no ships would be coming out that year, so that there would be no occasion to ship goods from Hugli (ibid. 133).
[6] Ibid. 140.
[7] Hug. let. 31 March, ibid. 117; Bal. let. 28 Dec., ibid. 23.

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Ceylon with betel-nuts and chank (conch-shell);[1] but during the year none came from Japan, and they complained of receiving hard usage in that country.[2]

They were not allowed to keep unchallenged possession of the French ship *Flamand*, which they had captured the previous year and taken to Hugli (p. 363).[3] The French, at the instigation of the Governor of Balasore, took the matter to Dacca, but in the end the Dutch were allowed to retain the vessel after some trouble and payments to the Nawab and other officials, though of amounts that were supposed to be less than the value of the brass guns of the ship. The French were sent away with 'good words' and liberty to build factories and trade in Bengal. They accordingly built a small house in Hugli near the Dutch factory, but were eventually turned out on the application of the Dutch. They then left Hugli, ostensibly on that account, but really because they were without funds and in debt.[4]

Hostilities between the Danes and the Mughals continued during this year, and in July Clavell reported that the former had taken four Bengal vessels, but that two of their great ships had been cast away on the Coromandel coast.[5] At the end of the year, however, they had made peace after a war carried on since 1640. Claims for damages on both sides were dropped, and the Danes were promised freedom to trade without the payment of customs, and a site for a factory at Balasore, as well as Rs. 3,000 to help to build it. Clavell added, however, that these terms had not then been fulfilled, and that the Danes did not seem contented with the settlement.[6]

The lack of instructions or orders from the Fort continued to be a source of dissatisfaction and complaint. This grievance was on various occasions referred to in letters from Clavell and his colleagues to other factories in Bengal, as well as communicated to the Fort and reported

[1] Hug. let. 31 March, 4 Hug. 116.

[2] Bal. let. 28 Dec., ibid. 32–3.

[3] The Dutch had also brought to Hugli the Company's ships *Hannibal* and *Experiment* (captured by them in the Straits of Banca in 1673), and Clavell said they had made little difficulty in bringing them in and out of the Hugli river (Bal. let. 28 Dec., ibid. 23).

[4] Hug. let. 31 March, ibid. 116–17; Bal. let. 28 Dec., ibid. 22–3. Presumably the factory was at Chandernagore, which Streynsham Master in 1676 described as being near the Dutch garden and still in the possession of the Dutch (*S.M.* i. 325).

[5] Bal. let. 4 July, 4 Hug. 131–2.

[6] Bal. let. 28 Dec., ibid. 22. Bowrey (184–9) gives an account of the matter, which accords in the main with that of Clavell, but is more detailed. According to Bowrey, the Danish commander missed a great chance of securing more favourable terms from his neglect to seize the Bengal shipping that lay off Balasore, and also put himself at Malik Kasim's mercy by going ashore to treat with him (pp. 186, 188–9).

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to the Company. Thus on 1 January Clavell, Reade, and Bugden wrote to Vincent at Kasimbazar that a 'long penned' letter received from the Fort on the previous day did 'little more then to let us understand that in all matters of difficulty they let us struggle for ourselves', but that in minor matters they interfered.[1] To Charnock at Patna they also wrote on the same date complaining of the lack of positive orders on the proposal that he should send a vakil to court.[2] The Fort was again addressed regarding this on 31 March and asked for orders, 'considering our subordination to you'.[3] Requests for authority to raise funds for the year's trade by borrowing at interest were similarly ignored at the Fort or met with no clear orders.[4] On 28 September they complained to the Fort on this subject, reporting that in the absence of the desired orders they did not think it safe to borrow, 'since we looke upon ourselves in duty bound to receive our orders from you in matters where the Company is silent'. As to sending a vakil to Aurangzeb's Court they wrote at the same time that 'considering our subordination to you we ought to expect as positive order from you as they [Patna] from us in matters of moment'.[5] At the end of the year their difficulties in getting orders from Madras were reported to the Company with the remark that this had led to their shipment of cloth, &c., being shorter than they had hoped it would be.[6] Langhorn and his colleagues, in a letter to the Company on 1 December, made a vigorous reply to their complaint, suggesting that they were really seeking to 'break loose from their subordination to the Fort, not to have a curb so near them', and pointing out that, while they had given advice in the matter, Clavell and his Council were in the best position to decide whether it was necessary to borrow money at interest.[7] They said the Bay Council's complaints against them was largely due to resentment at the Fort's unwillingness to 'second their harsh proceedings against Mr. Hall and others'—an 'ill temper towards their fellow servants' that was 'a continual vexation' to the Madras Agency and the Company; and

[1] 4 Hug. 101–2. It was probably in reply to this that Vincent wrote a letter of 3 Feb. containing 'unhandsome expressions' about the Agent and Council, for which the latter reproved him (O.C. 3992, f. 2).

[2] 4 Hug. 102–3. Langhorn, on the contrary, told the Company that they had sent to Clavell 'ample advices and instances of our own proceedings in like cases' (O.C. 3992, f. 2).

[3] 4 Hug. 115.

[4] Hug. let. 14 Jan., 31 March, & 8 May, ibid. 104, 114, 119.

[5] Ibid. (next sec.) 1.

[6] Ibid. 20–1. The Company subsequently rebuked Clavell for unbecoming expressions he had used about the Agent and Council (desp. 15 Dec. 1675, 5 L.B. 391).

[7] O.C. 4044, f. 12.

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they suggested that the flagrant disregard of their orders in Bengal required the sending of one or two persons with proper authority to ensure respect and compliance.[1]

Up to the arrival of the ships the cash position had been very tight, as no ships had come in the previous year and the war with the Dutch had prevented, or limited, the raising of money from them on bills of exchange as was the usual practice in Bengal. Nevertheless, £7,511 (equivalent to Rs. 60,090) had been procured on six bills, in favour of various persons, one of whom belonged to Amsterdam.[2] Special efforts were made to keep Charnock at Patna supplied with funds,[3] and in spite of the absence of authority from the Fort, Charnock was permitted to borrow at interest.[4] The position was eased when the ships arrived, as they brought with them treasure and goods to the value of £27,978, and in addition permission to take up £20,000 in bills of exchange; these, however, at the time still proved difficult to obtain.[5] The Dacca and Patna factories were now given permission to raise funds for themselves on bills or, if this were not possible, by loans at interest.[6] Some of the treasure was, as usual, sent to Rajmahal to be coined at the Mughal mint.[7] Towards the close of the year considerable remittances were ordered to be sent to Patna and Dacca via Hugli and Kasimbazar; Patna was to receive Rs. 20,000 with an equal amount to follow, and Dacca Rs. 10,000, while Vincent at Kasimbazar was given liberty to raise Rs. 160,000.[8]

The affair of Raghu, the poddar, evidently weighed heavily on the minds of the Chief and Council, and they gave the authorities at Fort St. George and the Company explanations in defence of their action in settling it at a cost of Rs. 13,000. On 31 March they sent to the Fort copies of papers relating to what they termed this 'unlucky accident which happened at Cassumbuzar' and explained that, 'though it hath been a costly business, yet it would [have] amounted to much more, had it been suffered to goe to Decca'. The Dutch, they wrote, had been compelled to pay Rs. 200,000 in a similar case where they had been concerned; and innocence was not regarded, only how to get money. They asked the Fort to report the matter to the Company as favourably as they could.[9] Later, on 28 September, they wrote again to the

[1] O.C. 4044, f. 12.
[2] Hug. let. 31 March, 4 Hug. 114; Bal. let. 28 Dec., ibid. 19.
[3] Bal. let. 14 May & 10 July, ibid. 121, 123, 135, 136.
[4] Hug. let. 14 Jan., ibid. 103; Bal. let. 28 Dec., ibid. 21.
[5] Bal. let. 28 Sept. & 6 Oct., ibid. 2, 5.
[6] Bal. let. 6 & 26 Oct., ibid. 5, 6, 15.
[7] Bal. let. 26 Oct., ibid. 13.
[8] Bal. let. 28 Dec., ibid. 39.
[9] Ibid. 117–18.

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Fort that they had no more news about the incident than what came to them from the factors at Kasimbazar and expressed their wonder that Hall at Balasore, who had reported to Madras on the affair, should be so well informed about it.[1] Langhorn sent on the papers to the Company in a neutral manner, saying 'as we ought not to betray our interest, so we delight not to aggravate more than needs'.[2] A full report on the case (see pp. 370–2) and papers relating to it were also sent to the Company from the Bay on 28 December. The report showed that of the Rs. 13,000 paid for its settlement, Rs. 10,000 went to the Governor of Murshidabad and Rs. 3,000 in other charges. The cost to the Dutch for settling the charge against them was there said to have been £50,000 (elsewhere[3] given as Rs. 200,000 or half that amount), and it was alleged that their experience in that case had taught the Moors how to plague both the Dutch and the English.[4]

BENGAL, 1675

In this year, as in the previous one, there were few important changes or events in the Bay. Clavell, who was at Balasore at its beginning, moved temporarily to Hugli early in July, but was back again in August.[5] Marshall joined him as a member of the Bay Council at Hugli in July, and again at Balasore in September, for a few weeks.[6] While at Hugli, Clavell called in Vincent from Kasimbazar to see a general letter that had arrived from the Fort and for consultation; and on 16 August they jointly issued instructions to Reade, who was being left in charge at Hugli, that if Clavell fell sick or was otherwise unable to give him 'ample advice', he was to follow that of Vincent, whether he was at Kasimbazar or Hugli.[7] These instructions seem to have been aimed at Hall, but served to cover Clavell's absence from Bengal at the end of the year (p. 393).

In January the disagreement in the factory at Balasore (p. 369) continued, and Clavell wrote that none of the Council came near him.[8] When the *Advice* left on the 25th for the Fort, she took further papers

[1] Ibid. 2. [2] O.C. 4044, f. 14.

[3] e.g. O.C. 3671 (p. 347 *n. ante*) & O.C. 4028 (*S.M.* i. 339).

[4] 4 Hug. 25–7, 41.

[5] Hug. let. 15 July, ibid. 56; Bal. let. in Aug., ibid. 67; Bal. let. 6 July & 30 Aug., 28 F.S.G. 1, 3.

[6] 4 Hug. 56–62, 68–75. Marshall continued to be 'second' at Kasimbazar, and on 18 March began to write his dialogue with a Brahman there as recorded on the manuscript in the British Museum (Harl. 4253). [7] Hug. let. 2 & 16 Aug., 4 Hug. 62, 63.

[8] Bal. let. 23 Jan., ibid. 44.

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against Hall, and the Agent and Council were again exhorted to appoint a commission for holding 'a visitation' at Kasimbazar.[1] The results were unsatisfactory from his point of view, for on 18 February the Fort held that the feuds in Bengal and the removal of Hall and Smith from their posts at Hugli and Dacca appeared 'to be much of private matter', while it would be of little use sending down 'visitours' to examine matters, without their being authorized by the Company to administer an oath. They ordered that Hall was to be Chief at Balasore when Clavell was at Hugli, and Chief at Hugli when Clavell was at Balasore. By the same orders John Smith was to be restored to his chiefship at Dacca, and it was laid down that no Chief or second of a factory was to be displaced or suspended without transmitting the reasons to the Fort and obtaining orders from there.[2]

Hall alleged that scant respect was shown to the orders regarding him, and that 'Mr. Clavell will not admit Joseph Hall to bee the Companys servant in no place, nor no degree of superioritie or minoritie in Ballasore or elsewhere'.[3] He went to Hugli, on Clavell's pretending to put the Fort orders into operation, but the Chief then sent contradictory orders to Reade, so that nothing was handed over, and he was not allowed his diet-money or any knowledge of the Company's business. Meanwhile Bugden had joined Clavell at Balasore in February, but few of the rest of his council came near them.[4] On Clavell's move to Hugli, Hall returned to Balasore and on 6 July issued orders to the principal officials there (viz. Bugden, Smith, Billingsley, Pace, Oxinden, and Trenchfield) to produce their books and papers next morning, so that he might know what had passed in his absence and carry on the factory's work; but none obeyed or attended except Smith and Nurse, 'who were not admitted to act in the Companies business'.[5]

Bugden apparently claimed the position of Chief, as on 15 July a serious conflict of authority took place, of which an account was formally recorded in a note signed by Hall and Smith on 1 August. This recounts that on the first-mentioned date a packet of letters from the Company, which had arrived by the *Ann*, was brought to Hall, but that on hearing of this Bugden came armed, with 'much company', and demanded it. He threatened those who had brought it, spoke disrespectfully of the Agent and Council, saying he despised and would

[1] Bal. let. 23 Jan., 4 Hug. 44.
[2] 1 F.S.G. 45 (*M.R.* 40).
[3] Hall's let. 30 Aug., 28 F.S.G. 3.
[4] Bal. let. 16 Feb., 4 Hug. 48.
[5] 28 F.S.G. 1, 3. Smith had returned to Balasore from Madras in May (O.C. 4091). Christopher Oxinden was appointed a writer for the Bay in 1672 (*Ct. Min.*, 1671–2, 171).

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not obey their orders, and called on seamen to seize Hall and throw him out of his lodgings. He even struck Hall, who asked him to desist till the next morning, when the packet was handed over to Bugden in the presence of all the Company's servants.[1]

On 27 July Hall recorded another brush between them. Bugden sent porgos (barges) to bring off cargo from the *Ann*, but her commander, Captain Zachary Browne, refused to deliver it on the ground that he did not know who was Chief at Balasore. Hall offered to sign along with Bugden, but this compromise was refused. Hall made a formal protest against Bugden, declaring him liable for damages due to delay in the delivery of the goods and treasure from the *Ann*.[1] In his attitude Bugden had the backing of Clavell, who on 26 July wrote to Captain Browne from Hugli, instructing him to deliver treasure and goods from his ship to the orders of Bugden and the factors at Balasore, and followed this up with similar letters to the commanders of other ships on 2 August.[2] The fact that letters from Balasore about this time were signed by Bugden and not by Hall, also indicates that the former was acting as head of the factory.[3] On 30 August Hall reported all these incidents to the Agent and Council and sent documents supporting his allegations.[4] He added that Bugden was giving out that he would be Chief at Hugli when Clavell moved to Balasore, and that Bugden was 'a fitting person for their use as ever Gabriel Townsend was, who would say or signe what[ever] they would have him'. He moralized, 'honesty is growne ridiculous, integritie scoft at, and amitie itselfe never found so few friends'. He finally suggested that the management of the Bay should be entrusted to Commissioners, one or two of whom should be sent from the Fort.[5]

A little later Hall had, or professed to have, fears of direct action against him on the part of Clavell, for he reported on 12 September to the Agent and Council that he heard that Clavell proposed to put him on board the last ship for England, and he asked for a positive order to be sent to the commanders of the ships, then at Balasore, not to receive 'Joseph Hall, John Smith . . . for England or any other port or place without their consent and liking'.[6] He complained at the same time that, though Clavell had then been seventeen days at Balasore, he had not carried out the orders of the Agent and Council, according to which Hall should have been sent as Chief at Hugli, where he had

[1] 28 F.S.G. 2, 3.
[2] 4 Hug. 59–62.
[3] Bal. let. 9 & 21 Aug., ibid. 66.
[4] 28 F.S.G. 3.
[5] Ibid. 4.
[6] Ibid. 4–5.

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left his wife to be 'Governesse'.[1] Smith also had to complain that Clavell disregarded their orders to replace him as Chief at Dacca.[2]

Turning to more normal events, the first letter of the year to the Agent and Council, dated 23 January, replies to one from them of 20 November of the previous year and deals with complaints as regards books of the year 1670–1. Clavell explained he had signed some of them after Bridges, the then Chief, had left (p. 332) and when another was expected; while the other books had been kept by Hall. The pink *Advice* was then proceeding with goods worth Rs. 28,147 from the Bay to Madras, and Clavell urged that some gentleman from the Fort should be sent in it to Bengal, and that he himself and Hall should be ordered to proceed to Kasimbazar with him, so that the matter might be examined on the spot.[3] The books in the Bay were obviously not in a satisfactory state, for on 8 March Clavell had to write to Vincent at Kasimbazar that since 1670 the accounts between that factory and headquarters had not been squared, and he asked him to have the books since that year copied for this purpose.[4] On the same date Charnock at Patna was similarly instructed to have the books of his factory from 1670 copied by Stephen Guilliams, who, together with George Peacock, was sent up to him in that month.[5]

Until the arrival of the Company's ships from Masulipatam in July and August there was a lack of cash for the purchase of goods, as it was now impossible to procure any on bills of exchange, a fact which was reported to the Agent and Council on 23 January and emphasized in communications to the Dacca and Kasimbazar factories on 16 February and 8 March.[6] The first of these was instructed to make its investments from the small stock it had, or if it could sell lead or broadcloth, 'though but at meane rates', to send for what it required from Hugli; and the latter was promised some three chests of treasure which remained, and as much cash from Hugli as could be spared and yet leave enough to provide for its ordinary charges.

Vincent had taken up five chests of treasure to Kasimbazar, and from this he was ordered to remit Rs. 40,000 to Patna.[7] As always,

[1] 28 F.S.G. 5. The Company disapproved of the orders in question, saying they were bound to be prejudicial to its interest and directing that in future, when a Chief left his factory, the 'second' there should act for him (desp. 15 Dec. 1676, 5 L.B. 375).

[2] Smith's let. 22 May, O.C. 4091 (*Ind. Antiquary*, xliv. 13, 14).

[3] 4 Hug. 44–5.

[4] Ibid. 50.

[5] Ibid. 52. Clavell there said they were transferred, as they had a 'large supply' of factors and writers, 'and not much convenience' for accommodating them at Balasore.

[6] Ibid. 44, 47, 48.

[7] Bal. let. 8 March & 15 April, ibid. 51, 55.

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every effort was made to keep Charnock at Patna well supplied. The Agent and Council on 18 February at last passed orders authorizing the Chief and factors in the Bay to raise money at interest in the absence of bills of exchange from the Dutch or other sources;[1] but, apparently before these orders were received, Clavell told Charnock that if he found he was able to increase his purchases of suitable saltpetre, even beyond the quantity ordered by the Company, he should do so, borrowing the money at interest, so that the ships that were expected should not lack kentledge.[2] As money could not easily be raised at Patna, the Kasimbazar factory was later on instructed to find out Charnock's wants and borrow money there to pass on to him. They were to send cash both for current trade and for the repayment of any that Charnock had himself been able to borrow.[3] On 15 July, shortly before the ships arrived at Balasore, Vincent at Kasimbazar was told that he could have no orders for enlarging his investments in silks till it was seen what stock was received, or at least till there was a possibility of getting money on bills of exchange which did not then exist, and that he must not exceed his stock by more than Rs. 40,000. The Patna investment, however, was not to be abridged, so that the former orders were to be followed as regards that factory.[4]

There are few references to trade, or to the movement of goods, in the letters during the first half of the year. The *Ganges* was sent from Balasore to Hugli at the end of February, and her pilot, William Lux, was ordered (if the weather was favourable) to spend some time on the river-bars in sounding for depths of channels and improving knowledge of them and of any changes in them.[5] On arrival at Hugli this vessel and the *Arrival* were to be sent back, ballasted with lead, as soon as possible, so that both should be at Hugli before the 'blustering weather', and the lead could be disposed of before the ships came with new supplies.[6] The sale of lead at Hugli was slow, there being still some 4,000 maunds unsold in the middle of April, when Charnock at Patna was asked if he could find a market for it by abating the usual price.[7] He had also been told in the previous month to take over any quantity he could from one Nim Das, a merchant of Hugli, who had bought it there and sent it to Patna for sale.[8] The *Arrival* and the *Ganges* returned, as ordered, to Balasore, and the latter was sent back on 18 March to

[1] 1 F.S.G. 5 (*M.R.* 41).
[2] Bal. let. 8 March, 4 Hug. 51.
[3] Bal. let. 15 April, ibid. 54.
[4] Bal. let. 15 July, ibid. 56–7.
[5] Bal. let. 15 & 28 Feb., ibid. 46.
[6] Bal. let. 15 Feb., ibid. 46.
[7] Bal. let. 15 April, ibid. 55.
[8] Bal. let. 8 March, ibid. 52.

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Hugli with three chests of treasure for Kasimbazar (p. 386) and with instructions to come back to Balasore and there await the arrival of dye-stuffs from England by the pink *Advice*, which the Fort was to send there (p. 374).[1]

The date when the last-named vessel reached Balasore is not on record, but on 15 April the dyeing materials brought from Madras had been transferred to the *Ganges*, as well as three chests of treasure. In her also went two English weavers and a 'throwster'[2] for Kasimbazar. Clavell asked Vincent to provide accommodation for them, but said that their allowances could not be fixed till it was reported what the Dutch at Kasimbazar gave to 'persons of their quallity'.[3] Some looking-glasses and other 'rarities' valued at Rs. 333, and 400 maunds of lead intended for Patna, were further sent in the *Ganges*, to be forwarded to Charnock by the first available means of conveyance.[4]

Except in one case, the dates of arrival of the ships at Balasore are not specifically given in the available records, but the *Ann* would seem to have arrived by 15 July,[5] and the others—*Loyal Subject*, *Success*, *Unity*, and *Samuel and Henry*—were expected there early in August.[6] The *Loyal Subject* arrived on 18 August,[7] and the other three ships probably followed her shortly afterwards. In anticipation of their arrival Clavell, with Reade and Marshall, had written on 15 July from Hugli to their commanders to deliver three or four chests of silver to Lux on the *Ganges*, as the treasure was required as early as possible to carry on investments and pay off debts.[8]

At the receipt of the Company's despatch on 22 July, Clavell and his two colleagues at Hugli lost no time in issuing trade directions. Vincent was told to buy as much silk as possible but not to exceed the amount ordered by the Company, also fine sugar if he could get it. He was further told that the sum of £10,000 was being sent him from the treasure that had arrived in the *Ann*.[9] Charnock was instructed to procure tincal and turmeric, and to send it, with what saltpetre was ready, on small boats by the end of November or beginning of December. Elwes and Hervey at Dacca were asked to take up money at interest if required, till they received supplies of cash from Kasimbazar,

[1] Bal. let. 25 Jan. & 18 March, 4 Hug. 44–5, 53.

[2] Cf. *S.M.* i. 498, as to 'thrown' silk consisting of two single strands twisted together to form a rope.

[3] Bal. let. 15 April, 4 Hug. 54.

[4] Ibid. 55.

[5] Hug. let. 23 July, ibid. 58; 28 F.S.G. 2.

[6] Hug. let. 2 Aug., 4 Hug. 59–61.

[7] Bal. let. 21 Aug., ibid. 66.

[8] Ibid. 56.

[9] Bal. let. 23 July, ibid. 58.

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and to report the rates that silver fetched, so that, should the price be reasonable, some might be sent direct to them.[1] The large number of ships that had come meant that there was a greater tonnage than usual to provide cargo for, while Clavell found that there were little goods available. In consequence Vincent was again written to on 2 August and told that, when the Dutch saltpetre boats reached Kasimbazar, he was to send persons privately on board them to buy what turmeric, saltpetre, and tincal they could, and forward what was procured to Hugli in small boats.[2]

As already mentioned (p. 383), Clavell was now joined by Vincent from Kasimbazar, and on 16 August the two issued detailed instructions to Reade regarding trading and other matters at Hugli. From these it appeared that efforts to get money by bills of exchange had failed, so he was ordered to recover from Malik Kasim his liability for amounts due on trade advances to his servants in Persia and at Madras, and if that did not suffice to meet expenses, to retain a chest of rials coming up from Balasore. The main stock of treasure expected by the pink *Advice* and the pinnace *Diligence* was to be sent on to Kasimbazar, except two chests of rials intended for Dacca to try the market there.[3]

Reade was also given instructions to procure as much saltpetre, turmeric, and tincal as possible, to forward goods expeditiously to Balasore after their arrival at Hugli, to lade rice and wheat on the *Advice* to be sent to the factory at Bantam, and, if necessary, when the monsoon had spent itself, to get one Jairam[4] to furnish boats to be sent with goods in fine weather to Balasore, along with one of the Company's sloops, so as to assist them down the river and prevent their being overladen with rice, as was the usual custom. The decked vessels of the Company were to be kept to bring down the fine goods expected from Kasimbazar and Dacca at the end of the year.[5] John Byam and Allan Catchpole were added to Reade's staff about the time of these orders.[6]

The records of the second half of the year after the arrival of the ships are mainly concerned with the movements of treasure and goods from the ships at Balasore to the factories up-country and the procuring and transport of goods to Balasore in return. In August Captain William Gaich, who commanded the *Advice*, was ordered to get from the *Ann* and other ships four chests of treasure, as well as quicksilver, copper

[1] Ibid. 59.
[2] Ibid. 61.
[3] Ibid. 62–4.
[4] He was a merchant at Hugli: cf. *S.M.* i. 160, &c.
[5] 4 Hug. 63–4.
[6] Ibid. 64.

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plates, vermilion, and, in case ballast was required, iron guns and dyestuffs, and bring them to Hugli.[1] Vincent was sent enough treasure to enable him to discharge his indebtedness and have Rs. 280,000 over; out of this four chests of rials were to go to Patna. He and Charnock were also reminded of the demand for saltpetre, turmeric, tincal, sugar, and similar goods for kentledge.[2] By 1 August fifteen saltpetre boats were on their way from Patna to Kasimbazar, and had reached the latter place by the 20th and Hugli by the 26th.[3] Under orders sent by Clavell and Bugden from Balasore to Reade on 30 August, the saltpetre was to be brought to Balasore on the *Arrival*, *Ganges*, *Diligence*, and *Advice*, 'letting them all come jocund and well dunnaged with matts'; while Thomas Lacy, and other Englishmen who were in a healthy condition, were to be taken on board to render assistance.[4]

As usual, the mortality amongst the masters or pilots of the vessels which worked between Balasore and Hugli was heavy. Henry Divine of the *Diligence* died on 20 August, and William Gaich of the *Advice* at the beginning of September. John Nicholson was appointed to succeed Gaich on the *Advice*.[5] Other deaths reported during the year were those of John Edwards, a dyer intended for Kasimbazar, who succumbed on the voyage from the Fort to the Bay,[6] and of Thomas Pace, a writer at Balasore, who died in September.[7]

By 20 September, when Clavell, with Marshall and Bugden, wrote the one letter that seems to have been sent to the Fort in the latter half of the year, only part of the cargo of the ships had been taken out of them. Fourteen thousand maunds of saltpetre had arrived at Hugli, and 200 tons more were ready at Patna, while it was hoped to receive a further supply, so that the whole quantity expected was over 600 tons, in addition to a small shipment for Bantam by the *Advice* in January (p. 383).[8] Investments at Balasore and Kasimbazar were more backward, having been held up for want of stock till the ships arrived. At Kasimbazar it was not possible to procure the amount of silk required in the time available, and merchants would not be able to deliver their goods as early as in former years, owing to their having to send the silver they received to be coined at Rajmahal before they could employ it. Certain quantities of sticklac, sugar, turmeric, and tincal had been obtained.[9] The letter contains a complaint against the

[1] Bal. let. 9 Aug., 4 Hug. 66.
[2] Hug. let. 17 Aug., ibid. 64, 65.
[3] Bal. let. 3 & 6 Sept., ibid. 68–9, 70.
[4] Ibid. 67.
[5] Bal. let. 21 Aug. & 4, 6, 20 Sept., ibid. 66, 69, 70, 71.
[6] Bal. let. 2 Aug., ibid. 62.
[7] Hall's let. 12 Sept., 28 F.S.G. 5.
[8] 4 Hug. 71–2.
[9] Ibid. 72.

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factory at Masulipatam, where a chest of medicines intended by the Company for the Bay had been taken out of the ships and kept. Clavell and his colleagues wrote that 'in regard of the seamen who are in the Company's servis here we find a great miss of [medicines] and apprehend there cannot be the same at Metchlepatam'.[1]

According to Clavell, the stock received by the ships proved to be short of what the Company intended for the Bay by about £20,000, while no money was to be had at Balasore and much was required for building and other factory charges.[2] Rupees were scarce, and as Clavell could not procure enough to enable him to meet the factory expenses, he had to indent on Vincent at Kasimbazar for some 5,000 to be supplied from the rupees coined at Rajmahal by the end of November. In return he was promised a corresponding quantity of treasure.[3] Moreover, it did not prove an easy matter to recover the money which Malik Kasim owed the Company over his Persian business (p. 389). In September the accounts were translated into Persian and sent to Mirza Wali, the deputy governor, in the hope that they would satisfy him as to the debt; but this apparently was without result, for in November Reade was instructed to deduct the balance due from the Rs. 3,000 annually paid at Hugli to the Mughal officials there.[4] Malik Kasim at the same time sought to profit from the scarcity of rupees at Balasore by offering only 'Rupees 200 for 240 weight' of silver; but Clavell refrained from accepting this offer, as it would be a bad precedent, encouraging Governors to drain the town of cash and then force the English to sell treasure to them at their own terms.[5]

There was a similar scarcity of rupees at Kasimbazar, and Clavell instructed Vincent to continue his borrowings at interest rather than have his investment hampered. He hoped that by his influence with the merchants Vincent would be able to get in the silk required from Kasimbazar by the time it was needed, and asked him to buy about thirty tons of Sherpur sugar for a trial, as no saltpetre was obtainable at Hugli or Kasimbazar from the Dutch boats.[6] In the month of October Vincent was promised a further supply of rials, though trade was bad at Kasimbazar as well as Balasore, Clavell bewailing the 'deadness of sailes' at both places.[7] At the same time Charnock at Patna was to receive two or three chests of treasure from Kasimbazar,

[1] Ibid. 71.
[2] Bal. let. 29 Nov., ibid. 73.
[3] Bal. let. 29 Sept., ibid. 73.
[4] Bal. let. 29 Sept. & 5 Nov., ibid. 74, 79.
[5] Bal. let. 29 Sept., ibid. 73.
[6] Ibid. 73–4. Sherpur is a town in Bogra District, East Bengal: cf. *S.M.* ii. 299 *n.*
[7] Bal. let. 15 Oct., 4 Hug. 76.

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but was told that, as some time might elapse before he got it, he should supply his present needs by raising money at interest, a course which would be most to the Company's advantage as avoiding dead freight and consequent loss.[1] About this time Edwards was sent in charge of three chests of treasure to the value of Rs. 24,129 for Charnock.[2] Reade at Hugli also received permission to indent on Kasimbazar for money for his factory expenses, if necessary, rather than to sell silver at unduly low prices.[3]

The sloops *Arrival*, *Advice*, *Ganges*, and *Diligence* were now kept busy bringing goods down from Hugli. The weather was bad, and the *Diligence* had a narrow escape, arriving at Hugli on a return voyage only 'after a verry great hazard' and the death of her master.[4] As a consequence Reade was asked to have her main- and fore-masts shortened, which he did. John Bugden was posted to her and brought her down to Balasore.[5] Reade, and through him the masters of these vessels, were instructed to see that the goods brought down were distributed amongst the Company's ships then in the Balasore road, so that each should have its due proportion and share of goods according to the charter-parties. It was intended to send them off gradually as they had come, and to detain only the *Unity*, the smallest of them, which it was hoped would get away in sufficient time to catch up the others at the Fort.[6] Thus the *Arrival* delivered her goods to the *Loyal Subject*, and another sloop, the *Sarah*, to the *Ann*.[7] The *Advice* was intended for Bantam, and Reade was informed that she would be sent to Hugli to be laden with saltpetre, wheat, and rice, while opium also might be accepted at a specified freight.[8]

By 13 November Clavell had received a 'handsome' supply of saltpetre from Patna, and by the end of the month goods worth Rs. 87,418 from Kasimbazar.[9] At the latter place trade was being hindered by 'stops continuall at the tancksaul' (i.e. the mint at Rajmahal); and Clavell promised Vincent that he would report the circumstances to the Company and doubted not that they would be satisfied with this explanation why his returns were so short.[10] Vincent seems to have

[1] Bal. let. 15 Oct., 4 Hug. 75.
[2] Bal. let. 4 & 13 Nov., ibid. 78, 80.
[3] Bal. let. 15 Oct., ibid. 76.
[4] Bal. let. 15 Oct., 4 & 5 Nov., ibid. 76, 78, 79.
[5] Bal. let. 15 Oct. & 13 Nov., ibid. 77, 81.
[6] Bal. let. 29 Sept. & 5 Nov., ibid. 75, 79.
[7] Bal. let. 5 & 24 Nov., ibid. 79, 81. The *Sarah* belonged to Edmund Bugden (Hug. let. 15 Nov. 1678, *Bengal & Madras Papers*, i. 96).
[8] Bal. let. 13 Nov. & 1 Dec., 4 Hug. 81, 83.
[9] Bal. let. 13 & 30 Nov., ibid. 81, 84.
[10] Bal. let. 30 Nov., ibid. 84.

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protested that goods could be bought more profitably for the Company at Kasimbazar than at Balasore, where part of the Company's stock was used in the purchase of costly 'gruff' goods. Clavell and Bugden agreed with him, but pointed out that other factories gave little assistance in disposing of goods sent out from England such as broadcloth, lead, gums, brimstone, quicksilver, and vermilion, and they were forced to trade them in return for goods at Balasore or have them lie on their hands 'and perish'.[1] There is no information as to the goods received from the factory at Dacca, but Hervey was instructed in September to come to Balasore with them.[2] The last extant letter of the year is one of 30 November addressed from Balasore to Charnock. This informed him that all his goods had arrived and that the greatest part of them were on board the ships, which would be dispatched in a few days.[3]

As the extant letters cease in December, there is no information as to their actual dispatch, but this cannot have been much before the beginning of the next year, for they did not reach Masulipatam till 6 January 1676 (p. 291).[4] Other records show that about the same time Clavell had left Balasore for Madras with the sloops *Arrival* and *Ganges*, and that John Marshall and John Smith had also gone there.[5] The two sloops probably sailed after the departure of the five ships with supplementary goods that were to be laden on them at Madras. An undated letter in January 1676 from Smith at Balasore to Langhorn[6] shows that Marshall had accompanied Clavell, but that the latter had refused to allow Smith to go with them. Smith attributed this and Marshall's departure with Clavell to the latter's resolve to have Marshall promoted to the chiefship of the Dacca factory in succession to Robert Elwes, who had died there about a month previously.[7] This, he added, was in order to make way for the promotion of his 'brother', Edward Littleton,[8] to be 'second' at Kasimbazar. He protested against this 'designe in removing Mr. Marshall' from Kasimbazar, and evidently soon followed the other two to the Fort, probably in one of his own vessels.

[1] Ibid. [2] Bal. let. 29 Sept., 4 Hug. 72. [3] Ibid. 85.

[4] On the other hand, the Bay letters brought by the ships were dated 18 & 20 Dec. (Fort let. 8 March 1676, 18 F.S.G. 3).

[5] P.D. 23 Jan. 1676, 12 Mas. 67, recording Clavell's arrival at the Fort on that date; Fort let. 8 & 9 March 1676, 18 F.S.G. 3, 5, 8.

[6] 28 F.S.G. 5–6.

[7] The exact date was 4 Dec. (*S.M.* ii. 20, 50).

[8] Clavell's second wife was a sister-in-law of Littleton (ibid. 16 *n.*, 65 *n.*).

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The matter of the parwana sought from the Nawab of Dacca (p. 375) continued to receive attention. On 16 February Elwes and Hervey were reminded of the expectation of it, with an admission that it would not be procured 'without charge' and an expression of regret that no suitable presents were available to send for the Nawab.[1] Malik Kasim had shortly before this delivered a letter from Shaista Khan demanding a peshkash, and was pressing for an answer and a list of what they proposed to give, so they were instructed, if called on by Rai Nandalal or any other of the Nawab's officers, to put forward the fire in the factory at Balasore (p. 368), and the consequent destruction of things intended for presents, as the cause of the delay and to promise a present to the Nawab in the current year, after the ships had arrived.[1] Nevertheless, the factors at Dacca were told that, if some further expenditure would obviate trouble and not create a bad precedent, it might be best to satisfy 'the craving covetious humour of this Nabob', instigated as he was by Malik Kasim.[1] A proposal to join the Dutch in a united complaint to the Nawab for the redress of grievances was negatived in a letter to Vincent on 8 March, on the ground that they would be untrustworthy allies and 'on the least apperance of their particular advantage will bee sure to leave us to shift for ourselves as well as we can'. A 'flying' report of the death of the Nawab filled them with hopes for 'a happier and a less troublesome government under one of the Kings sons, or some other active person who might succeed in this subaship'.[2]

Charnock was informed on the same date of the efforts that were being made at Dacca to procure this parwana from Shaista Khan, and that Rai Nandalal had given a fair reception to the proposal. The delay was ascribed to malicious suggestions against the English on the part of one Gangaram, the lack of presents for the Nawab owing to the fire at Balasore, the absence of Hervey who had been permitted to come to Balasore at the time of the dispatch of the ships, and to the illness of Elwes, who had had 'a great fitt of sickness',[3] bringing him 'almost to death'.[4]

Elwes and Hervey were further reminded of the subject on 17 July and told to continue soliciting the parwana, which was stated to be 'now promissed', and to have it drawn up as widely and as favourably as possible. Clavell also suggested the insertion of a clause against a

[1] 4 Hug. 47–8.
[2] Ibid. 49. 'Suba' was the term applied to a province of the Mughal empire.
[3] Ibid. 52. [4] Bal. let. 15 April, ibid. 55.

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new imposition at Kasimbazar on passing boats called 'gautbarra',[1] and that this should cover boats which were hired, as well as boats which passed 'under the notion of ours'.[2] Later on, however, Vincent was told that, while Dacca had been asked to try to have the 'gautbarra' taken off, there were small hopes of this, as it was generally paid in Dacca and the Dutch were content to pay it, seeking only for its reduction.[3]

The mission of the vakil to the Emperor's court (p. 375) proved infructuous. In writing to Charnock on 8 March Clavell and Bugden expressed their disappointment at the receipt of no information about its progress, but on 15 April they were expecting news from the vakil, so that either a remedy might be procured for the troubles at Patna and Singhiya, or that the expenses of his deputation, which they believed must be high, might be ended.[4] A letter from Charnock of 5 August, however, reported the death of the vakil.[5] Clavell in reply informed Charnock that the new parwana, which had been long promised at Dacca, had not yet been 'chopped', i.e. sealed. He also mentioned that news had been received through the Dutch of the Nawab's discontent with Charnock.[5] Finally, Elwes and Hervey, with the help of a peshkash to the Nawab, secured the desired order relating to business at Patna and a copy of it had reached Clavell by 29 September.[6]

Towards the end of the year the Company's business was again obstructed in various places by the local Mughal officials. Boats carrying saltpetre were stopped at Rajmahal, which led Clavell to complain to the agent of its Governor, Aziz Beg, who was at Balasore in November.[7] However, six boats had arrived by 13 November, as Clavell then reported to Charnock. At the same time he expressed his sorrow at learning, apparently from Charnock, that the new Nawab Astella (? Asadulla) 'is a pece of the bad leaven of which his master is compounded'; he continued

> that Merchan [? Mir Khan] is a bad governor it is no great wonder: of late no other but such are found in all parts of the Kingdome that we have notice of, not a worse Nabob ever came to Orisa than the present Ruzzard Chaan [Rashid Khan] who robs the [w]hole country in an[d] about Catock [Cuttack], and the King['s] Duan hath a long time laine

[1] This probably corresponded to the duty of Rs. 2 a boat levied at Rajmahal (p. 412).
[2] 4 Hug. 57.
[3] Bal. let. 2 Aug., ibid. 61.
[4] Ibid. 52, 55.
[5] Hug. let. 17 Aug., ibid. 65.
[6] Bal. let. 29 Sept., ibid. 73.
[7] Bal. let. 4 & 13 Nov., ibid. 78, 81.

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at one [*sic*] Dannaper [? Dinapur] and stops all goods that come out of Bengala, making them pay custome and beat [*sic*, ? a bargain with] him sufficently besides, a thing not knowne till this yeare.

He lamented that 'in all our busines we are faine to creep because we have not strength to goe', and that nothing had been sent out that year for presents.[1]

Reade at Hugli was compelled to send down to Balasore goods belonging to Malik Kasim; but Clavell admitted the necessity of doing this, 'his being Governer of both places [Hugli and Balasore] giving him abillity and he never want[ing] a will to do mischief'.[2]

To Charnock he wrote that the new Governor of Rajmahal, who was formerly Governor of Hugli, plagued both the English and the Dutch more than any Governor that had ever been there before; and while sending him a large looking-glass to be used as a present or sold, as the Company's occasions required, prophesied that these were likely to be greater than 'in any mans time heretofore', especially in view of the character of the new Governor at Patna who had been responsible for suffering so many of the King's subjects to perish at Elabas (Allahabad) in the time of an inundation.[3] In the same letter it was stated that the matter of the parwana for Patna had been referred to Madras, but 'what orders we can expect thence we can easily immagen, which we believe will be nothing at all sutable to what the Company's business will require'.[3]

Presumably, in accordance with the orders of 16 August to Reade (p. 383), Vincent acted as Chief during Clavell's absence at Fort St. George.

BENGAL, 1676

THE Hugli records for this year are scanty, as they contain nothing until after the arrival of Streynsham Master in October, and Puckle's diary from 1 February is unfortunately missing; but other records show the general course of events.

Mention has already been made (p. 393) of Clavell's journey to Madras in December–January with the two sloops *Arrival* and *Ganges*. These returned to Balasore on 31 March, bringing Clavell, Puckle,

[1] 4 Hug. 80. Presumably Astella and Merchan were officials at Patna.
[2] Bal. let. 24 Nov., ibid. 82.
[3] Bal. let. 30 Nov., ibid. 85.

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Puckle's son and three assistants, Marshall, Smith, and some recruits for service in the Bay.[1] The new men were Fitch Nedham, a factor of about four years' service from Siam, who had been given leave to go to the Bay and was sent on by Clavell and his Council to Dacca;[2] a 'throwster' in silk for Kasimbazar;[3] and six soldiers from the Fort garrison, whom Langhorn and his Council had allotted to the Company's vessels in the Bay, on Clavell's representation of their great need of Englishmen to serve on them.[4] A bell, which had hitherto been used in Fort St. George but was considered to be too small, was also sent for the factory at Balasore, so that it might 'more orderly observe of the hours of prayer, meals and of retirement'.[5]

Langhorn told Clavell that, in view of the Company's commission to Puckle for the inspection of the Bengal factories and the settlement of their affairs, he and his Council had refrained from meddling any further with supplementary complaints they had received from Hall and Smith.[6] This covered the charges against Clavell brought by Hall; but the Fort qualified this by holding that in other cases Clavell had power, as Chief in the Bay, to administer an oath for the purpose of inquiries into matters of 'abuses and injuries' to the Company.[7] Langhorn also wrote privately to Puckle about the personal quarrels among the factors in the Bay,[8] saying that, though he might find it difficult to decide them, he could perhaps compose them or separate the parties. As to Hall, he suggested that, in view of his being a near relation of Sir Nathaniel Herne,[9] the Governor of the Company, he should be settled as chief in some place 'where he might fall to his business in quiet, as well to himself as to others'; he thought some care should also be taken of Smith, who had served so long and creditably. He urged Puckle on the other hand to make the merits of the case and the Company's rules and orders his 'surest guide', and not to give way to the private designs of discontented persons entrenching upon the due authority of their

[1] Fort let. 8 & 9 March, 18 F.S.G. 3, 4, 5.

[2] Ibid. 4; Siam let. 7 Dec. 1675, 28 F.S.G. 36; Bal. let. 25 May, ibid. 44. Nedham had originally gone out to Bantam for service in Japan (*S.M.* ii. 18 *n.*, 341).

[3] 18 F.S.G. 4; 28 F.S.G. 44.

[4] 18 F.S.G. 4; Fort con. 5 March, *M.R.* 91. Three of the six soldiers were subsequently returned as being inefficient (*S.M.* ii. 93).

[5] Fort con. 3 March, *M.R.* 91.

[6] Fort let. 8 March, 18 F.S.G. 3, 4; Puckle's commn. 5 L.B. 156–7.

[7] Fort con. 29 Feb., *M.R.* 89, 90; O.C. 4178, f. 8.

[8] Let. 8 March, 18 F.S.G. 6.

[9] Hall had married Herne's sister (*S.M.* i. 168 *n.*). Sir Nathaniel was evidently on cordial terms with his brother-in-law and sent him a chest of wine by the ships this year (Fort let. to Hall, 12 July, 18 F.S.G. 18).

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Chief, which would inevitably lead to the same confusion as had occurred at Masulipatam.

Puckle seems to have largely followed this advice. A letter from Yale to Langhorn gives some interesting details of the proceedings at Balasore after his and Puckle's arrival. They found Hall and Bugden there, and these with Clavell as Chief, Puckle as second on a salary of £300 a year, Marshall and Smith formed a Council.[1] At their desire Yale accepted the office of secretary at Balasore.[2] The first result of their business was the settlement of all the Company's servants in the five factories, as entered in a list appended to Yale's letter.[3] This made no important changes except that Hall was moved as Chief to Dacca, with Smith as his second,[4] while Reade became 'second' at Hugli and Balasore under Clavell. The Council then took up in turn the charges of Nurse, Hall, and Smith against Clavell. Yale says that Clavell withdrew from the Council, when the business before it concerned himself. Nurse complained of Clavell's impeding his promotion, and detaining his arrears of salary, &c. Clavell retorted by detailing Nurse's numerous misdemeanours, debaucheries, and irregularities, which were supported by a letter from Hall that he produced. Smith contended these justified Nurse's dismissal; but the Council decided, in view of his long service, 'great necessity', and undertaking to reform, to reduce him to a salary of £10 a year, allow him his arrears of salary, and post him as 'second' at Dacca under Hall, subject to the Company's approval of this settlement.[5] Hall's charges, which he sent to the Company in 1673 (p. 339), involved Vincent and Reade, as well as Clavell. His evidence on oath about them was taken by the Council on 15 and 17 May. Yale said it had little positive corroboration, 'and it is doubted that, upon Mr. Clavell's evidence, Mr. Hall['s case] will appeare [to consist] more of heate then matter'.[6] On 18 May Smith put in a charge against Clavell consisting of twenty-seven articles, 'their contents in appearance of

[1] Yale's & Bal. let. 25 May, 28 F.S.G. 40, 44; Fort let. 8 March, 18 F.S.G. 3.

[2] 28 F.S.G. 40.

[3] Ibid. 43; cf. ibid. 40. This was on 11 April (*S.M.* i. 502).

[4] Sir Richard Temple thought this to be a copyist's mistake, as Puckle would hardly be likely to place Smith as second in a factory where he had formerly resided as Chief (ibid. 505 *n.*); but his suggestion that he was appointed as 'second' at Patna is opposed to the entry in the same document showing Bullivant as holding that post. Smith was probably appointed to that post later on, when news came of Bullivant's death on 19 May (see entries as to Smith and Bullivant in Master's list of Company's servants, ibid. ii. 17, 20).

[5] 28 F.S.G. 41. Nurse was discontented with this transfer, and in Oct. he was allowed to go to Fort St. George by the ships leaving at the end of the year (*S.M.* i. 411).

[6] 28 F.S.G. 41.

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great consequence'.[1] Clavell had to prepare his answer, so the inquiry under oath was postponed till after the Council's arrival at Hugli.[2] Symbolical of all this disturbance was 'a very sencible' earthquake, which took place on 17 May between 10 and 11 p.m. It was preceded by 'a dull heavie noise in the air, much different from thunder'; the country people said it portended a great scarcity—a prophecy that was generally believed owing to there having been no rainfall in the locality that season, though other parts had been more fortunate.[3]

On 26 May Clavell, Puckle, Hall, Marshall, Smith, and Yale left for Hugli, where Smith's charge against Clavell was further investigated, as also another charge he had made against Reade.[4] Puckle's report to Langhorn about his proceedings does not mention their having any result, but they were adopted without any addition as a basis for the subsequent decision in October (p. 404). Leaving Reade in charge of the factory at Hugli, Clavell, Puckle, and the rest of their party went on in June to Kasimbazar. There the Council first took up Hall's charges against Vincent and March (who had died in 1671, see p. 333). Vincent gave in his written reply, but Hall refused to be examined on oath to prove his charges, saying he had been twice previously sworn and examined about them. He also declined to produce any witnesses to support them. Hall's charge against Vincent and March that they over-rated the silk and taffetas bought by them on the Company's account was next inquired into and found to be false. Hall refused to sign several consultations in which some of his accusations were held to be disproved. Later on he charged Vincent and March with taking a commission of 2 rupees 13 annas per cent. from the silk merchants and weavers on money belonging to the Company that was paid to them. When the Council called upon Hall to prove it, he produced a paper stating his case; and when Clavell, as Chief, administered the oath to him, so that he might be examined by Puckle, he said 'the contents of the paper is [*sic*] true', and refused to be examined further or give any other proof or evidence.[5] The question of what was a proper charge for baling and packing silk and taffetas was referred to Puckle and Marshall, who bought materials for ten bales and ten chests so that they might make experiments in the matter. 'These and such like passages' (said

[1] This, and probably the proceedings upon it, occupied 'one booke intire' in Puckle's papers (*S.M.* i. 407). Puckle also told Langhorn that Smith's charge 'had but very slender proofes (Puckle's let. 19 Aug., 28 F.S.G. 61).

[2] 28 F.S.G. 41. [3] Ibid. 42. [4] Ibid. 61.

[5] This was on 2 Aug., see *S.M.* i. 384–5. That Hall had arrived at Kasimbazar in June is mentioned in Master's diary (i. 356).

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Puckle in his letter of 19 August to Langhorn) gave them 'daily work enough', and they had 'come to an issue', awaiting the arrival of Streynsham Master. He hoped this would be soon, as the members of the Council for the Bay could not leave Kasimbazar[1] till Master had completed his inquiry into the death of Raghu Poddar, and their stay there was 'troublesome', for it might impede the lading of the ships at Balasore.[2]

On 23 August the ships *Eagle*, *Falcon*, and *Surat Merchant* reached that port with Master and the others accompanying him, and found the *Johanna*, which had arrived on 31 July, at anchor there. After staying a few days at Balasore, he and his party sailed in the Company's sloops to Hugli; thence they went on to Kasimbazar, which they reached on 23 September.[3]

The *Eagle*, the *Falcon*, and the *Surat Merchant* brought up a stock of £47,293 consisting of treasure and goods; and this was duly landed and distributed.[4] Langhorn asked Clavell and his Council to supply about 1,313 tons of goods for the lading of the four ships, and said they could make up a deficiency with tincal, cotton yarn, turmeric, and sticklac.[5] The large amount ordered was mainly due to Langhorn's fear that the investment at Madras would fall short.[6] There is very little information available as to the progress made in complying with these orders, owing to the records of this year being very meagre, except as to Streynsham Master's proceedings, of which his published diary gives a complete account. They are, therefore, only summarized here.[7]

Bugden had returned from Kasimbazar to Balasore, in time to welcome Master on his arrival. The latter landed on 26 August, and his diary records another earthquake there, early that morning, 'which wee were very sensible of aboard the ships in the roade, and it hath much shaken the houses of the towne'.[8] The sloops *Arrival* and *Ganges*,

[1] Bugden had, however, returned to Balasore in Aug. (Master's let. 29 Aug., 10 Mas. 28).

[2] 28 F.S.G. 61–2. The dates of some of the 'examinations' before Puckle are given in *S.M.* i. 474, 483–4.

[3] Master's let. to Co. 28 Oct., ibid. 490. No other copy of this letter is in the records of the India Office. They also contain Master's diary from Dec. 1675 to Jan. 1677 (F.R., Misc., vol. 14), but for convenient reference, I give citations from it as paged in Sir Richard Temple's publication *S.M.*

[4] Fort let. 31 July & 9 Aug., 18 F.S.G. 28, 30; Kas. let. 18 Oct., 28 F.S.G. 68.

[5] Fort let. 31 July, 18 F.S.G. 28.

[6] Ibid. 29; Fort let. 9 Oct., ibid. 37.

[7] Citations from the printed diary henceforward omit the letters *S.M.*, unless needed to avoid ambiguity.

[8] i. 298–300.

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which had taken to Hugli the silver brought up by the *Johanna*, returned on 27 August;[1] but their departure for Hugli was delayed by the need 'to see the new moon over',[2] as well as by their having to lade goods and treasure from the ships. Master employed part of the intervening time in treating with the merchants for the cloth investment due to be made there. For this purpose he took Bugden and his 'second', John Billingsley, into Council, and on 30 and 31 August they had interviews with Khemchand and other merchants.[3] The latter were at first very indifferent whether they dealt with the Company or not, because of the broadcloth and lead they were usually forced to take in part-payment, complaining of the great quantities of those commodities that were lying on their hands. At the second interview, however, they agreed to supply the cloth required at the prices of the two preceding years, and to take half the purchase-money in 'Europe goods'.[4] He also arranged for a supply of turmeric and sticklac to the factory.[5] The introduction of new regulations for keeping its accounts was deferred; but the printed rules and orders of the Company were ordered to be hung up and observed.[6] The keeping of taverns within the precincts of the factory for seamen and others was prohibited;[7] and orders were given allowing diet-money to the five Company's servants remaining there after Master's departure till their number became large enough to justify a 'public table'.[8] Master also received a present from the Governor of the town, Mirza Wali, and exchanged visits with the Chief of the Danish factory there.[9] On 4 September he boarded the *Arrival*, but her sailing was delayed as she and the *Ganges* did not receive their full lading of goods and ballast till the next afternoon;[10] and they did not leave for Hugli till the night of 5 September. The Rev. Joshua Darley, the factory chaplain, and Christopher Oxinden, a writer there,[11] accompanied Master as members of his entourage in the *Arrival*, while his two secretaries, William Callaway and Nathaniel Whetham, with Thomas Reade, a dyer sent out by the Company, went in the *Ganges*.[12] On 11 September the two sloops reached a spot some sixty miles from Hugli where, by an unfortunate accident, Darley and Whetham were drowned because of their boat upsetting in the river,

[1] i. 299, 301. [2] i. 301.
[3] i. 306. On 30 Aug. Samuel Smith, a writer at Balasore, died there (*S.M.* ii. 20).
[4] i. 303–4, 306–8. [5] i. 308.
[6] i. 304. [7] i. 305, 318. [8] i. 304–5.
[9] i. 300, 318. [10] i. 319–20.
[11] Oxinden was a son of Sir Henry Oxinden and cousin of Streynsham Master (*S.M.* i. 193 *n.*; ii. 266). [12] i. 320–1.

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and Callaway (who was ill when he went on board) died the same day.[1] The next day Master was met by Edward Reade, Samuel Hervey, and four others who had come from Hugli with boats to bring his party to the factory; and they reached it the next evening. A chest of the Company's gold and four chests of silver were landed, and the rest of the treasure and goods came by the sloops, which were unladen and dispatched back to Balasore on 18 September.[2] That same day Master and his party, together with Reade and Hervey, set out in boats for Kasimbazar. Their journey up the river took five days, and Master, who was met on the way by most of the Council, reached the factory at Kasimbazar on the afternoon of 23 September.[3] Having lost his two secretaries, he obtained one of Puckle's, viz. Vincent Sayon, and started work on Monday, 25 September.[4]

His first task was the inquiry into the circumstances of Raghu Poddar's death on 22 August 1673 (pp. 370–2), which the Company had ordered him to make. It was held before the full Council (with the exception of Vincent, who was implicated in the affair), and took up six full days (27, 28, 29, 30 September and 3, 4 October).[5] The most important witnesses as to the occurrence were the factors, Littleton, Marshall, Edwards, and Knipe, who were serving under Vincent at the time of the occurrence; the two dyers, Moseley and Naylor, who were also then serving in the factory; and the 'housebroker', Anantram, who was alleged to have had Raghu beaten by factory peons on the day before his death. The last-named admitted having had him struck on the head and the soles of his feet;[6] and the main issue before the Council was whether the assault took place under Vincent's orders, or with his connivance. On the previous day Vincent had temporarily left the factory, but Anantram deposed that before Vincent went he ordered him to 'contrive and find a way' of getting the money that Raghu owed the Company.[7] In this the witness was to some extent corroborated by Knipe, who said he asked Anantram why Raghu was being beaten, and Anantram replied that he had an order to do this from Vincent.[8] On the other hand, Littleton, Marshall, Edwards, and Knipe testified that Vincent had previously objected to any beating of Raghu, on the

[1] i. 323–4, 326. Bowrey (175–8) gives the date of the accident as 27 Sept., but Master's diary is probably more reliable on this point: cf. *S.M.* i. 16–18, 324 *n.*

[2] i. 324–7. [3] i. 327. [4] i. 329–30.

[5] i. 332–75. The Council included Puckle, Hall, Reade, Marshall, Smith, Littleton, and Hervey. Littleton was the 'third' at Kasimbazar, and Hervey was acting as Chief at Dacca (p. 412).

[6] i. 360.

[7] i. 360, 362. [8] i. 370.

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ground that he was an old man whose death might result from it and so bring trouble on to the Company.[1] Marshall said that a few days before his death, Raghu and his son were summoned before Vincent, and on their refusal to pay the money demanded, Vincent had the son whipped at the factory. On some persons asking why he did not have the father beaten also, he gave the reply just mentioned. Marshall remarked that he thought it very unjust for the son to be beaten for his father's fault, and Vincent replied to the effect that it was a good way to get the money paid, as parents in those parts were indulgent to their children.[2] The evidence clearly showed that to confine and beat defaulters, or their near relations, was a method of extracting payment which was occasionally resorted to by the chief of a factory and was deemed to be justified by 'the custom of the country'.[3] There was also a consensus of opinion that there was no custom for a factory broker to have a debtor beaten on his own authority.[4] There was, therefore, room for an inference that Vincent had, by hints or direct order, authorized Anantram to inflict the beating. On the other hand, the inquiry elicited no testimony that Vincent had given such an authorization, apart from Anantram's vague statement that he had been told to 'contrive' to get payment. Vincent himself was not examined, as the law of that time debarred an accused from giving evidence; but he denied any complicity. This had to be established by his accuser, Hall, who mainly relied on a so-called 'confession' by Anantram; but the latter in his deposition repudiated its allegations against Vincent, except to the extent just mentioned.[5] This statement, however, was (on the assumption of Vincent's guilt) that of an accomplice, which the English law treats as unworthy of credence, unless corroborated in material particulars. In favour of Vincent there was also the testimony of Knipe and Moseley that, shortly before he was beaten, Raghu had angered Anantram by exposing an 'intended cheat' on the part of the latter in a transaction with the factory.[6] This suggested that the beating had nothing to do with Vincent's endeavour to get Raghu to pay up. A present-day court would no doubt be likely to reject this evidence as unreliable, but on the other considerations it might well agree with the finding of the Council on 13 October that Vincent was not proved to have had any hand in the death of Raghu or to have been accessory to

[1] i. 344, 350, 369, 372.
[2] i. 350.
[3] i. 345, 346, 348, 350, 351, 353, 358, 371.
[4] Ibid.
[5] i. 356, 361, 362–4.
[6] i. 342–3, 368, 372.

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the assaulting. Hall, as was to be expected, dissented, saying he was not satisfied 'but that he might be accessary'.[1]

A side-issue was the question whether it would not have been better for Vincent to have handed Anantram over to the local authorities to be dealt with by them, and to have tried to settle the matter at Dacca, instead of at Kasimbazar, where the bribes given to have the affair hushed up had cost the Company 13,000 pagodas (p. 382). On this point all the chief witnesses, except Hall and Smith, agreed that Vincent had adopted the best course.[2] The Company had disallowed this expenditure pending the result of the inquiry, and had ordered Vincent to pay the sum into its cash;[3] but he refused to comply until his liability to make a refund was proved. He relied also on the fact that his action had been in accordance with orders from the Chief and Council at Balasore. Master and his colleagues (except Hall) agreed with this contention and decided that they should not use force to make him comply without further directions from the Fort or the Company.[4]

One result of the inquiry was that on 6 October the Council resolved to make 'a publicke example' of Anantram, in order 'to lett the Country know that the English doe not lightly pass over such irregular actions and alsoe to prevent the like for the future'. He was called to the door of the factory and there, publicly and with disgrace, turned away, never again to be admitted in any factory nor to be employed in the Company's service.[5]

Additional charges made by Hall against Vincent were investigated on 5 and 10–13 October. The first was that he had tried to extort Rs. 5,000 from Gopal Bhai and other native clerks, on pretence that they had taken an illicit commission from the weavers. The evidence, however, showed that in fact he had discovered they took a commission of one-half per cent. with the result that the clerks had confessed their guilt and made a written promise to pay up Rs. 5,000 if they were ever found guilty again.[6] A second charge was one into which Puckle had already inquired (p. 399). This was that Vincent and March took a commission of 2 rupees 13 annas per cent. of the Company's money delivered to the silk merchants and weavers. Hall refused to be examined on oath in the matter, and the affidavit that

[1] i. 396. For a discussion of the merits of the case against Vincent, see also i. 153–4.
[2] i. 344, 345, 346–7, 350–1, 353–4, 358–9, 367.
[3] Desp. 24 Dec. 1675 to F.S.G., para. 34 (*S.M.* i. 252).
[4] i. 332–5. [5] i. 381. [6] i. 376–9.

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he had made before Clavell was rejected as inadmissible, since he was present and could give evidence on oath. Hall also could not remember the names of any merchants or weavers who might be examined regarding the charge, and said that in any case it would be useless to send for them, as none of them would testify against the present Chief of the factory. In the circumstances the Council decided not to examine any of them, and as the other evidence elicited nothing against Vincent and March, the charge fell to the ground. Hall, however, was declared to be unfaithful to his trust and duty to the Company in refusing to be sworn and examined.[1]

Puckle did not attend the Council-meetings on and after 5 October.[2] He was ill on Master's arrival, and as he got worse the proceedings of 3 and 4 October were held in his chamber. He died on 16 October and was buried next morning in the English garden.[3] Master subsequently commended him for his 'great prudence and integrity', and said he had taken 'great paines' in the Company's business.[4]

The only remaining matter concerning Vincent was the Company's order to investigate information it had received that the factory at Kasimbazar was frequented by Jesuits and Romish priests, who 'goe up and downe' to Vincent's wife and family. On 13 October Hall, Marshall, Littleton, Edwards, and two other inmates of the factory during Vincent's time testified that this was false.[5] On the same day Hall's charges against him were reviewed and the Council (except Hall and Smith) decided that he had not been unfaithful to his trust and that, being a good and faithful servant, he should be continued in the Company's service.[6] On 18 October Hall's and Smith's charges against Clavell and Reade were taken up. Both of the accusers said they had no further 'proofs' to produce beyond those given before Puckle; and after a long debate Master and the rest of the Council (except Clavell and Reade, who had withdrawn during the trial, and Hall and Smith, who dissented) held that nothing of importance to the damage of the Company or constituting 'unfaithfulness' had been made out against the two accused.[7]

[1] i. 384–94, 397. Smith dissented from the resolution about Hall (i. 386, 388).

[2] Cf. i. 375. [3] i. 329, 378, 380, 403, 409.

[4] Master's let. 28 Oct. & 1 Jan. 1677, i. 490 & F.R. 3A Misc. 17 (i. 28). As Sir Richard Temple points out (i. 27), he had not the personality, experience, and status of Master, so that his efforts did not do much to settle the differences he investigated.

[5] i. 394–5; desp. 24 Dec. 1675, 5 L.B. 235–6. The Council accordingly reported to the Company that the information was erroneous (3A Misc. 10, paras. 39, 40). [6] i. 396–7.

[7] i. 410–11. Clavell's charge of seventeen articles against Smith was handed to Puckle on 1 Sept., and copies of it and Smith's answer are contained in Master's diary (i. 412–21).

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It was now the turn of Clavell and Vincent. The hearing of Clavell's charges against Smith occupied four days between 20 and 24 October, and resulted in a decision on 26 October that Smith had been proved to be 'unfaithful' in his employment by the Company. The evidence clearly showed fraudulent conduct on his part to the prejudice of his employers.[1] Pending judgement, however, Smith continued to sit on the Council and took part in its trial of Vincent's charges against Hall. This lasted from 26 to 30 October (omitting Sunday the 29th).[2]

On 2 November the Council found ten of the twenty-six articles of the charge to be proved, and held that Hall had been 'unfaithful' in the discharge of his trust in the Company's service.[3] Master and his colleagues also decided that Hall and Smith should cease to sit in Council or be employed in any capacity in the Company's service pending the receipt of orders from the Agent and Council at Fort St. George, who alone had power to suspend a Member of Council. They, however, allowed them meanwhile to continue to draw diet and other usual allowances, subject to their staying at the Hugli factory till the receipt of the orders from Madras.[4]

One of Master's main tasks at Kasimbazar was now finished, and he and Vincent (as well as their colleagues on the Council except Hall and Smith) must have breathed sighs of relief at the tedious daily sessions entailed by the various inquiries having at last come to an end.[5] There was, however, little respite till 5 November, as the 3rd and 4th were taken up with morning and afternoon sittings of the Council, at which orders were passed for the better regulation of affairs in the Bengal factories, to much the same effect as had been done for the one at Masulipatam (pp. 297–8). These comprised orders as to the keeping of accounts and other registers, including consultation-books which were to give full information as to events at a factory 'in the nature of a diary'; the holding of more frequent council-meetings; better care of the estates of intestate Englishmen; and the submission of letter and advices to the Company, 'with a becomeing respect as becomes servants to their masters'.[6] A list in order of seniority was also

[1] i. 411–47. For a careful discussion of the case against Smith, see Sir Richard Temple's note on it (i. 156–64).

[2] i. 449–89.

[3] i. 502–3. Smith dissented as to three of these articles (p. 503). See ii. 165–74 for Sir Richard Temple's full note, showing Hall to have been guilty of insubordination and fraudulent conduct.

[4] i. 503–6.

[5] Vincent in a letter of 4 Nov. to Edwards (O.C. 4232) said he hoped soon 'to be quite rid of this tedious visitation'.

[6] ii. 1–9; O.C. 4231.

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drawn up, comprising all the Company's servants in Bengal;[1] accounts of 'the manner of the silk and taffaty investments' at Kasimbazar, and of the mode of conducting the cloth investment at Dacca, were submitted by Vincent and Hervey respectively;[2] and translations of important grants or orders as to 'the English privileges' in those parts were filed.[3] Among minor orders that may be mentioned are those laying down that 'none but a cheife of a factory doe weare [on his boat when travelling] a flagg with a swallowes taile' (i.e. the usual commodore's flag): others were to use only 'ensignes and small squar jacks'.[4] Another order restricted 'the youthes' to eating by themselves, when Dutch or other strangers were entertained at 'the publique table', except for those of them that were specially invited by the chief, as was done at Surat.[5] The chest with locks and keys, which the Company had sent out to keep its seals in, was delivered to Clavell, but it was found that there were no seals with the Company's arms on them to be kept in it, as the one formerly in use had been lost in the fire at Balasore in 1674 (p. 368). In any case the Council evidently thought this precaution of little use, as one of the keys opened two locks on the chest, and local locksmiths were able to fit a key to a lock without taking it off.[6] In accordance with the usual practice the headquarters of the Chief and Council in the Bay were fixed at Hugli, except at the close of the year when all or some of them were to go to Balasore to supervise the lading and dispatch of the homeward ships. An annual visit of inspection to Kasimbazar was also authorized.[7] The accounts of the Hugli and Balasore factories, which had for some years been intermixed, were ordered to be separated from 1 July.[8]

After Master had held his last council-meeting at Kasimbazar on 4 November, he, Clavell, Reade, and Hervey proceeded to Hugli in the course of the next few days. Master, who left on the 8th, reached the factory on the evening of the 10th.[9] His stay there was prolonged by serious trouble given by Malik Zindi, who was deputizing as Governor of Hugli for his father, Malik Kasim. Master's diary on 11 November records that he 'endeavoured all he could to molest us and impede the

[1] ii. 16–20; O.C. 4231. The list was facilitated by the Council's orders on 1 Nov. as to various appointments (i. 502–3).
[2] ii. 9–15. The statements are summarized in l. 41–2.
[3] ii. 21–8. The farmans include one granted by Aurangzeb to the Dutch in 1662 (ii. 26–8).
[4] ii. 9. [5] ii. 8.
[6] ii. 7; Bay let. to Co. 30 Dec., 3A Misc. 10, paras. 52, 54.
[7] i. 500–1. [8] Kas. con. 31 Oct., i. 498–9. Cf. i. 43.
[9] ii. 28–9. Reade is not mentioned, but he was at Hugli on 11 Nov. (ii. 32–3).

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Honourable Companyes business by stopping our boates and seizing our goods and servants and detaineing them'. This had been going on for some time, and Malik Zindi's conduct had provoked the young men left in charge of the factory, while the Council were at Kasimbazar, 'to give him some advantage', by their use of violence 'with which he endeavoured to justifie himselfe'. On 11 November the Council, in view of all the circumstances, decided on trying to remove 'the difference' by a present.[1] It was not, however, till the 23rd that they succeeded in getting the Governor to withdraw his stoppage of trade and release the persons he had imprisoned, including relations of the factory's vakil, by the gift to him and his diwan of five half-pieces of broadcloth, as an addition to the usual yearly presents, which were due later on, and in which he had demanded an increase of Rs. 500.[2] On the 25th he paid a visit to the factory and 'made faire promises of the continuance of his freindship';[3] but, as will be seen, the Council's hopes that his obstruction had ended were soon shattered.

The next day Master and his three colleagues (Clavell, Reade, and Hervey), after sanctioning proposals to improve the accommodation available for the Company's servants (including its seamen) at the factory and for warehousing its goods, decided that, 'the usuall presents being now accepted by the severall officers of the towne, and all business in a quiett and currant posture', Master and Clavell, with their assistants and attendants, should proceed forthwith to Balasore for dispatching the Company's ships from that place.[4] Clavell accordingly left Hugli on 27 November, doing most of the journey overland. The same day the sloop *Arrival* reached Hugli from Balasore, and Master sailed in her during the night of the 29th. Before his departure he had the mortification of hearing that the Governor had imprisoned the factory vakil, in an attempt to extort payment of the usual present (Rs. 3,000) at once instead of on the due date, which was 25 December. Malik Zindi alleged that the Nawab at Dacca had ordered the amount to be collected immediately and that he, therefore, could not wait till Christmas as usual.[5] As the Governor refused to issue any pass till the sum was paid, Reade, who was in charge of the factory, found it necessary to borrow Rs. 4,000, out of which he paid the Rs. 3,000 on

[1] ii. 35, 43; O.C. 4236. John Byam, the senior writer at Hugli, was fined Rs. 100 by the Council for trying to dispatch a boat, though it had no pass, by the use of force (ii. 43–4).

[2] ii. 43.

[3] ii. 46. Master describes him as 'a very young man, about nineteen and twenty yeares old, and as ill look't as he is evill in his naturall inclination, and disposition' (ibid.).

[4] ii. 47–9.

[5] ii. 65; Reade's diary, 1 Hug. 1.

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2 December.[1] There was then a very brief respite, for on the 6th news arrived from the factory at Dacca that the Nawab had received orders from the Emperor for the levy of customs on all the Company's goods at 2 per cent. and that orders accordingly were being prepared for dispatch to Hugli and Balasore.[2] On the 10th copies of two parwanas about this were received from Dacca and forwarded to Balasore.[3] Some relief must have been felt when a later letter of 3 December from Nedham at Dacca reported that he had succeeded by bribery in stopping the dispatch of the parwanas for seven days from that date. This reached Hugli on 13 December, and was sent on at once to Balasore.[4] Two days later, however, Malik Zindi gave a copy of the Nawab's parwana to the factory's vakil, and refused to sign any more passes for goods till customs were paid on them; he demanded an account of all the Company's goods, and stopped all boats plying for their conveyance. Reade paid him a visit and hoped to induce him to refrain from this renewed interference with the factory's trade by the offer of an underhand present.[5] On the 19th, however, the Governor was insisting on all goods being examined and their contents and weights noted; he also demanded a written undertaking to pay customs on them within three months, unless they produced an order from the Nawab clearing them from this liability.[6] Towards the end of the year things got worse. On the 27th he threatened to send horsemen and peons to the factory to force it to pay customs; and on the 28th the unfortunate vakil was beaten for venturing to ask the Governor to let goods pass provisionally. Reade offered him Rs. 500 to let them pass without weighment, &c., for twenty days; but he demanded Rs. 1,000 for this concession, and the transport of goods was at a standstill when the year closed.[7]

Streynsham Master, who had reached the Balasore factory on 5 December, and his Council there, consisting of Clavell, Marshall (its new head), and Bugden, were unable to suggest any immediate remedy for this trouble except further bribery, and on 11 December three good Persian horses were dispatched to Dacca as a proposed present to the Nawab.[8] Vincent and Charnock were of opinion that the whole trouble

[1] 1 Hug. 1.

[2] Ibid. The Dacca letter of 29 Nov. is reproduced in Master's diary (ii. 68–9).

[3] 1 Hug. 1; ii. 77.

[4] 1 Hug. 2; ii. 91–2.

[5] 1 Hug. 2.

[6] Ibid. 3.

[7] Ibid. 3–4; Bay let. 30 Dec., 3A Misc. 12, para. 96. The Dutch at Hugli also suffered from Malik Zindi's bad temper and high-handedness (ii. 40, 46, 65–6).

[8] i. 399; ii. 45, 68, 73, 78. Marshall left Kasimbazar on 29 Nov. (1 Kas. 3) and reached Balasore on 9 Dec. (ii. 68). He had been appointed Chief of Balasore by the Council on 1 Nov. (i. 502–3).

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arose from failure to give the Nawab presents he had long been promised, and that really Aurangzeb had not ordered the levy of customs.[1] Whether this was true or not, Master had already taken a more promising course by representing to the Company the urgent need to seek a farman from the Emperor confirming the privileges under which the Company had from former times been allowed to conduct its trade in the Bay.[2] In this letter he explained that the vakil who had been sent to Aurangzeb's court in 1674 (p. 395) nearly succeeded in getting the Emperor to give the farman that was wanted, but an important bystander's remark at the critical moment had 'dasht all the business'; while the vakil's subsequent death had prevented further progress in the matter.[3]

Fortunately a large quantity of goods had been transported to Balasore before the stoppage of trade took effect at Hugli. The *Arrival*, when she left with Master at the end of November, took a lading, which was put on board the *Eagle* on 4 December.[4] The *Ganges* left Hugli on 1 December with 500 bags of saltpetre and 11 bales of Dacca cloth. The *Advice* and a hired sloop brought 500 more bags of saltpetre to Balasore.[5] On 13 December the *Arrival* again left for Balasore fully laden with saltpetre from Patna and cloth from Kasimbazar, Dacca, and Hugli; next day the *Ganges* was laden in the river below Hugli with cloth and turmeric; and both sloops reached Balasore about the 20th.[6] On the 21st the ships *Eagle* and *Johanna* were dispatched with most of the 'fine' goods that had thus reached them or were ready at Balasore.[7] Master, who had gone aboard the *Eagle* on 18 December, sailed in her for Masulipatam and Madras.[8] The *Falcon* and the *Surat*

[1] 1 Hug. 4, entry of 29 Dec. O.C. 4082 and Master's diary (ii. 24) contain what purports to be a translation of a letter from Shaista Khan, the Nawab at Dacca, written in July 1676 to Waris Khan, the Governor of Bihar, in which he states that the English had received an imperial farman, allowing them to trade in Bengal free of customs, and that he had accordingly confirmed this privilege. There was, therefore, some ground for doubting the alleged order of Aurangzeb.

[2] Master's let. 28 Oct. (i. 490–5). Langhorn and his Council supported this proposal in their let. of 17 Feb. 1677, to the Co., O.C. 4266. Cf. Fort con. 3 Feb. 1677, 1 F.S.G. 1 (*M.R.* 107–8).

[3] i. 491–2. The courtier said that 'if the English had used to trade custome free, they had a phyrmand for it, and if they had a phyrmand already, why need they have another'.

[4] ii. 67. The goods are not specified.

[5] 1 Hug. 1; ii. 67. In October the Council had also authorized the freighting of two sloops belonging to Reade and Smith, to take saltpetre from Hugli to Balasore (i. 366, 370). The *Advice* does not appear to have been used again and was broken up in March 1679, as being an unprofitable and useless vessel (Bal. let. 12 March 1679, 7 Hug. 25).

[6] 1 Hug. 1, 2; ii. 90–1, 92.

[7] ii. 70, 93. It is probable that Samuel Puckle, Elihu Yale, and Vincent Sayon returned to Madras in the *Johanna*, as Mohun, who went in her from Masulipatam (p. 309), says a boat brought him and them ashore when he landed at Madras (36 F.S.G. 80).

[8] ii. 90.

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Merchant were to follow with the rest of the goods by the end of the year; but their departure was probably delayed by the trouble at Hugli, and they did not sail till 31 December.[1]

Before leaving Balasore, Master (in consultation with his Council) allowed Robert Douglas, the surgeon of the *Eagle*, to exchange places with Ralph Harwar, the factory surgeon, who wished to return to England.[2] He also arranged for the factory to rent the land on which the English and Dutch factories stood, as well as most of the Portuguese houses.[3] Another useful piece of work was his obtaining and recording accounts of the course of trade at Hugli, Balasore, and Patna; the first two were drawn up by Clavell, and the third by Marshall.[4]

Besides the two earthquakes in May and August (pp. 399, 400), Balasore underwent a cyclone lasting seven hours on 28 October. All the four ships in the road were driven from their anchorage and lost most of their anchors and cable, and all their longboats. In addition the *Surat Merchant* and the two sloops, *Arrival* and *Ganges*, were forced to cut their mainmasts, while some country vessels were lost.[5] The Company's sloops had, however, been repaired by the end of November;[6] and it is evident that the ships were also ready to sail by the middle of December.[7]

Some further details about the three up-country factories (Kasimbazar, Dacca, and Patna) can be gleaned from Master's diary and a few other sources. On 1 November the Bay Council appointed Littleton to succeed Marshall as 'second' at Kasimbazar and Edwards to be 'third'.[8] Before Master's departure, Edwards had left Kasimbazar on 17 October to take a chest of gold and eleven chests of silver to Rajmahal, where it was to be minted. He was accompanied by Knipe, who was sent with three chests of silver for the Patna factory.[9] As the coining would take some time, the Council arranged meanwhile to finance the investment in raw silk, taffetas, &c., on borrowed money.[10] Edwards was also commissioned to inspect the town of Malda, which was about

[1] ii. 70, 93, 109. [2] ii. 74. [3] ii. 76.

[4] ii. 77–90. They are well summarized in i. 52–5. Marshall favourably impressed Streynsham Master, as he commended him to the Company and described him as 'a very ingenious man' (Master's let. to Co. 30 Jan. 1677, 3A Misc. 18).

[5] ii. 35–6; O.C. 4236 (i. 44–5); Mas. let. 9 Dec., 6 Mas. 30; 3A Misc. 11. Smith's sloop the *Ava Merchant*, which had been freighted with saltpetre, was driven out of the road in the storm and was supposed to be lost; but later on she arrived down the coast (ii. 36, 72).

[6] ii. 64–5. The repairs took three weeks (3A Misc. 16).

[7] ii. 70. The mainmast and main-yard of the *Surat Merchant* were subsequently recovered (ii. 94). [8] i. 502; ii. 17.

[9] i. 382, 403; Kas. let. 18 Oct., 28 F.S.G. 69. [10] i. 383.

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twenty miles from Rajmahal, and to report on its suitability as a centre for the Company's trade.[1] At Rajmahal the Governor gave trouble by refusing a pass for the boat taking treasure to Patna, until the production of the original parwana or permission for such transit, which was at Dacca. Later on he also demanded payment of a new duty of Rs. 2 a boat. Consequently it was about the middle of November before Knipe was able to get the requisite pass for the treasure and leave for Patna.[2] There was also considerable delay in the coining of money, and it was not till 5 December that the first consignment of silver (Rs. 21,000) reached Kasimbazar.[3] On 15 December the rest of the treasure was sent to Edwards for minting at Rajmahal, and on the 18th a further consignment of Rs. 19,500 arrived from the mint.[4]

The investment seems to have been nearly completed at the end of the year, but its progress earlier was necessarily hindered by the time taken up in Puckle's and Master's inquiries.[5] After their completion, Vincent was also hampered by the absence of Edwards and Knipe. Littleton then became his only assistant on the spot, in addition to three writers.[6] As to the dyers at Kasimbazar, Thomas Reade died on 7 November;[7] while Naylor is stated to have improved in his business of dyeing black silks.[8] At the request of the dyers, Clavell was asked to send a supply of 'sea-cole' from the ships, so that they might have a better fire for their work.[9]

At Dacca Hervey was in charge of the factory[10] after the death of Elwes on 4 December 1675 (p. 393). Under Puckle's 'settlement' of

[1] i. 398. Edwards submitted his report accordingly in December and it was reproduced in Master's diary (i. 399–402). The *Imp. Gas. Ind.* (*Provincial series*) *Eastern Bengal and Assam*, 242, says the Company established a factory at Malda as early as 1676; but this was not done till 1680, when the orders of Master in Dec. 1679, appointing a Chief and two assistants for it, &c. (*S.M.* ii. 337, 341, 342, 343, 348), were carried out. Master's above-mentioned suggestion was, however, the first step towards its 'foundation' (*S.M.* i. 26, 118).

[2] i. 402, 499, 501–2; ii. 39–40; O.C. 4230 & 4232. As Knipe was eventually able to continue his journey to Patna, the Council's orders in December for the return of Edwards to Kasimbazar and the minting of all the treasure under Knipe's supervision at Rajmahal, were rendered nugatory (ii. 39–40; 1 Kas. 1–2, entries of 13 & 25 Nov.).

[3] 1 Kas. 3.

[4] Ibid. 4, 5. Cf. i. 409 as to more treasure arriving from Hugli on 17 Oct.

[5] Bay let. 30 Dec., 3A Misc. 9, para. 10. A full supply of taffetas was not sent home, owing to the sickness of weavers and other obstructions (3A Misc. 11, para. 80).

[6] ii. 17–20.

[7] ii. 20, 28.

[8] 3A Misc. 9, 10, paras. 11, 19. The Company had ordered Naylor to be sent home unless he improved (desp. 24 Dec. 1675, 5 L.B. 234; cf. ii. 311 *n.*).

[9] 1 Kas. 4, entry of 12 Dec.

[10] Probably the main reason for his not having been confirmed was a charge of atheism against him, which the Company had ordered to be investigated (p. 425).

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the Company's servants in the Bay (p. 398), Hervey had been posted to Hugli and Balasore, and Hall appointed chief at Dacca, with Smith as his 'second'. The appointments of Hall and Smith, however, were held up during the inquiry into the charges against them, and fell to the ground with their suspension in November (p. 406); so Hervey continued to serve at Dacca till he left to join the Bay Council as the successor of Bullivant, who died at Patna in May (p. 398 *n.*). He was still at Dacca on 19 June,[1] and he probably joined the Council at Kasimbazar in July or August.[2] He remained with it till some time in the first part of December, when he left Balasore to resume the management of the Dacca factory, as ordered by the Council on 2 November.[3] Meanwhile the chiefship was kept vacant, pending the orders of Langhorn and his Council at the Fort.[4] Fitch Nedham was consequently in sole charge at Dacca in Hervey's absence, and wrote letters in November and December informing Master about the orders which the Nawab was about to issue for the levy of customs at 2 per cent.[5]

There is very little information available about the progress of the year's investment at Dacca, except that the full quantity of 'cossaes and mullmulls' (fine muslins) required by the Company could not be procured there owing to the lateness of the season, and the factory's supply had to be augmented by purchases elsewhere.[6] An important matter dealt with by the factors during the year was the 'De Soito business', a claim against the Company about a parcel of cinnamon, which Gomez de Soito, a Portuguese merchant of Hugli, had consigned to Persia on the *Mayflower* in 1652.[7] His son, Pasqual, alleged that the goods had been sold in Persia for Rs. 6,000, but no payment had been made except one of Rs. 500 in 1657. He complained to Shaista Khan, the Nawab of Bengal at Dacca, in November 1675; and a hearing took place before his diwan, at which Elwes and Hervey urged that the matter should be dealt with at Balasore, where the Company's influence was greater than at Dacca.[8] This request was not acceded to, and in the early part of 1676 the case came before the Kazi. The main issue was whether the Company was liable, since the voyage of the

[1] ii. 56, mentioning a letter from him of that date.

[2] He was there when Master held his first council-meeting on 25 Sept. (i. 330.)

[3] i. 330; ii. 45, 73.

[4] i. 330.

[5] ii. 68–9, 77, 91.

[6] i. 375–6; 3A Misc. 11, para. 73. Master claimed personal credit for getting an increased supply of mullmulls and cossaes in 1676 (*Master Papers*, No. 10, cited in i. 43).

[7] See *E.F.*, 1651–4, pp. xxix, 203, &c.; 1655–60, pp. 58, 98–103, 138–40, &c.; & 1661–4, pp. 32, 41, &c.

[8] Mirza Wali, the deputy-governor of Balasore, was friendly to the English (ii. 68).

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Mayflower to Persia was not one on its business, but a 'private trade' venture. There was conflicting evidence on this point, and the Kazi, holding that the testimony for De Soito was more reliable than that for the Company, decided in his favour and awarded him Rs. 5,300.[1] This judgement appears to have been given in April; and Hervey, who (like De Soito) had already paid out some money in bribery, became alarmed. In a letter of 10 May to Clavell and the rest of the Bay Council, he represented the perilous state of affairs, especially as there was an imminent prospect that other similar claims would be made against the Company if this one succeeded; and (fearing the fate of Vincent in Raghu Poddar's case) he refused to incur any further expense over the matter, unless he got positive and ample orders from the Chief and Council authorizing him to do this. On 31 May he received a reply, empowering him to settle the matter, and leaving the method of doing this and the amount to be expended to his discretion. He started by trying to bribe the Kazi to send the case to Balasore, but this attempt failed; and the Kazi supported De Soito in a subsequent hearing of the case before the Nawab, who confirmed the judgement and ordered immediate payment of the Rs. 5,300. At a personal interview with Shaista Khan, Hervey sought a review of this decision; but the Nawab, saying the matter was concluded, refused to hear him, and threatened to commit him to custody if there was a default in payment. To avoid 'this disgrace and restraint', Hervey then bestirred himself, and by extensive bribery of the Nawab and under-officials, costing over Rs. 9,000, succeeded, in June, in getting him to reverse his order and agree to have the matter 'examined and concluded' at Balasore.[2] It was not, however, till the next year that the last was heard of De Soito's claim (pp. 422–3).

The Dutch also suffered at the hands of Shaista Khan this year. They demanded back the sum of Rs. 150,000 that had been extorted from them in 1672 (p. 347), whereupon he is said to have ordered them out of the country. Their trade at any rate was hampered: thus he

[1] This conclusion was quite a reasonable one in view of the evidence about an offer to pay De Soito Rs. 500, which was made in 1657 by William Isaacson, a Company's chaplain, who (it was asserted with probable truth) was then acting as a representative of the Company at Balasore (cf. *S.M.* i. 181–2, 184–5, & *E.F.*, 1655–60, 140).

[2] This brief summary of the case is mainly based on the account of it which Hervey gave in November and which is reproduced in Master's diary (ii. 49–64). Other references to the case will be found in i. 379, 492; ii. 45, 91. For a full account of the matter, see Sir Richard Temple's 'Story of the *Mayflower* and her cargo' (i. 175–85). Master and his Council approved of Hervey's conduct and sent his account of the case to the Company as 'a true relation of that affair' (ii. 49).

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confiscated a Dutch ship that was taking pepper for sale at Chittagong, and threatened to cut off the skipper's head.[1] At Hugli they also were not allowed to export rice they had bought for that purpose.[2]

Coming to the Patna factory, its chief, Job Charnock, now had the gratification of having a local allowance of £20 a year conferred on him by the Company, as a reward for his good work there.[3] His 'second', Samuel Bullivant, died on 19 May.[4] This left him only a single assistant, George Peacock, in addition to one or two writers.[5] The treasure sent to him with Knipe from Dacca (p. 412) presumably reached the factory by the end of November. In December boats from Patna passed Rajmahal without trouble;[6] and a good supply of saltpetre appears to have reached Hugli (p. 410). In September the factory was ordered to send up also a consignment of tincal and turmeric, for which the Company had asked; and in November these commodities had been bought and were ready to be dispatched.[7] The boats containing them had reached Rajmahal about the middle of December;[8] but the trouble over stoppage of boats at Hugli (pp. 408–9) probably delayed their arrival, and owing to troubles in the country the supply of tincal (some 400 maunds) was deficient. Most of the turmeric had not reached Balasore by the end of the year, but the two sloops were waiting at Hugli to bring any goods that might arrive in time for lading the last two ships.[9]

In September Charnock was asked to attend a General Council of the Bay by 1 December, if the state of affairs at Patna permitted this;[10] and he reached Hugli on 19 December.[11] He desired a transfer from Patna 'on preferment' as being 'the eldest servant' in that part of India; and the Council consequently declared the chiefship of the factory vacant pending orders from the Fort.[12]

BENGAL, 1677

THE records for this year contain no correspondence between the various factories and the Bay Council till the beginning of August; nor are the replies of Clavell to the Fort letters extant. They give little

[1] i. 476; ii. 41, 65–6, 67–8; 3A Misc. 12, para. 107.
[2] ii. 40.
[3] Desp. 24 Dec. 1675, 5 L.B. 213, 235 (i. 251).
[4] ii. 20; Fort let. 13 July, 18 F.S.G. 22.
[5] Puckle's list, 28 F.S.G. 43; ii. 18, 19.
[6] Cf. 1 Kas. 5, entry of 19 Dec.
[7] i. 331; ii. 64.
[8] 1 Hug. 3, entry of 19 Dec.
[9] 3A Misc. 11, 12, paras. 69, 74, 97.
[10] i. 331–2; Kas. let. 18 Oct., 28 F.S.G. 69.
[11] 1 Hug. 3.
[12] 3A Misc. 12, para. 94; Master's let. to Co. 30 Jan. 1677, 3A Misc. 18.

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information, therefore, about the events of the first seven months, except in regard to the Hugli and Kasimbazar factories, copies of whose diaries for the whole year have survived. On the other hand, the existing correspondence in the last five months of the year[1] provides abundant material for an account of that period.

The four ships had left by the beginning of the year (p. 411). The cargoes they carried are not stated, but admittedly they were short of the Company's requirements, as had happened for some years past.[2] The *Falcon*, in addition to its lading for the Company, brought fifty maunds of wheat for the use of the Fort.[3] The *Ganges* and the *Arrival* seem to have been dispatched to Madras in January with goods that had come too late for lading in the ships; but they never reached Madras. On 22 February Langhorn expressed regret regarding an accident to the *Ganges*, but hoped she would be saved; and on 9 March and 13 June he mentioned the *Arrival*, as having had to put back, after reaching Jagannath (some two days' sail from Balasore).[4] Both of the sloops had returned to Hugli in April.[5] On the other hand, a vessel belonging to John Smith (probably the *Ava Merchant*) brought 788 maunds of saltpetre in January or February.[6]

On 3 February the Fort Council discussed the position in Bengal, owing to the new demand for payment of customs (p. 409) and the stoppage of goods that had resulted from it, as reported by Clavell in December and confirmed by Master. They decided that the only way to remedy these abuses was to procure a new farman from the Emperor, confirming the Company's customary privileges. The distance of Madras from his court and its situation in another kingdom made it difficult to correspond with the Mughals, while transactions at court had 'to be followed close, and timed, and struck while the iron is hott'. Consequently it was resolved to send immediate orders to Clavell and his Council to adopt the best course they could to procure this farman, taking care to manage the business 'with all frugallity' and to see that its terms were effectual, not only for securing the customary privileges and encouraging the Company's trade, but also for suppressing all

[1] 4 Hug. 1–43 & 7 Hug. 1–69. Most of the letters from the Bay Council in 4 Hug. have been printed in *Bengal and Madras Papers*, vol. i (hereinafter cited as *B.P.*), 1–35, and *Madras Records, Sundry Papers*, i. 1–42. These also supply missing letters from the end of Nov. 1677 to the beginning of Dec. 1678, when the correspondence begins again in 5 Hug.

[2] Bay let. to Co. 28 Dec. 1677, 3A Misc. 26(1), para. 28. Also 'last years remains' contributed to the goods sent home at the end of 1677 (3A Misc. 27(1), para. 60).

[3] Fort let. 5 Feb., 18 F.S.G. 3.

[4] Ibid. 7, 10, 23.

[5] 1 Hug. 10, 11.

[6] Fort let. 22 Feb., 18 F.S.G. 7.

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'pretences' against it like those that had arisen.[1] At the same consultation the removal of Hall and Smith from their posts at Dacca and Patna was considered and accepted, in view of 'the authority vested in Mr. Master, and the regularity of his proceedings', and its being the province of the Company to determine the matter.[2] Its despatches to the Fort and the Bay, received later on in the year, also sanctioned efforts to procure a farman, and suggested that Charnock could fitly be entrusted with their management,[3] so the way was cleared for action in the matter.

Meanwhile the trouble with the Governor at Hugli continued. On 2 January Malik Zindi accepted Reade's offer to pay Rs. 500 for a temporary permission by which the factory goods might pass without weighment (p. 409), subject to a provision for registering their description; but on the 7th, goods from Kasimbazar were stopped by the Mir-bahr (harbour-master) in spite of this agreement. On the 13th and 14th the Governor prohibited the factory from employing any boats and again demanded payment of customs. On the 23rd his men beat some of the factory peons for attempting to unlade timber that had come from Balasore; and though on the 29th Reade prevailed on him to let him bring the goods from Kasimbazar to the factory, he detained some of them pending payment of customs. On 2 February he demanded Rs. 1,900 on this account and imprisoned the factory's Banian up to the 15th.[4] There was further obstruction in March; thus on the 15th a horseman was sent to demand Rs. 1,900 for customs, and because the money was not sent, the factory vakil was taken away and imprisoned. On a protest from Reade he was released that night, but peons and horsemen were kept for three days at each of the factory gates, to prevent servants from passing in or out.[5] During Malik Zindi's absence for a month from 21 March, his diwan was equally obstructive, and kept the factory vakil in custody on 1 April in an effort to get payment of the customs demanded. He also objected to goods being landed from the sloops *Arrival* and *Ganges* on 11 and 13 April.[6]

On 1 May news arrived from Dacca that the Nawab, Shaista Khan, had given his promise to permit the Company's free trade, as before;[7] and on 5 May he issued orders to all officers in Bengal, suspending the levy of customs till the Emperor's pleasure about it was known.[8] This,

[1] 1 F.S.G. 1 (*M.R.* 107).

[2] 1 F.S.G. 2 (*M.R.* 108). The Company confirmed their dismissal by Master and his Council and ordered them to be sent home (5 L.B. 504, 511; cf. *Ind. Antiquary*, xliv. 15).

[3] Desp. 15 & 18 Dec. 1676, 5 L.B. 374, 383. [4] 1 Hug. 4–8.

[5] Ibid. 8, 9. [6] Ibid. 10, 11. [7] Ibid. 12. [8] O.C. 4283+1 & 2.

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probably, was the basis for the statement of the Bay Council in a letter to the Company at the end of the year that 'since April last they traded according to former privileges by the Nawab's license'.[1] But it was some time before these orders had effect at Hugli. On 6 May the Governor sent an emissary to Reade demanding Rs. 2,300 for customs, and threatening that no fire, water, provisions, or servants would be allowed to come to them till payment was made. Five peons were also left to watch the factory. Reade replied that they had no money with which to pay, owing to the stoppage of their trade under the Nawab's orders, and said the Governor might do as he pleased with them.[2] On 12 May the demand for payment of customs was repeated. On the 19th a copy of the Nawab's parwana suspending the levy of customs was received from Dacca, and two days later it was sent to Malik Zindi, who received it with discourtesy—not rising up and putting it on his forehead, as was usual.[3] Even this order did not put an end to the stoppage of goods and the factory's business;[4] but meanwhile a serious conflict of another kind had arisen between the factors and the Governor. Richard Moseley, a dyer at Kasimbazar (p. 402), had married a Muhammadan woman, whose first husband was Gabriel Boughton, a part-owner of cargo on the *Mayflower*,[5] which has already been mentioned in connexion with the claim of De Soito. Like the latter, she wanted the Company to repay the loss of the goods; and on this being refused, Moseley appealed to Malik Zindi to help him to recover the sum claimed.[6] In this he was supported by John Norton, a freeman at Hugli;[7] and the two men were proposing to go to Dacca to pursue the claim before the Nawab. On 9 March they were arrested for getting passes to proceed on this journey and abusing the Company, and were detained as prisoners in the factory, pending orders from the Bay Council.[8] This in turn referred the question to the Agent and Council, who ordered them to be sent to Madras.[9] Meanwhile on 7 May Malik Zindi called on the factors at Hugli to deliver up Moseley, which Reade refused to do on the ground that he was an Englishman and a servant of the Company. Thereupon the Governor, who was obviously annoyed,

[1] 3A Misc. 25(2), para. 5.
[2] 1 Hug. 13.
[3] Ibid. 15, 17.
[4] Ibid. 18–20.
[5] See *E.F.*, 1651–4, xxix, xxx, 188, 193, 201, & 1655–60, 47, 108, 139, 414. Cf. *S.M.* i. 35, 496–7.
[6] This was Rs. 17,000 (entry of 10 May, 1 Hug. 14).
[7] On 25 Nov. 1676 Master had warned him to obey the Company's order that freemen on the Coromandel coast should reside only at Madras (*S.M.* ii. 47).
[8] 1 Hug. 9.
[9] Fort let. 13 June & 12 July, 18 F.S.G. 23, 25.

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sent as many horsemen as he had and abundance of peons, smiths, carpenters, and elephants, and broke open our three gates of the factory, shooteing in at the windoes at us, being 6 or 7 English in the dining roome, and one arrow hit Edward Reades shoulder and after [wards] they brooke up Moselys chamber dore and carried him and Norton with them to the Governour.[1]

Next day a complaint was made to the Emperor's diwan and bakhshi (paymaster) at Hugli, who were asked to come and see the damage done —the broken gates, the arrows sticking in the sides of the house, and the wound on Reade's shoulder. A claim was also made for Rs. 90,900, on account of treasure and other property that had been stolen.[2] Representatives of the diwan and the bakhshi visited the factory and the diwan offered to give a certificate as to what had passed, and to induce Malik Zindi to return the two men; but eventually he refused to seal the factory's complaint, saying he had already reported the matter to Rai Nandalal.[3] The Dutch factors, who had come to see the damage done to the building, also refused to attest the complaint on the ground that, though they had seen the results of the house-breaking, they had not been eyewitnesses of it; and Reade had to be content with the signatures of four Muhammadans and six Hindus on the complaint he forwarded to Dacca.[4] On 20 June the Governor sent to know whether Reade would receive the two men back and give a written receipt for them, dropping all further demands in respect of them. He replied that if they were put back in the factory they would be kept there, but he would pass no writing for them, inasmuch as the Governor had given none when he took them away by force; nor would he buy them back. News came from Dacca about this time that the Nawab intended to send an amin (commissioner) to inquire into Malik Zindi's conduct, and Hervey suggested that a withdrawal of the Company's servants from Hugli would be the best way of influencing the Nawab to do them right.[5]

Clavell and his Council had apparently made a similar suggestion to the Fort for putting an end to the demand for customs. On 7 May Langhorn wrote accordingly to Shaista Khan (under his title of Amiru'l-umra, lord of noblemen),[6] seeking redress from 'the obstructions and pretences newly raised' to the great prejudice of the Company

[1] 1 Hug. 13. [2] Ibid. 14.
[3] Entries of 8, 12, 13, 16, 17 & 23 May, ibid. 13, 15, 16, 18.
[4] Entries of 14 & 25 May, ibid. 16, 18.
[5] Entry of 21 May, ibid. 22. [6] Cf. *S.M.* ii. 22.

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in view of their well-established freedom from customs 'without the least interruption until of late', and telling Shaista Khan that, if he did not have this remedied, the Company might have 'to give your people beetle [i.e. betel-nut]' and withdraw their factories. He ended by saying he expected 'quite other usage' from 'so noble and understanding a person'.[1] He also wrote to Haji Safi Khan (the Emperor's diwan), Rai Nandalal (the Nawab's diwan), and Malik Kasim (the then Nawab of Orissa),[2] requesting their assistance in the matter.[3] In the letter to Malik Kasim he said the trouble had arisen on account of a treaty sought by the Danes, and the example of Surat, where customs were levied. The latter was, he said, quite a different case to that of Bengal; and as to the Danes, the English had not behaved as badly as they had. After having fought with the Mughal (p. 380), they were asking the Nawab of Bengal to give them a farman to trade free of customs like the English.[4]

Trade at Hugli was at a standstill owing to the troubles related above, and on 23 May the *Arrival* and the *Ganges* were sent to Balasore under Clavell's orders.[5] The former met with stormy weather on her return voyage, and when she reached Hugli on 28 June had lost boats, cables and an anchor, split her sails, and sprung a leak. She was, however, able to go back on 9 July, and the *Ganges* followed her on the 12th,[6] to await the expected arrival of the ships from Madras. The position at the end of July was still tense. Though Malik Zindi made overtures for peace—offering to give up Moseley and Norton, as well as the goods he was detaining, mend the factory gates, and 'cleare' all its business, provided the factors promised him their friendship, gave him a full discharge, and dropped their complaint at Dacca—he was still maintaining his attitude of obstruction.[7] Treachery was also at work, for Jeremy Peachey, a writer at the factory, was found to have met Norton at a neighbouring house, given him money, and encouraged him to 'stand out against the Company'. Reade thereupon complained to the Governor as to his peons allowing the two Englishmen he had seized to go about the town, and warned him that satisfaction would

[1] 18 F.S.G. 17.

[2] According to R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, ii. 55, Rashid Khan had ceased to be Nawab of Orissa in March 1676. Malik Kasim seems to have succeeded him.

[3] 18 F.S.G. 16–17.

[4] Entry of 12 Jan., 1 Hug. 5; Fort let. to the Bay, 7 May, 18 F.S.G. 14. Cf. Bowrey, 186.

[5] Entries of 19 & 23 May, 1 Hug. 17, 18.

[6] Ibid. 22, 23, 24. The *Ganges* had returned on 9 July (ibid. 23).

[7] Entries of 11, 12, 16, 23, & 31 July, ibid. 24, 25, 26.

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be expected, if they ran away.[1] Peachey had committed other irregularities. In March he picked the lock of the factory water-gate at night and went off on an escapade that lasted fifteen days; and after the *Ganges* left in July, he surreptitiously sent a boat with 100 bags of rice to overtake her, in an attempt to get the goods on board without Reade's knowledge.[2]

The factory at Kasimbazar had an easier time than the one at Hugli during the first seven months of the year. Vincent, Littleton, Edwards, and Knipe conducted its main business. On 3 January they sent off to Hugli the remaining goods of the investment for 1676,[3] and the new investment, which began with a contract at the end of that year for the supply of 280 bales of silken goods, proceeded steadily during this period.[4] Large sums in rupees and gold mohurs also came from the mint without interruption; and in April and May money that had been borrowed at interest was repaid.[5] In April the Bay Council ordered Vincent to supply Rs. 50,000 to each of the factories at Dacca and Patna, in order to enable them to proceed with their investments; but the factors, being 'out of cash', agreed to advise Charnock to borrow the money at Patna. Hearing, however, in May that he had been unable to raise money there, they sent him Rs. 1,000 in cash and a letter of credit for what money he wanted.[6] The Dacca factory was not so fortunate; having got nothing from Kasimbazar, it borrowed Rs. 10,000 locally.[7]

On the other hand, trouble had arisen at Rajmahal, from the darogh of the mint detaining some gold mohurs on pretence of an order from the Emperor for the levy of a new mintage of 5 per cent. on all persons that coined money, other than Muhammadans.[8] On 5 May a letter from Knipe regarding this was ordered to be forwarded to Clavell and his Council; and about 12 June a fuller report on it was submitted to them and to Hervey, who was directed to take action about it at Dacca.[9] The latter took a hopeful view of getting the new duty removed;[10] but the matter was still undecided at the end of the year (p. 438). The death of the darogha in July also delayed matters.[11]

[1] Entries of 19 & 20 July, 1 Hug. 25.

[2] Entries of 19 March, 4 April, & 13 July, ibid. 10, 24. As to the subsequent proceedings against Peachey, see p. 434.

[3] 1 Kas. 7.

[4] Entries of 8 & 12 April, 5 May, & 7 June, ibid. 12, 13, 16, 18; also entries *passim* of payments to silk merchants and weavers.

[5] Ibid. 7–18. Cf. entry of 24 April.

[6] Entries of 8 & 14 April, 26 & 28 May, ibid. 12, 13, 17, 18.

[7] Dacca let. 24 Aug., 7 Hug. 13.

[8] Entry of 24 Feb., 1 Kas. 10.

[9] Ibid. 16, 19, 20.

[10] Entry of 28 July, ibid. 21.

[11] Entries of 27 July & 10 Aug., ibid. 21, 22.

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Knipe was sent to Rahmahal on 15 February to relieve Edwards, who arrived back on 7 March.[1] On 7 June a letter was received from Clavell, saying that Edwards had been selected to be 'second' at Balasore and ordering him to go there, whereupon Knipe was to take his place. Vincent, however, asked to be allowed to retain Edwards till the trouble at the mint was ended, and this was sanctioned.[2] There are only two other annoyances mentioned in the factory diary during this period. The first was a complaint made at Dacca by one Jan Muhammad that some Englishmen at Murshidabad had 'destroyed' his father's concubine, robbed her of jewels worth Rs. 2,000, and forced her son to turn Christian. The complaint had been forwarded to Balchand, the Governor of Murshidabad, for inquiry and report. Vincent noted that they were much startled at such a complaint, as they had heard of no such affair in those parts; and it turned out that there had been a mistake in the warrant, the accused being a peon employed by the factory. Both Balchand and the Kazi decided in May that the complaint was a false one, and a full account of the matter under the Kazi's seal was promptly sent to Dacca.[3]

The second one was a quarrel in the dye-house on 7 May between Anthony Smith, a dyer, and Michael Loveney, a weaver, in the course of which the former injured the latter by throwing a large ladle of scalding liquor over him. A full account of the scuffle was sent to Clavell about 18 June, but is not on record. A Dutch surgeon was called in to attend Loveney, who died on 27 July. The diary, however, states that his death was due to 'a flux' (dysentery). Smith was committed to custody on 7 May, but appears to have been exonerated by Vincent and his Council of the charge of murder against him.[4] This view was confirmed by the Bay Council on 20 December, and Smith was allowed to continue in his employment, subject to any orders the Agent and Council might pass in the matter.[5]

At Dacca Hervey and his assistants were kept busy over negotiating with the Nawab about the troubles at Hugli and Rajmahal, as well as the general demand for payment of customs.[6] They had also a disturbance of their own from a renewal of the Nawab's interference in De Soito's claim against the Company. The details are not on record,

[1] 1 Kas. 9, 11.
[2] Entries of 7 & 12 June & 2 July, ibid. 18, 19, 20.
[3] Entries of 24 Jan., 1 March, 3 & 4 May, ibid. 8, 10, 15.
[4] Entries of 7 & 31 May, 16 & 18 June, & 27 July, ibid. 16, 18, 19, 21.
[5] 1 Hug. (Bal. con. book) 11.
[6] Cf. entries in 1 Hug. & 1 Kas. as to letters to and from Dacca.

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but entries in the Hugli and Kasimbazar diaries refer to the Nawab having forced the factors to pay De Soito a further sum of Rs. 1,000 by imprisoning their vakil until it was paid. This was apparently prior to 2 March, when the first entry about it was made.[1] Clavell had also reported the fact, as is shown by Langhorn's reference to it in a letter of 13 June.[2] As nothing more is heard of the claim, it seems to have been the finale to this long-drawn-out business. About the end of July the factory's negotiations with the Nawab and other officials at Dacca seem to have reached a crucial stage, as early in August Reade forwarded a letter from it that required 'sudden' orders;[3] but the later correspondence shows that little progress was made (pp. 435–6, 480).

There is very little information available about the Patna factory during these seven months. Job Charnock decided to return to his post as Chief, and left Hugli on 1 February.[4] In addition to getting money from Dacca, he also drew a bill for Rs. 1,850 on Hugli, which was accepted in June.[5] The Hugli factors sent him 1,000 maunds of lead on three boats in that same month.[6]

Aurangzeb's third son, Sultan Muhammad Azam, had been appointed Nawab of Bihar with headquarters at Patna. This province lay outside the territory of Bengal under the rule of Shaista Khan;[7] and in July Charnock wrote to Hugli, asking for a copy of Shah Shuja's 'nishan', so that he might try to get a similar document from the Prince.[8] The Prince probably did not reach Patna till later (p. 442 *n.*), but he had apparently sent some soldiers there, who were paid in gold mohurs, for in July the shroffs at Kasimbazar alleged that owing to this their price had fallen below that of uncoined gold.[9] Though the records say nothing about it, progress was doubtless made with the usual investment in saltpetre; and the factory had managed to borrow some money for it in spite of the difficulty mentioned at p. 421.[10] Trouble had, however, started by the end of August. The three boats with lead from Hugli had been stopped at Bhagalpur by the new amin (commissioner) there, who refused to clear them without an order from the

[1] Entries of 2 & 26 March, 1 Hug. 8, 10; entry of 21 April, 1 Kas. 14.
[2] 18 F.S.G. 22.
[3] Hug. let. 11 Aug., 7 Hug. 1–2.
[4] 1 Hug. 7; Fort let. 7 May & 13 June, 18 F.S.G. 14, 23.
[5] Entries of 3 & 4 June, 1 Hug. 20.
[6] Entries of 5, 7, & 13 June, ibid. 20, 21.
[7] Cf. Bowrey, 151 *n.* and p. 436 *post*. Hereafter I call him 'Prince Azam', the name by which he is generally styled in the records of this year.
[8] Entry of 21 July, 1 Hug. 25.
[9] Entry of 27 July, 1 Kas. 21; Kas. let. 18 Aug., 4 Hug. 4 (*B.P.* 4).
[10] Pat. let. 1 Sept., 7 Hug. 16.

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Prince's diwan; the latter officer was also obstructing the dispatch of boats laden with saltpetre, in order to extract payment of customs on the goods they contained.[1]

At Balasore also there is little record of events prior to the arrival of the *Bengal Merchant* on 27 July.[2] Clavell appears to have stayed there throughout the first seven months of the year; and though by his order the ketch *Arrival* and some boats were sent about 9 July to Kendoa, to meet him, he does not seem to have come to Hugli.[3] He was perhaps prevented by illness, and (according to Vincent and his colleagues) he also had an 'aversenesse to repaire to Hugli'. This, they suggested, was one of the reasons for his having 'ill resented' a proposal they made that the steps to be taken to procure a farman from the Emperor for the Company's free trade in Bengal should be considered by a full Council at Hugli.[4] Letters from the Balasore factory in August show that the investment there had been started;[5] but there are no details available as to the progress it had made. Nor are there any extant consultations before 28 July, after the *Bengal Merchant* had arrived. The only surviving documents from the factory prior to that date are copies of eight vernacular leases for houses built on ground belonging to it: these are dated 2 April and stipulated that the owners of the buildings should not transfer them except to the English.[6]

On 27 July Captain Goldsborough, the commander of the *Bengal Merchant*, brought ashore the Company's despatch of 18 December 1676[7] and other packets for the Chief and Council. The next day Clavell held a council meeting with Marshall and Bugden, and it was decided to send to Hugli ten chests of rials and cruzados, as being the kind of treasure brought from England that could be soonest converted into ready money. Some of this was for the use of the Hugli factory, but most of it was to be sent to Kasimbazar, where the factory was given leave to borrow money also, in order to finance the factory at Patna. This was necessary, as the Company had raised the quantity of saltpetre to be supplied there from 600 to 1,000 tons.[8] The goods

[1] Pat. let. 30 Aug., 7 Hug. 14–15.

[2] Bal. con. 28 July, 1 Hug., Bal. con. book, 1.

[3] Entries of 7, 8, 9, & 12 July, 1 Hug. 23. As to Kendoa, see p. 378 *n*.

[4] Entries of 10 April & 31 May, 1 Kas. 12, 15. Hugli had been fixed as the usual headquarters of the Chief in Bengal, see p. 407.

[5] Bal. let. 4 & 6 Aug., 7 Hug. 1, 3.

[6] O.C. 4278. As to this part of the town, called Damodarpur, being farmed by the Company, see *S.M.* ii. 76–7.

[7] 5 L.B. 383–91. The Company sent out £55,000 in bullion, and £17,334 in goods for the Bay (ibid. 376, 390).

[8] Ibid. 379.

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received were ordered to be distributed among the three up-country factories for sale; and the one at Kasimbazar was authorized to treat with the merchants there for the sale of all the broadcloth for ready money, or equivalent barter.[1] The Company's despatch forwarded copy of a letter it had received from John Smith, accusing Hervey of proclaiming 'atheisticall notions' and directed that the Chief and Council should examine witnesses about it in the presence of the commanders of the three ships, and send him home if necessary.[2] Accordingly in the presence of Captain Goldsborough, Smith laid information about this before the Council orally and in writing. The charge related to conversations he had had with Hervey in 1673, in which he denied the existence of God or devil, and said religion was only a device of Moses and Christ to keep the world in subjection, &c. He added that Bugden and Peacock had told him of similar remarks they had heard Hervey make. Bugden corroborated Smith; and it was resolved to order Hervey to hand over charge at Dacca to Nedham by 5 November, so as to appear for an inquiry into the charge against him at Balasore on 25 November. Peacock was also to come on the saltpetre boats to Hugli for his examination at the same time.[3]

On 30 July another consultation decided that treasure and goods from the *Bengal Merchant* should be sent in the *Ganges* for Hugli and the three other factories.[4] It was also ordered that Rs. 10,000 should be sent from Kasimbazar to Dacca, where Hervey was authorized (pending the arrival of that amount) to borrow money for the investment. Reade at Hugli was also to be told to contract for some 5,000 rumals. A third consultation on 3 August ordered the landing of eight chests of treasure from the *Bengal Merchant*. The entry in the consultation-book notes that the meeting was held in Clavell's house, as he was 'very sick', and that he died before the consultation was entered.[5] His death took place that day 'of a violent feavour' after four days' illness.[6] His wife died the next day, 'to bare him company in his grave'.[7]

[1] 1 Hug., Bal. con. book, 1. In June Clavell had refused sanction to a similar proposal for the sale of broadcloth at Kasimbazar (entries of 28 May & 16 June, 1 Kas. 17, 19).

[2] 5 L.B. 387; cf. ibid. 381.

[3] 1 Hug., Bal. con. book, 1, 2.

[4] Ibid. 2. As to the arrival of the goods and treasure at Hugli, see entries of 18 & 19 Aug., 1 Hug. 29, 30.

[5] 1 Hug., Bal. con. book, 2.

[6] Kas. let. 15 Aug., 4 Hug. 1 (*B.P.* 1). He made his will on 2 Aug. (*S.M.* ii. 264 *n.*). For extracts from the will, see Miss Anstey's article on him (*Ind. Antiquary*, xxxiv. 291–2.)

[7] Mad. let. 12 Sept., 2 Mad. 37–8, where details are given of 'excessive grief' at her husband's death causing a miscarriage and subsequent fever; 3A Misc. 20(2), para. 119. Clavell's will stated that she was 'dangerously sick'.

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Under the Company's previous orders for a vacancy to be filled by the next in seniority,[1] the office of Chief provisionally devolved on Vincent as 'second' of Council in the Bay; and in September the Agent and Council at the Fort confirmed this and appointed Reade and Bugden to be on the Council at Hugli. Consequential appointments made by them were those of Littleton to be Chief, Edwards to be 'second', and Knipe to be 'third' at Kasimbazar; and Carpenter to be 'second' and Byam 'third' under Marshall at Balasore.[2] Prior to the receipt of these orders, Vincent assumed office on 14 August, when the news of Clavell's death reached Kasimbazar.[3] A full correspondence now started between him and the five factories, which (as already mentioned) provides ample material for a description of the subsequent events of the year. He confirmed orders as to the Company's business already given by Clavell and his Council, and gave further instructions on some points.[4] He left Kasimbazar on 5 September and reached Hugli two days later.[5]

Meanwhile the two remaining ships had reached Balasore, the *Caesar* on 19 August and the *New London* on 3 September.[6] Treasure and goods from them were sent to Hugli on the sloops *Arrival* and *Ganges* during September and October.[7] The work at Balasore in unlading the ships, &c., was gravely hampered and overshadowed by the deaths of no less than four of the factory-staff within a period of a week or so. Its Chief, John Marshall, died on 31 August, after five days' illness from fever. The deaths of Abraham Rutton, a junior writer, and Henry Carpenter, the 'third' in the factory, followed on 1 and 5 September, both from fever.[8] Stephen Guilliams, a writer at Hugli, but then at Balasore, had also died towards the end of August.[9] Besides these, other Englishmen not in the Company's service were dead, or very ill, from what Bugden in September called 'the late rageing sickness amongst us and this country people'.[10] It may therefore be surmised to

[1] Cf. *S.M.* ii. 16–17, citing the Company's despatch of 13 Dec. 1672, 5 L.B. 26.

[2] Fort let. 24 Sept., 18 F.S.G. 51.

[3] 1 Kas. 24.

[4] Kas. let. 15, 17, & 18 Aug., 4 Hug. 1–4 (*B.P.* 1–5).

[5] 1 Kas. 25; 1 Hug. 32.

[6] Bal. let. 23 Aug. & 4 Sept., 7 Hug. 9, 12.

[7] Entries of 13 & 25 Sept. & 4 Oct., 1 Hug. 33, 34; Bal. let. 4, 5, & 28 Sept. & 12 Oct., 7 Hug. 12, 13, 20, 29; Hug. let. 18 Sept., 6 & 20 Oct., 4 Hug. 11, 19, 23 (*B.P.* 11, 17, 21).

[8] Bal. let. 1 & 6 Sept., 7 Hug. 10, 14.

[9] Bal. let. 12 Oct., ibid. 29; Kas. let. 18 & 25 Aug., 4 Hug. 4–5 (*B.P.* 4, 7).

[10] Hug. let. 11 Aug. & Bal. let. 22 Sept., 7 Hug. 1, 22. In Bay let. to Co. 28 Dec., 3A Misc. 26(2), para. 46, the epidemic is called 'a pestilential feavor'. See also the mention of it in Mad. let. 25 Oct., 2 Mad. 57–8, and Fort let. 30 Oct., 18 F.S.G. 59.

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have been a virulent epidemic of the nature of influenza; and Clavell's death was probably due to it. Another victim, stated to be dangerously ill, was John Smith;[1] but he must have recovered in October when he asked for information about the inquiry into his charge against Hervey.[2] As Carpenter was ill, Bugden on 4 August requested Vincent to send Edwards to the factory as soon as possible; but difficulties in relieving him at Kasimbazar (p. 422) prevented his arrival till about 9 November.[3] John Billingsley, the 'second' at Balasore, had also died in May or June, probably from the same epidemic;[4] and Bugden himself was ill in September.[5] Consequently there was considerable confusion over the dispatch of the factory business and the completion of its accounts, without requisite assistance.[6] This help was held up by Vincent's waiting for orders from the Fort, before deciding on any transfers.[7] He had, however, authorized Bugden to act as Chief at Balasore.[8]

At Hugli there was at first some difficulty in forwarding treasure to Kasimbazar, on account of obstruction by Malik Zindi. Though he was daily solicited to give passes for the boats to take it, he deferred doing so, without making any absolute refusal; and it was not till a fortnight had elapsed that the passes were obtained and fourteen chests of treasure sent off on 23 August.[9] After that there seems to have been no further trouble about sending goods away or receiving them from elsewhere.[10] The Governor, however, still refused to give up the goods he had detained for payment of customs, or the two men he had taken from the factory.[11] About the middle of August it was reported that Moseley and Norton had petitioned to be allowed to go to Dacca and complain to the Nawab against the Company.[12] This caused alarm, and every effort was made to prevent it, at both Hugli and Dacca. Malik Zindi threatened to send them to Dacca and extorted a promise from the factors to pass a written agreement to pay the Governor Rs. 3,000 annually on 25 December, as was usual. This resulted in the release of the goods,[13] but not in freeing the two men.

[1] Mad. let. 25 Oct., 2 Mad. 58.
[2] Bal. let. 12 Oct., 7 Hug. 29.
[3] Hug. let. 29 Oct., 4 Hug. 25 (*B.P.* 24); Bal. let. 9 Nov., 7 Hug. 43.
[4] Entry of 10 June, 1 Kas. 18.
[5] Bal. let. 6 Sept., 7 Hug. 14; Hug. let. 24 Sept., 4 Hug. 13 (*B.P.* 13).
[6] Cf. Bal. let. 12 Oct. & 3 Nov., 7 Hug. 29, 41.
[7] Entry of 19 Nov., 1 Hug. 37.
[8] Entry of 11 Sept., ibid. 33; Hug. let. 12 Sept., 4 Hug. 10 (*B.P.* 10).
[9] Hug. let. 18, 20, 23 & 24 Aug., 7 Hug. 4, 7, 8; entry of 23 Aug., 1 Hug. 31.
[10] Cf. entries of 31 Aug., 1, 13, & 26 Sept., & 4 Oct., ibid. 32, 33, 34.
[11] Entries of 23 Aug. & 10 Sept., ibid. 31, 32.
[12] Entries of 18 & 21 Aug., ibid. 29, 30.
[13] Entries of 10 & 12 Sept., ibid. 32, 33; Hug. let. 19 Sept., 4 Hug. 11 (*B.P.* 12).

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On 3 October he put them on a boat, pretending he was going to send them to Dacca, but brought them back to prison at night.[1] Four days later he confined the factory vakil and demanded immediate payment of the Rs. 3,000: the factors not only had to agree to this in order to prevent a complete stoppage of their business, but also had to borrow money to pay him, owing to difficulty in selling the treasure.[2] Even this payment was not effectual: the two men remained in his custody, but Vincent believed he was afraid to send them to Dacca, lest they should complain of their forcible detention by him.[3] Meanwhile at Dacca no answer was obtained to Hervey's representations to the Nawab and Rai Nandalal.[4] On 1 October Vincent wrote to Hervey that the 'cross grained' Malik Zindi was resolved to send the two men to Dacca, unless they gave him a note acknowledging the justice of his taking them by force out of the factory, which they could not do, 'if wee either respect the Hon. Companys honour or our own safety, presidents of this nature being to[o] apt to bee followed if over timely put up [with]'.[5]

In these circumstances he and Reade pinned their hopes of a compromise on the friendliness which Malik Kasim (father of Malik Zindi and Nawab of Orissa) had recently shown to the English.[6] In September he was at Balasore on his way from Cuttack to Dacca, and he reached Hugli on 2 November. The factors lost no time in complaining to him about his son's conduct. There was a prompt response. On the next day 'after some alter[c]ation' he caused the two men to be brought to the factory and handed over. Norton was 'deadly sick', and died four days later.[7] On 6 November Malik Kasim paid a visit to Reade, and begged forgiveness for his son's misdeeds, saying he had always been friendly and had severely checked his son. Consequently the factors agreed not to pursue their complaint against him at Dacca. On the 11th he sent men to repair the gates that had been broken in the attack (p. 419).[8] Moseley was subsequently shipped at Balasore to Fort St. George, to answer for his conduct before the Agent and Council (p. 434). His wife remained behind, and Vincent hoped that,

[1] 1 Hug. 34.

[2] Entries of 7 & 9 Oct., ibid. They even had to borrow Rs. 1,000 for factory expenses (entry of 13 Oct., ibid).

[3] Hug. let. 19 Sept. & 28 Oct., 4 Hug. 11, 26 (*B.P.* 12, 23).

[4] Dacca let. 29 Aug., 20 Sept. & 27 Oct., 7 Hug. 11, 23, 34.

[5] 4 Hug. 19 (*B.P.* 18).

[6] Entry of 9 Oct., 1 Hug. 34; Hug. let. 16 Oct., 4 Hug. 21 (*B.P.* 19).

[7] Bal. let. 12 Sept., 7 Hug. 18; Hug. let. 28 Oct., 4 Hug. 26 (*B.P.* 23); entries of 2, 3, & 7 Nov. 1 Hug. 36.

[8] 1 Hug. 36.

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as she had fruitlessly spent so much money on her claim, she would keep quiet.[1]

This source of trouble having been removed, and Malik Zindi's obstruction to the business of the factory having ceased, a peaceful time for the remainder of the year might have been expected. But two events prevented this. The first was the sudden recall of the Nawab, Shaista Khan, by the Emperor from the Governorship of Bengal, which he had held for fourteen years.[2] The earliest intimation of this is given in a letter from Hervey at Dacca, dated 20 September:[3]

Some few dayes since arrived two aydies [*ahadi*, a gentleman trooper] from the King, bringing this Nabob a surpaw [dress of honour] and phirmaund wherein was wrote that the King had ordered him forthwith to come to Dilly [Delhi][4] to him. This sort of report growes hotter and was in many mouths, but sounding soe straingly and being of such a nature wee could not credit it, wherefore did not think it necessary to trouble you therewith. But since the Nabob himselfe does publickly owne and affirme the same, 'tis certaine the King hath wrote to that purpose, but whether Shaste Caune will leave Bengall, though he declares he is ready and waites only for an answer on his last arghdast [*arz-dasht*, memorial], is matter very doubious. The story, as we have it, is thus: the Prince (the Kings son), who is suba[dar] of Decon [Deccan] and those parts,[5] haveing caused an eminent Rasboote [Rajput] to be executed, great troubles is arrisen. Thereupon the King, seemeing to resent the business more deepely, writes to this Nabob as if his crowne now lay in stake and advises him forthwith to come to him to councell with him about this affaire and juncture, bidding him bring with him onely 200 horse, leaveing behind him his mahall [seraglio], treasure, jageers [*jagir*, assignment of land] and servants and luscar [lashkar, army], and that, if in his absence any troubles should arrise on the frountries [frontiers], his sonn Sultan at Pattana had orders to be equipped and be in readyness to assist and governe. The Nabob that is old in the subtilities of his owne countrey feares the worst, and that 'tis but a trick to cause him to leave his wealth and power first and then his life, wherefore he hath dispatched the two

[1] Bal. con. 20 Dec., 1 Hug. (Bal. con. book), 10. In Feb. 1678 Moseley was permitted to return to his family in Bengal on executing a bond for his good behaviour (Fort con. 14 Feb. 1678, *M.R.*, 1678–9, 14).

[2] Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, 420.

[3] 7 Hug. 22–3.

[4] Aurangzeb had returned to Delhi on 5 April 1676, Manucci, ii. 222 *n*.

[5] This seems to refer to Prince Muazzam, or Shah Alam, who was Viceroy of the Deccan no less than four times (Sarkar, *Aurangzib*, 258). According to Charnock, it was supposed that Shaista Khan's recall was at the instance of Shah Alam, who thought him 'too rich and mighty to live nigh this Prince' [i.e. his brother Azam at Patna]: Pat. let. 31 Jan. 1678, 7 Hug. 78.

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aidies with good surpawes and each Rs. 1,000, though they were unwilling to be gon, sayeing they had command from the King to attend his motion and come with him, and [Shaista Khan] has wrote he cannot come without his mahall and luscar, and therefore desires the King that, if his presence be necessary, he would order the Prince to take his charge and permitt him to come with his people. What the meaneing of all this is, and where it may end, we cannot judge.

The doubt whether he would leave Bengal continued for some time, and on 22 October Littleton at Kasimbazar passed on a report that the Nawab, 'by the intersession of his Begum', had obtained leave to continue in his government of Bengal. On the same date, however, Hervey wrote that the 'fame' of the Nawab's departure to Delhi was growing 'very hot' and that he seemed to be preparing for the journey; again on the 27th he said his preparations were so 'vast' that they led to a belief he was really going there.[1] On 7 November he gave more definite information of the Nawab's dismissal, saying that another nobleman, called Azam Khan,[2] whose previous title was Fidai Khan,[3] had been appointed in his place, and that Haji Safi Khan, the Emperor's diwan at Dacca, was to govern Bengal till his arrival.[4] This involved a change in the government at Kasimbazar, where a former governor, Muhammad Murad, was to oust Balchand.[5]

Shaista Khan left Dacca on 8 December;[6] and the provision of transport for his luggage and huge retinue[7] led to the second troublesome event in the latter part of this year. Charnock at Patna had had great difficulty in 'clearing' his saltpetre boats there for the journey down the River Ganges to Hugli. The Prince's diwan continued to refuse to allow them to leave without payment of customs during August and September, and the position was a difficult one, for (as Charnock put it) the Company was likely to blame them if they paid

[1] 7 Hug. 33, 34, 35; entry of 20 Oct., 1 Kas. 29.

[2] I avoid using this name in writing of the new Nawab of Bengal, as Azam, or Auzzam, as it was generally spelt, is also the name by which two of the sons of Aurangzeb are referred to in the correspondence.

[3] He was the elder brother of Bahadur Khan, Manucci, ii. 199 *n.*, 222 *n.* Vincent accordingly called him 'Fidei Caun, new named Auzzam Caun' (4 Hug. 34, *B.P.* 29). His real name was Muzaffar Husain, and he was a foster-brother of Aurangzeb. The emperor Shah Jahan gave him the title of Fidai Khan, and on his appointment to Bengal Auranzeb entitled him Azim Khan (Beale's *Oriental Biography*, edn. 1894, p. 89).

[4] 7 Hug. 42; entry of 16 Nov., 1 Hug. 37; Hug. let. 17 Nov., 4 Hug. 34 (*B.P.* 29). Cf. Bowrey, 148 *n.*

[5] Kas. let. 13 Nov., 7 Hug. 44.

[6] Entry of 31 Dec., 1 Hug. (2nd sec.) 24; Bal. let. 4 Jan. 1678, *B.P.* 41.

[7] Cf. Bal. con. 21 Nov., 1 Hug. (Bal. con. book) 3, & Bowrey, 148.

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customs, as well as if the boats remained at Patna owing to non-payment of customs.[1] He asked for positive orders on what he should do, but naturally Vincent refrained from giving any; he left the solution to Charnock's judgement, but suggested resort to bribery, if necessary up to the full amount of the customs claimed.[2] On 3 October Charnock was able to report that the obstinacy of the diwan had at last been overcome by bribes to him, his peshdast (assistant), and other friends to the amount of Rs. 1,200, and that a compromise had been agreed on for a deposit of the customs at 3 per cent. pending the Emperor's reply to a reference on the subject.[3] This arrangement was approved by Vincent and Reade.[4] Underlings of the diwan, however, prevented the boats leaving till 23 October, and Charnock feared they would arrive too late for the homeward ships.[5]

This nearly proved to be the case. Towards the middle of November, when the boats reached Calcapore, a place on a branch of the Ganges not far from Kasimbazar,[6] they were impressed for Shaista Khan's use. This was done by the Governor, Balchand, who was about to leave Kasimbazar. He explained that he had been obliged to do this under the Nawab's positive orders to take all boats on the river, and that, having laid hold of them, he could not release them. After a long discussion he told the factors that he 'must not venture his head' over the business, and that the most he could do was to order the saltpetre in the boats not to be put ashore till he could see the Nawab, when he might persuade him to release the boats.[7] This news caused perturbation at Hugli, especially as it was thought that Littleton was contemplating the use of force to get the boats away. Vincent, in consultation with Reade and Hervey, who had arrived at Hugli on 5 November, resolved to order Littleton to offer Balchand a bribe of Rs. 1,000 to release the boats for the whole journey, or at any rate for part of it.[8] By the time this order was received at Kasimbazar, the situation had both become worse and had improved. On 20 November Littleton reported that the

[1] Pat. let. 30 Aug., 1 & 10 Sept., 7 Hug. 15, 18.

[2] Pat. let. 10 Sept., ibid. 20; Hug. let. 24 Sept., 4 Hug. 14 (*B.P.* 13–14).

[3] 7 Hug. 26–7. Charnock pointed out that the arrangement was similar to one made in 1674 (p. 375).

[4] Hug. let. 19 Oct., 4 Hug. 21–2 (*B.P.* 20).

[5] Pat. let. 23 Oct., 7 Hug. 36.

[6] As to the situation of Calcapore, see Khan, 68, 89 *n.*, and map.

[7] Kas. let. 13 & 17 Nov., 7 Hug. 44, 45, 46.

[8] Bal. con. 21 Nov., 1 Hug. (Bal. con. book), 3; entry of 21 Nov., 1 Hug. 38; Hug. let. 22 Nov., 4 Hug. 37 (*B.P.* 31–2). The saltpetre could not be sent by land, as all oxen were also impressed for Shaista Khan (Kas. let. 24 Nov., 7 Hug. 51).

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saltpetre had been put ashore, and the boats taken away, so he feared nothing could be done till Shaista Khan had left, and it would take so long to release the saltpetre that it would not arrive in time for the shipping.[1] But the next day he was able to get the Governor to give an order for a supply of small boats on which to transport the goods to Hugli. Thomas Collins, a writer at the factory, was sent to the place to arrange for this, and by 26 November he had succeeded in dispatching all the saltpetre, though he had some trouble in defeating an attempt on the part of a horseman under Jaffar Khan, a son of Shaista Khan, to get some of the boats for his master.[2] There was no more obstruction, and the boats reached Hugli on 1 and 2 December.[3] Littleton had the satisfaction of saying that he had managed the affair without giving any bribes, and that in fact the offer of a bribe would have been useless, in view of the strictness of the Nawab's orders.[4]

Meanwhile at Hugli, Vincent, Reade, and Hervey held another consultation on 24 November, and acting on the news that the saltpetre had been put ashore and the boats taken away, decided to send the sloop *Lilly* (which had been purchased in October for the purpose) to Madras, with a letter advising the Agent and Council that the saltpetre might not arrive in time for lading it on the ships, and requesting orders.[5] She was dispatched on 26 November.[6] On account of the trouble about the saltpetre boats Vincent deferred his departure to Balasore till 3 December.[7] He reached it on 6 December, and Reade followed him there on the 12th.[8] Hervey had also come to Balasore by the 14th, when Vincent held a council meeting with Reade, Bugden, Hervey, and the commanders of the three ships, Captains Andrews, Erwin, and Goldsborough.[9]

The main business before this meeting was an inquiry into an accusation against James Harding, a senior writer at the Kasimbazar factory, of holding 'very dangerous and horribly blasphemous' beliefs, such as

[1] 7 Hug. 47.
[2] Kas. let. 22, 24, 26, & 27 Nov., ibid. 48, 49, 51, 52.
[3] 1 Hug. (2nd sec.) 15.
[4] Kas. let. 24 & 26 Nov., 7 Hug. 51, 52. The Bay Council commended Littleton to the Company for his energy, saying he had 'well bestirred himself' in getting the saltpetre to Hugli (3A Misc. 26(2), para. 41).
[5] 1 Hug., Bal. con. book, 4; Hug. let. 28 Nov., 4 Hug. 41 (*B.P.* 35); entry of 11 Oct., 1 Hug. 34–5.
[6] Hug. let. 26 Nov., 4 Hug. 39 (*B.P.* 33–4).
[7] Entries of 29 & 30 Nov. & 3 Dec., 1 Hug. 39 & (2nd sec.) 16.
[8] 1 Hug. (2nd sec.) 16, 17.
[9] 1 Hug., Bal. con. book, 5–6; also 2nd sec., 17 & 16(2).

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denying the immortality of the soul, and of being a follower of an 'abominable hereticke' called Lodowicke Muggleton.[1] He had also been declared by Vincent, Littleton, and Edwards to be a person of small use and service to the Company, and in November he was suspended for refusing to copy some official papers. Under Vincent's orders he had been sent to Hugli and thence to Balasore.[2] An attestation as to the charge against him had also been sent from Kasimbazar.[3] At the council meeting he refused to answer questions as to his beliefs in the Trinity, the immortality of the soul, and the truth of the Scriptures; and the Council decided to send him to Madras both on account of this obstinacy and his disobedience to orders.[4] The Council also considered a complaint which Valentine Nurse had made about his treatment, and which the Company had ordered to be examined.[5] The Council thought the complaint was 'of little weight', and referred it to the Fort, as he was residing there.[6] The Agent and Council on 19 December granted him an allowance of £10 a year.[7]

On 15 December the charge of atheism against Hervey was taken up before the same full Council, with the exception of the accused. The Agent and Council had enjoined the Chief and his colleagues in the Bay that, unless atheistical tenets were proved against him, or were persisted in after admonition, they did 'not approve that the Hon. Companys affaires should be deprived of so hopefull and so able a servant'.[8] After some preliminary objections to the information which had been laid against him in July (p. 425), Hervey repudiated the accusation, saying he detested the tenets charged against him, and denying he had ever spoken as alleged. John Smith then confirmed what he had said and written before Clavell. Bugden, however, went back on his previous statements[9] and denied having told Smith that

[1] Entry of 11 Aug., 1 Kas. 23 (reproduced in *Ind. Antiquary*, xlv. 59). As to L. Muggleton (1609–98), who was imprisoned and pilloried for blasphemous writing in 1677, see *D.N.B.* xxxix. 264–7.

[2] Entries of 11 Aug. & 1 Nov., 1 Kas. 23, 30; Kas. let. 5, 13, & 22 Nov., 7 Hug. 40, 44, 49; Hug. let. 8 & 28 Nov., 4 Hug. 29, 40 (*B.P.* 25, 34); entry of 26 Nov., 1 Hug. 39.

[3] 7 Hug. 49.

[4] 1 Hug., Bal. con. book, 5, 6; also 2nd sec., 17 & 16(2). His refusal to do copying work was based on his being a factor and so above doing writer's work (ibid. 6). For further information about Harding, see Miss Anstey's article on him in *Ind. Antiquary*, xlv. 57–68.

[5] 5 L.B. 391.

[6] 1 Hug. 6 & 16(2).

[7] 1 F.S.G. 22; *M.R.* 126; 3A Misc. 26(2), para. 45.

[8] Fort let. 30 Oct., 18 F.S.G. 59, 60.

[9] Hervey alleged that Clavell had intimidated Bugden to make the statements he did against him; but Bugden said Clavell only told him to be careful, as he would be examined afterwards on oath (1 Hug. 8).

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he had heard Hervey express any blasphemous opinions. George Peacock,[1] when examined about an atheistical book alleged to belong to Hervey, said that he had seen the book and Hervey's name in it; but that the entry was in Nurse's handwriting. Hervey denied all knowledge of the book and of the reason why his name was in it. He also put in a written statement as to his Christian beliefs, which he asked them to send to the Company. On the 17th the Council debated their decision, and on Hervey's objection that he was an accuser, Bugden withdrew before the voting. They brought in a verdict of 'not guilty', saying the charge seemed to be 'in great part an uncharitable report', and recommended that Hervey should be encouraged in his employment. Accordingly they ordered him to resume his charge at Dacca.[2]

On 20 December the full Council dealt with some more of the Company's servants. Moseley was ordered to be sent to Madras, as already mentioned (p. 428). Anthony Smith, against whom no accuser came forward, was found 'not guilty' of murdering Michael Loveney, and was allowed to be continued in his employment. Bugden, called to account for 'unseemly speeches' he had made against the Agent and Council, on which the Company's despatch had commented,[3] pleaded they were due to passion, through his having been exasperated by Hall in the dispute over the packet which had come by the *Ann* in 1675 (p. 384). In reply to Hall's question whether he would not obey the order from the Fort that he and Clavell should be alternate Chiefs at Balasore and Hugli, he had given vent to depreciatory language, for which he expressed his regret. No order, therefore, was made against him. Jeremiah Peachey was rebuked for the irregularities he had committed at Hugli (pp. 420–1), and promised better obedience in future. Besides these culprits, Thomas Pitt, a freeman at Balasore, was called before the Council, ordered to proceed home on one of the Company's ships, and told he would never have any employment in those parts.[4]

At the same council meeting of 20 December, it was decided to send the *Bengal Merchant* to Masulipatam and Madras as soon as possible, and to detain the other two ships till later. This was because the salt-

[1] Peacock had accompanied the saltpetre boats to Hugli (Pat. let. 23 Oct., 7 Hug. 38).

[2] 1 Hug. 7–10 & 17(2), 18–21.

[3] According to the Company, Bugden was reported to have said that he regarded the Agent and Council as less than the dirt of his shoes (desp. 15 Dec. 1676, 5 L.B. 391).

[4] 1 Hug. 10–11 & 21–3. The Company had 'possitively' ordered his return to England by the homeward ships (5 L.B. 386). Pitt, however, defied these orders and did not sail for England till 1681. He subsequently became a prominent 'interloper' and eventually Governor of Madras. Cf. *S.M.* ii. 76 *n.*, and *H.D.* iii. 1–166.

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petre from Patna, after its arrival at Hugli, had had to be put on country boats, which had delayed its coming to Balasore, so that the quantity required for lading all three was not available.[1] Meanwhile George Perrin, a writer at Balasore, had been ordered in October to go and stay in one of the ships to superintend their lading.[2] Extant correspondence between him and Vincent shows that in December he had a busy time lading the ships from the various sloops and country boats that brought goods from Hugli.[3] He had some difficulty in arranging for equal proportions of tonnage for the three ships, being occasionally overpowered by 'insolent persons' on the ships, while the boatswains refused to give receipts in books, as ordered by Vincent, instead of the usual ones on loose pieces of paper.[4] The lading of the *Bengal Merchant* was first completed and she sailed on 25 December, being followed on the 29th by the *Caesar* and the *New London*.[5]

We now come to minor events and the progress of the investment in each factory. The latter was badly hampered by difficulty in selling the bullion that the ships had brought. This was mainly due to the imposition of the new duty on minting (p. 421); because of it merchants would not buy the treasure, and its coining was discouraged. Nor could they procure any money by bills of exchange on Amsterdam or elsewhere in Europe. Consequently funds for the investment had to be borrowed locally.[6] This seems, however, to have applied mainly to the Hugli, Balasore, and Dacca factories. All the gold and silver sent from Kasimbazar to Rajmahal was turned into gold mohurs and rupees; and Knipe returned to the factory on 28 October, his business being finished.[7] Whether the mintage was paid is not stated; but this seems probable, as the efforts made at Dacca to get the Company exempted from the new duty were futile. The factors managed to get Rai Nandalal, the Nawab's diwan, to speak in their favour to Haji Safi Khan, the Emperor's diwan; but the latter replied that he would

[1] 1 Hug. 10 & 21.

[2] Hug. let. 20 Oct., 4 Hug. 24 (*B.P.* 22); Bal. let. 3 Nov., 7 Hug. 41.

[3] Ibid. 57–9; *B.P.* 36–9, reproducing letters from Perrin, which are in the Madras records but not in those at the India Office.

[4] Perrin's let. 12 & 13 Dec., 7 Hug. 57; Vincent's let. 20 Oct., 4 Hug. 24–5 (*B.P.* 22) & 14 Dec., *B.P.* 37.

[5] Instrns. to the commanders & Bal. let. 4 Jan. 1678, *B.P.* 39, 41; entry 25 Dec., 1 Hug. (2nd sec.) 23. The Bay Council's letter to the Company on 28 Dec. admitted that for some years past the investments had been short of its requirements (3A Misc. 26(1), paras. 28, 29).

[6] Bay let. to Co. 28 Dec., 3A Misc. 25(2) & 26(1), paras. 9, 38, & 40.

[7] Kas. let. 5 Oct. & 5 Nov., 7 Hug. 25, 40; 1 Kas. 29, and entries *passim* as to receipt of money from Rajmahal.

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do nothing in the matter, and that the mintage must be paid unless they could show a farman from the Emperor exempting the Company.[1] Sales of treasure, such as rials and cruzados, as well as of gold mohurs and silver, also took place from time to time;[2] and the only difficulty mentioned was early in October, when money could not be raised on the Company's silver, because the government was getting in all debts owing to trouble in Delhi, and rich people were keeping quiet, 'least they should be squeezed at the Governors departure'.[3] In Hugli, on the other hand, though some rials were sold in August, the merchants refused to take cruzados.[4] In October, as already mentioned (p. 428), the factors were forced to borrow money, as they were unable to sell treasure; and four chests of rials had to be sent for sale to Kasimbazar. There they fetched Rs. 19,000, which, with an additional sum of Rs. 11,000 from the Company's cash, were remitted to the Hugli factory.[5] In November its remaining treasure still lay unsold, as merchants were unwilling to take it, because of the new charge.[6] Even in Dacca, where gold generally sold better than anywhere else, a chest of it failed to fetch a proper price for the same reason.[7]

At Patna also there was trouble over treasure, but for a different reason. In August four chests of it, with some broadcloth and lead, were sent to enable the factory to pay off money taken up at interest and carry on its investment; but the Prince's diwan at first would not allow them to be taken ashore till payment of customs. Later he agreed not to take customs on them, if the factors showed they had already paid money in respect of them in Bengal, as Patna lay outside that Province.[8] Charnock accordingly asked for the last receipt passed for the annual peshkash of Rs. 3,000 to the Governor of Hugli. This was not received till the beginning of December, and meanwhile the mirbahr had insisted on searching the bullion and had taken half of it into his custody, as well as some of the goods. Towards the end of November an arrangement was made for clearing them,[9] and by 24 December the

[1] Dac. let. 24 & 29 Aug., 11, 22, & 27 Oct., & 16 Nov., 7 Hug. 11, 13, 30, 34, 35, 48; Bal. let. 4 Jan. 1678, *B.P.* 40.

[2] e.g. entries of 14 Sept., 4, 9, & 29 Oct., 1 Kas. 25, 27, 28, 29.

[3] Entries of 1 & 4 Oct., ibid. 27–8.

[4] Entries of 21, 29, & 31 Aug. & 18 Sept., 1 Hug. 31, 32, 33.

[5] Entry of 31 Oct., ibid. 35; Hug. let. 1 Nov., 4 Hug. 28 (*B.P.* 25); entries of 29 & 30 Nov., 1 Kas. 36–7; Kas. let. 14 Dec., 7 Hug. 53.

[6] Hug. let. 22 & 23 Nov., 4 Hug. 37–8 (*B.P.* 32).

[7] Dac. let. 7 & 20 Sept., 7 Hug. 21, 23; Hug. let. 16 Oct., 4 Hug. 20 (*B.P.* 19).

[8] Kas. let. 29 Aug., 4 Hug. 9 (*B.P.* 8–9); Pat. let. 3 Oct., 7 Hug. 26–7; 3A Misc. 25(2), para. 3.

[9] Pat. let. 23 Oct., 13 & 26 Nov., 7 Hug. 36–7, 59, 62.

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diwan seemed to be contented with the receipt: but the sale of the bullion was held up by the mint superintendent, who was 'so abusive and cross grained . . . that a little will not content him'. His permission to sell it was necessary, and this was not obtained till the end of January 1678, when a debt of Rs. 23,000 was outstanding at interest.[1]

Such impediments necessarily hampered the investments for the Company. At Patna the saltpetre business also suffered because it was so dependent on the Prince's dastak (pass), the difficulties over which have been related (pp. 430–1).[2] Again, some of the saltpetre-men were liable to run away because the Prince's darogha 'drubs and imprisons them'.[3] Altogether 8,548 bags containing 15,468 maunds were received from Patna;[4] but the saltpetre was not weighed after being bagged, as ordered by the Company, from insufficient time due to the delay in its transit.[5] No other goods were sent this year by Charnock, who reported that tincal and turmeric were unprocurable.[6]

At Dacca a very poor return was made this year. The Bay Council's letter to the Company described it as 'much short in quantity'.[7] In August the factory anticipated an output of only 4,000 pieces of cossaes and mulmulls against 13,000 required by the Company, and in September it reduced this estimate to 3,000 pieces.[8] Most of its investment was sent off in October; Hervey, when he left for Hugli about 7 November, took some more of it with him; and the last four bales were dispatched towards the end of that month.[9] Their departure had been delayed by the forcible impressment of boats for the use of Shaista Khan.[10] The Company had ordered all mulmulls and cossaes to be packed in wax-cloth and chests; but Hervey reported that no wax was procurable in Dacca, nor could carpenters and boards be obtained to make chests, so they were sent in bales as usual.[11] The factory was no doubt hampered by Nedham's continuous illness from dysentery. In September he asked for leave to go to Hugli and Balasore for change of air, as 'the only remedy left . . . to preserve his life', and with Vincent's permission he was away from it for some six weeks.[12]

[1] Pat. let. 12 & 24 Dec., 7 Hug. 68, 71; Pat. let. 31 Jan. 1678, ibid. 78.
[2] 3A Misc. 25(2), para. 4.
[3] Pat. let. 13 Nov., 7 Hug. 63.
[4] Bal. let. 20 Dec., *B.P.* 38; Pat. let. 23 Oct., 7 Hug. 38.
[5] 3A Misc. 25(2), para. 6, & 26(2), para. 59.
[6] Pat. let. 10 Sept., 7 Hug. 19.
[7] 3A Misc. 26(2), para. 51.
[8] Dac. let. 29 Aug. & 11 Oct., 7 Hug. 10, 31; Hug. let. 19 Sept., 4 Hug. 11 (*B.P.* 12).
[9] Dac. let. 26 & 27 Oct. & 12 Nov., 7 Hug. 35, 41, 46, 47.
[10] Ibid. 46.
[11] 5 L.B. 372, 389; Dac. let. 29 Aug. & 27 Oct., 7 Hug. 12, 35; 3A Misc. 26(2), para. 51.
[12] Dac. let. 20 Sept., 22 & 27 Oct., & 4 Dec., 7 Hug. 24, 34, 35, 66; Hug. let. 16 Oct., 4 Hug. 21 (*B.P.* 19); Kas. let. 24 Nov., 7 Hug. 51; entries of 5 & 15 Nov., 1 Hug. 36.

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Though the investment fell short, the factors did some useful work on negotiations with the authorities at Dacca and Rajmahal, a task on which most of their energies seem to have been spent. They were unsuccessful in getting further relief from payment of customs or mintage, but they obtained a parwana, which enabled the saltpetre boats to get through Rajmahal without levy of gautbarra.[1] They were also able to send down James Warden (or Wardener), who had come to Dacca and was wanted by the Agent and Council. He and a freeman at Masulipatam, by name Richard Wilson,[2] were alleged to have taken a ship to Chittagong and gone off with money belonging to servants of the Company on that coast. Wilson was also at Dacca, but could not be secured, as the Governor had imprisoned him for a debt due to a native.[3]

The Kasimbazar factory seems to have made a good investment. In October it sent 360 bales of silk to Hugli;[4] and by 20 December nearly all the silks and taffetas had been dispatched.[5] In November, at Vincent's instance, advances to weavers were restricted, as he feared there might be a stoppage of trade by the Nawab, who was succeeding Shaista Khan.[6] As at Dacca, the factory professed to be unable to get boards, so as to make chests in which to pack the taffetas.[7] A sad addition to the heavy mortality of Company's servants in Bengal this year was the death of Oxinden on 29 September, five days after his arrival at the factory seriously ill.[8] He had accompanied his cousin, Streynsham Master, to Madras in January and seems to have returned to Balasore on the *Bengal Merchant* in July.[9] Dyers at Kasimbazar were also among the victims to the pestilence. At the end of the year the Bay Council told the Company that the dyeing trade had been retarded by the death of all the dyers except Naylor, who had his wife with him. They, therefore, recommended that any dyers sent in future should bring their wives with them.[10]

[1] Dac. let. 11 Oct. & 7 Nov., 7 Hug. 30, 43; Hug. let. 28 Oct., 4 Hug. 26 (*B.P.* 23); Kas. let. 5 Oct., 7 Hug. 25.

[2] Cf. *S.M.* ii. 107.

[3] Hug. let. 19 Sept. & 28 Oct., 4 Hug. 11, 26 (*B.P.* 12–13, 23); Dac. let. 11 & 27 Oct. & 29 Nov., 7 Hug. 31, 35, 64.

[4] Kas. let. 3 & 6 Oct., ibid. 25.

[5] Kas. let. 24 Nov., 14 & 20 Dec., ibid. 51, 53–4, 61.

[6] Kas. let. 24 Nov., ibid. 51; Hug. let. 28 Nov., 4 Hug. 40 (*B.P.* 34).

[7] Kas. let. 5 Nov., 7 Hug. 40; Hug. let. 8 Nov., 4 Hug. 29 (*B.P.* 25).

[8] 1 Kas. 26.

[9] Entry of 17 Jan., 36 F.S.G. 80; Mas. let. 21 July, 1 Mas. 27. He reached Hugli on 18 Aug. (Hug. let. 20 Aug., 7 Hug. 7).

[10] 3A Misc. 25(2), para. 11. Anthony Smith must be excepted from the victims (p. 434).

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In spite of the financial difficulty (pp. 435–6), the investment at Hugli seems to have gone smoothly, and most of the mulmulls and rumals contracted for were supplied in time for shipment at Balasore by 20 December, as directed by Vincent.[1] John Byam was in charge of the factory during the absence of Reade in December.[2] On the last day of the year he sent 'certain news' that Malik Kasim had been dismissed by the new Nawab of Bengal, and that a farman was on its way to Hugli, which was expected to put an immediate stop on all the Company's business till a parwana to the contrary was obtained from Fidai Khan.[3] An item of interest is the factory's purchase of two large carpets in October for use in entertaining Governors.[4]

The factory at Balasore also seems to have supplied the calicoes asked for by Vincent;[5] but owing to a mistake made in the contracts by Bugden when he was ill, they were not as cheap as Vincent thought they should have been.[6] Their packing was also, he feared, 'not methodically done', owing to the mortality there and the sickness of the young factors.[7] Vincent altered a bad custom by which the piece-goods, usually paid for half in money and half in goods from Europe, were priced after they had been packed.[8] Besides cloth, some saltpetre and sticklac was supplied.[9] The Company's plate was stolen, with the connivance of some of the factory peons, when the epidemic was at its height; but it was all recovered except a butter-dish.[10] In October the factory-broker's house was burgled and robbed by some six of the Governor's peons, accompanied by the broker's kinsmen. Thereupon Bugden went with some thirty armed men to demand justice from the Governor, which so frightened him that he would not admit Bugden to his house, and he prohibited workmen from going to the factory for a few days. Vincent deprecated this show of force as rash and contrary to the Company's orders against its use.[11] On 27 December Zulfikar

[1] Vincent's let. 30 Nov., *B.P.* 36; Hug. let. 18 Dec., 7 Hug. 61; entries *re* contracts and supplies, 1 Hug. 27, 31, 33, 35.

[2] Byam's let. 11–31 Dec., 7 Hug. 60, 61, 63, 66, 68–9.

[3] Ibid. 69. Malik Kasim was reported to be 'in great disgrace' at Dacca next year (Hug. let. 13 March 1678, *B.P.* 52); but he was Governor at Balasore again in 1679 (*S.M.* ii. 360). The anticipated 'stop' on the Company's business till either 2 per cent. customs were paid, or a parwana to the contrary was produced, took place in Feb. 1678 (Hug. let. 16 Feb. 1678, *B.P.* 50).

[4] Entry of 16 Oct., 1 Hug. 34.

[5] Hug. let. 18 Sept. & 6 Oct., 4 Hug. 11, 19 (*B.P.* 11, 17).

[6] 3A Misc. 26(1), para. 55.

[7] Ibid. para. 30.

[8] Bal. let. 20 Nov., 7 Hug. 50; Hug. let. 28 Nov., 4 Hug. 40 (*B.P.* 35).

[9] Bal. let. 6 Aug. & 15 Sept., 7 Hug. 3, 17; 1 Hug. (2nd sec.) 16, 17 as to pricing goods.

[10] Bal. let. 12 Oct., 7 Hug. 29; Hug. let. 20 Oct., 4 Hug. 24 (*B.P.* 21).

[11] Bal. let. 3 Nov., 7 Hug. 42; Hug. let. 12 Nov., 4 Hug. 31 (*B.P.* 27).

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Khan (a son-in-law of Shaista Khan),[1] who was officiating as Nawab of Orissa till a new Nawab came, passed by Balasore, and the factors visited him with presents worth about Rs. 200, to induce him to give his parwana for the Company's trade. The next day this was done, and the document was given to his diwan for delivery to the factors. That official, however, was dissatisfied with his present worth Rs. 50, and demanded Rs. 300. As it was important to get this parwana, so as to obtain a similar one from the expected new Nawab, the factory vakil was sent to Zulfikar Khan's camp with further presents to the value of Rs. 100. Boremul, the former friendly Governor, was also lent a camel to help him to attend on the Nawab and so oblige him to get the document out of the diwan.[2]

During the year the ketch *Diligence* was broken up, as after a survey she was found to be unserviceable.[3] The Company had given orders for the use of 'all safe means' that would promote its aim of sending ships up the Ganges to Hubli.[4] Accordingly, in October, Captain Erwin, commander of the *New London*, came to Hugli and carried out a survey of the river, its channels and the 'braces' or shoals that lay at its entrance.[5] This he did on the sloop *Lilly* for some days, in company with the chief pilot, George Heron, observing the tides, sands, soundings, &c., of the river. As a result he was satisfied that any ships then in the road might be safely brought up the Ganges.[6]

[1] Zulfikar Khan is called 'a son' of Shaista Khan in the diary entry of 27 Dec., but was really his son-in-law (Beale's *Oriental Biography*, 289).

[2] Entries of 27, 28, & 30 Dec., 1 Hug. (2nd sec.) 23, 24. O.C. 4292, copy of 'Nabob Zulphur' Khan's parwana, probably relates to this parwana, as the similarity of the two names suggests, especially as Zulfikar is called 'Zulpher' in the Hugli Diary (27 Dec. 1677 & 2 Jan. 1678, 1 Hug. 23, 26). The endorsement on it says the parwana is one of Oct. 1677, and Dr. Arberry tells me that it bears a date corresponding to the 10th of that month; but documents of this kind were often antedated (cf. Hervey's let. 30 June 1682, where he mentions that mutasaddis or clerks used to do this, *B.P.* 9 in the section relating to Vincent's charges against Hervey in 1682).

In his letter of 17 Nov. to Littleton (*B.P.* 30) Vincent speaks of Jaffar Khan, the son of Shaista Khan, being then Nawab of Orissa; but unless 'Jaffar' represents 'Zulphar', this seems a mistake, and the Balasore factors are not likely to have given a wrong name to the Nawab whom they interviewed. Jaffar Khan also was probably at Kasimbazar about 24 Nov., cf. p. 440 as to his horseman impressing boats near there.

The expected new Nawab seems to have been a son of Fidai Khan, as stated by Vincent in his let. 17 Nov., *B.P.* 29, 30; and a parwana for Orissa granted by him is mentioned in Hug. let. 1 Feb. 1678, *B.P.* 32. After his father's death, he was succeeded by Nurulla Khan (Hug. let. 14 Oct. 1678, *B.P.* 87, and R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, ii. 55).

[3] 3A Misc. 25(2), para. 17. The Company had ordered her to be sold (5 L.B. 385).

[4] Ibid. 374.

[5] Cf. *E.F.*, 1668–9, 168, and Bowrey, 167.

[6] 3A Misc. 26(2), para. 55; instrns. to Herron, 27 Oct., 4 Hug. 25 (*B.P.* 23); entry of 27 Oct., 1 Hug. 35.

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The non-interference of the Agent and Council with the suspensions of Hall and Smith has already been noted (p. 417). Hall's whereabouts are not mentioned, but early next year Vincent made provision for his accommodation and diet in the Balasore factory, should he 'come downe'. Smith was also provided with quarters there.[1]

The year closed gloomily. The prospect was that, for a year or two at least, the Company would be liable to be abused 'at the pleasure of every Jackstraw in office, as the poore Portuguese in these parts are'.[2] In spite of strenuous efforts by the factors at Dacca, Shaista Khan left that place for Delhi without giving his promised farman for freedom of trade (p. 417): and a proposal to send the factory vakil after him for this purpose was dismissed as useless and 'only a suggestion of James Prices braine'.[3] To procure a farman from the Emperor would be 'both chargeable and difficult';[4] and Charnock did not recommend an attempt to get one till all other available steps had been taken. He said the vakil whom he had employed for this purpose and who died before his efforts were finished (pp. 395, 410), had not been idle in seeking after the farman, but the Emperor's diwan could never be brought to it, and when they complained of the abuses they suffered, it was always answered that the Company had to pay no other charges than customs.

Charnock did not think that it would be much use to rely on Shah Shuja's nishan,[5] as this referred to a farman given by his father which was said to be for freedom from customs, but 'when it is demanded and read, 'tis the contrary'. Moreover, Aurangzeb 'loves not to hear of what his two brothers did, retaining still in his mind a hatred [of them]'.[6] He also said his court was so corrupt that nothing could be done except at vast expense.[7] He recommended sending a vakil to Court only after they had got an answer from Shaista Khan that they could trust.[8] But this hope had failed; and now there was a new Nawab, Fidai Khan, whom they must try to propitiate by the usual presents and otherwise. In the circumstances the Bay Council was inclined to think that there were small hopes of getting favourable treatment, unless they withdrew

[1] Bal. let. 18 Jan. 1678, *B.P.* 44. For further information as to Hall till his death in 1684, see *S.M.* ii. 361 *n.*, and as to Smith till his murder in 1679, see *Ind. Antiquary*, xliv. 16, 25–9.

[2] Hug. let. 9 Nov., 4 Hug. 30 (*B.P.* 26).

[3] Bal. let. 4 Jan. 1678, *B.P.* 40; Dac. let. 4 & 14 Dec., 7 Hug. 65, 67. James Price appears to have been an assistant in such negotiations, cf. Dac. let. 16 Nov., 7 Hug. 48. In 1679 he was the factory's vakil (Dac. let. 8 May, 7 Hug. 62; entry of 9 Oct., 2 Hug. 97); and he was probably so employed for several years previously.

[4] 3A Misc. 25(2), para. 4.

[5] Cf. p. 346 *n. ante*.

[6] Pat. let. 1 Sept., 7 Hug. 16–17.

[7] Pat. let. 23 Oct., ibid. 37.

[8] Pat. let. 7 Dec., ibid. 64.

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their factories for some time; and then they questioned not but to be recalled and granted their former privileges.[1]

Prince Azam, Aurangzeb's third son, had arrived at Patna by 1 September (probably in August), but he was of no use for the above purpose, as his rule extended over another province, and he had no power in Bengal.[2] Moreover, Charnock gave him a bad character, saying, 'his government is hated of all men, he being of himselfe very careless, and altogether swayed by his servants, who are beggarly [up]starts that they care not which end goes forward soe they crame their coffers and empoverish the master, which makes the whole countrey at present groane under him'.[2] Again Charnock said that he and everyone else had had nothing but trouble since the Prince's arrival;[3] while the Dutch were unable to send a single bag of saltpetre from Patna during the year.[4]

The main hopes had, therefore, to be placed in the new Nawab. Charnock said he was reported to be a good Governor and a soldier, 'having behaved himself to all mens content in his last government at Lahore, from whence he comes, being noways addicted to merchandizing like his predecessor [Shaista Khan]', so that, if he was not infected by his bad example, they might have no reason to complain of him.[5] But the fate of this hope lay in the womb of time.[6]

[1] 3A Misc. 25(2), para. 4.

[2] Pat. let. 1 Sept., 7 Hug. 17.

[3] Pat. let. 26 Nov., 7 Hug. 60. Nevertheless it was from Prince Azam, who became Nawab of Bengal after Fidai Khan's death on 24 May 1678, that Vincent obtained the desired farman: cf. Hug. let. 31 May 1678 & Dac. let. 28 Sept. 1678, *B.P.* 64, 84–5, and *S.M.* ii. 258 *n.*

[4] Pat. let. 13 Nov., 7 Hug. 62; 3A Misc. 25(2), para. 4.

[5] Pat. let. 12 Dec., 7 Hug. 68.

[6] Fidai Khan soon showed rapacity and antagonism to the Company, cf. Hug. let. 16 & 28 March & 18 & 22 May 1678, *B.P.* 54, 55, 61, 62. See also Stewart's *History of Bengal* (edn. 1847), 332–3, as to his tenure of office being marked by much injustice, and his being saved from disgrace only by his death.

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Abbreviations used, in addition to those for references to records, are:

Company *or* Co.	= East India Company in London, unless affixed to another name	Commr.	= Commissioner
		Cllr.	= Councillor or Member of Council
Cmdr.	= Commander	Fr., Fy., Fies.	= Factor, Factory, Factories
		Govr.	= Governor
		Wr.	= Writer

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